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THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA H

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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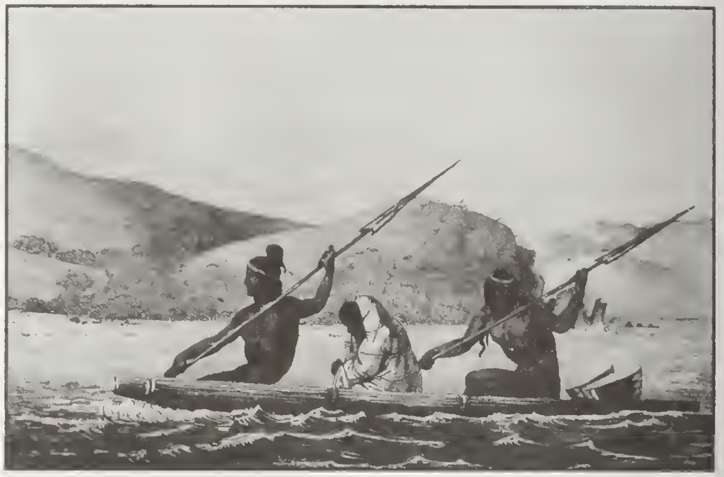
## *Milestones—*

# A British Sea Captain Explores Turn-of-the-Eighteenth-Century San Francisco Bay

*"Thursday morning, November 15, we discovered our anchorage to be in a most excellent small bay. . . . The herds of cattle and flocks of sheep grazing on the surrounding hills were a sight we had long been strangers to and brought to our minds many pleasing reflections." So wrote British explorer George Vancouver on the first morning of his ten-day sojourn at San Francisco Bay in 1792. Alta (or upper) California, claimed by Spain for centuries and finally colonized after 1769, was home to fourteen Spanish missions and four military presidios by the time of Vancouver's visit. Captain Vancouver's vessel, Discovery, was the first non-Spanish ship to sail into San Francisco Bay. His account of this and two later visits, published in 1798 as A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, provides a unique firsthand description of the harshness of life—for Spaniard and mission Indian alike–in California at the close of the eighteenth century, and foreshadows much of what was to come in the next two hundred years.*

*Isolated and forbidding, California was home to fewer than two thousand non-Indian inhabitants in 1800. Vancouver described the Spaniards he encountered in the San Francisco Bay area as hospitable but terribly rustic. They had no boat larger than an Indian balsa; their ramshackle presidio was guarded by a single antique cannon (Vancouver reported that a second one had "burst to pieces" shortly before he arrived). The apartment of presidio commander Hermenegildo Sal was equally unimpressive: "The floor was of the native soil raised about three feet from its original level, without being boarded, paved, or even reduced to an even surface. . . . The furniture consisted of a very sparing assortment of the most indispensable articles of the rudest fashion and of the meanest kind, and ill-accorded with the ideas we had conceived of the sumptuous manner in which the Spaniards live on this side of the globe." Vancouver summed up California in a few words: "Instead of finding a country tolerably well-inhabited and far advanced in cultivation–if we except its natural pastures, the flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle–there is not an object to indicate the most remote connection with any European or civilized nation."*

*The Spaniards' numbers may have been small but their impact on California was immense; in fact, San Francisco Bay had undergone dramatic changes since the arrival of Spanish settlers and the establishment of missions San Francisco de Asís and Santa Clara de Asís in the late 1770s. Its Indian inhabitants, including Patwin, Plains Miwok, Bay Miwok, Ohlone (Costanoan), and Wappo language groups, had been ravaged by a host of European diseases unknown to North American immune systems. Significant environmental changes had been triggered by the overgrazing of mission livestock and the Spaniards' prohibition of Indian controlled burning practices. Native Californians, first attracted to the missions out of curiosity or self-interest, discovered they were not allowed to leave. By the time of Vancouver's visit in 1792, the Indians of San Francisco Bay had been rendered, in the words of anthropologist Randall Milliken, "a culturally shocked and broken people living in a bewildering foreign environment."*



Ohlone (Costanoan) Indians navigate the waters of San Francisco Bay in a tule-reed balsa, from a watercolor by Louis Choris, 1816. *California Historical Society, FN-30512.*

*Vancouver's descriptions of the Indians he witnessed at Mission Dolores reflect both his ethnocultural biases and the stultifying effects of mission life. "Deaf to the important lessons and insensible of the promised advantages, they still remained in the most abject state of uncivilization; . . . They are certainly a race of the most miserable beings—possessing the faculty of human reason—I ever saw," he wrote. Their dispirited faces presented "a dull, heavy, and stupid countenance, devoid of sensibility or the least expression."*

*Vancouver's* A Voyage of the Discovery, *with its splendid maps, descriptions of California's enticing landscape, and condemnation of the Spaniards' pitiful defenses, increased European interest in the region and encouraged British, Dutch, Russian, and American ship captains to defy Spanish policy by sailing the California coast. Spain's flimsy grasp on California was severed in 1808 when France invaded Spain; two years later, a revolution begun by Father Miguel Hidalgo embroiled Mexico (once called "New Spain") in a decade of war that led to Mexican independence in 1821. During the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, American sailors, traders, and mountain men increasingly penetrated California's borders until the U.S. government took the region through war in 1846. The natural beauty and abundance of California, so praised by Vancouver and other early visitors, drew settlers and merchants well before the discovery of gold in 1848. Indeed, the Gold Rush–with its aggressive entrepreneurial spirit, its calamitous impact on the environment, and its disastrous consequences for California Indians–was the ultimate escalation of a Europeanization process already underway by the time of Vancouver's visit in 1792. More than two hundred years later, Californians live in a society shaped, for better or for worse, by that process.*

JOSHUA PADDISON
*Editor,* A World Transformed: Firsthand Accounts of California Before the Gold Rush (*Heyday Books, 1999*)

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FRONT COVER: Jennifer Pelham, *Marin Headlands*, 1995, from an original painting on silk, 15 x 22 in. *Courtesy of the artist, Tiburon, California.* BACK COVER: Julian Rix, *After the Rain (Palo Alto)*, ca. 1880, oil on canvas. *California Historical Society, Sloss Collection, photo by M. Lee Fatherree.*

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# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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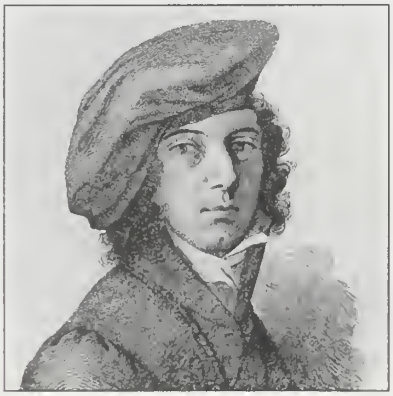

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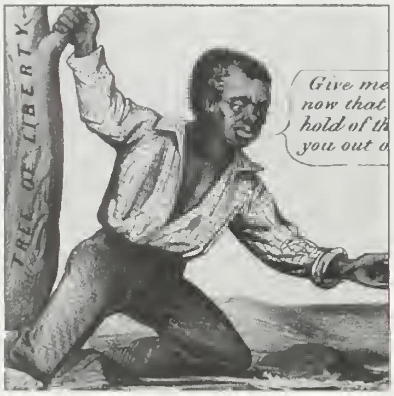

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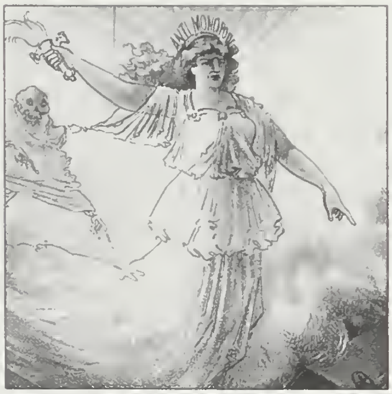

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# ADELBERT VON CHAMISSO:

## A German Poet-Naturalist and His Visit to California

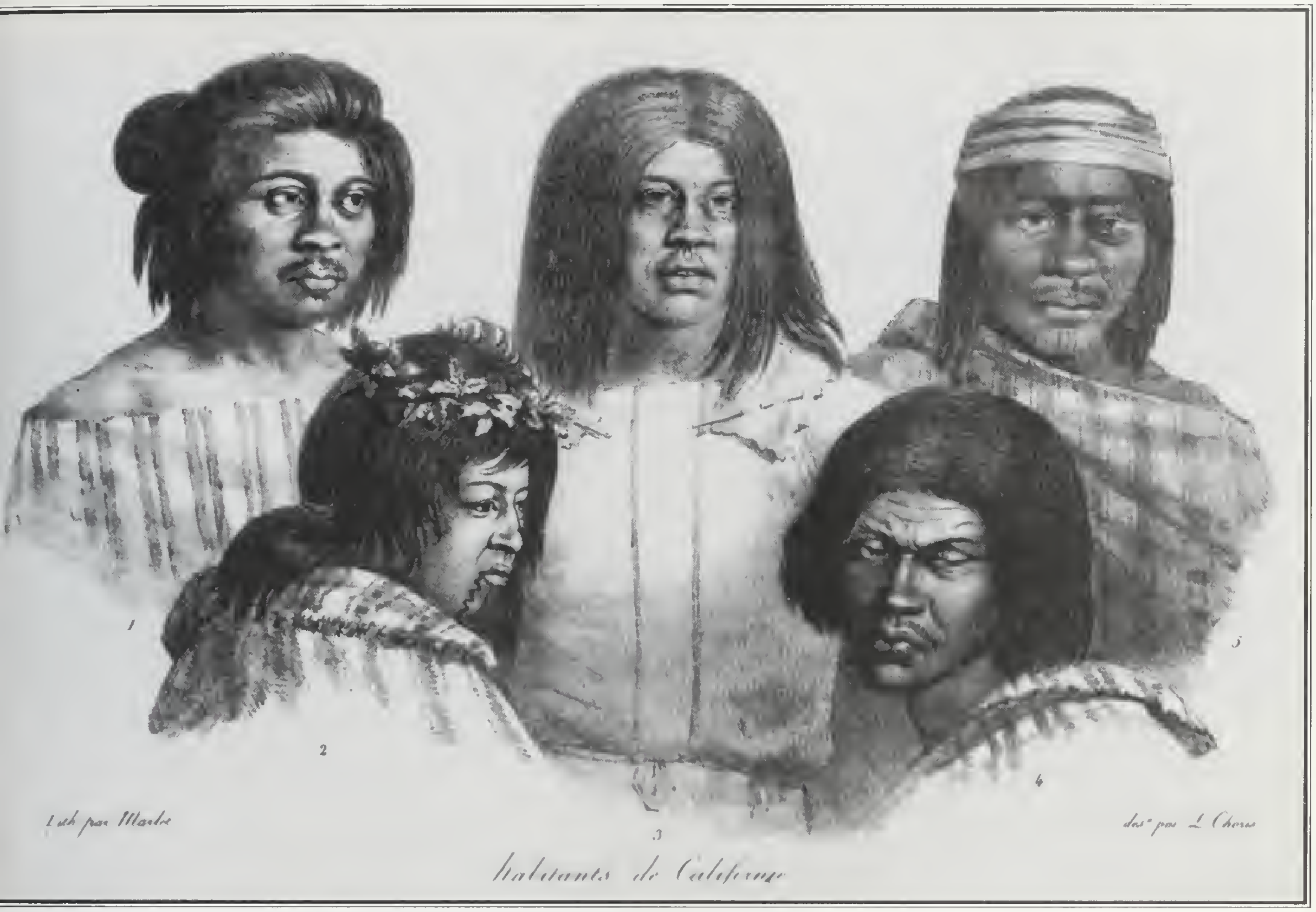
*by Edward Mornin*

What could be more familiar to Californians than their state flower, the California poppy, a common sight by roadway and on hillside, in private yard and public park? Like other poppies a member of the *papaveraceae* family, the California poppy by genus and species is designated *Eschscholzia californica,* to which is sometimes appended the abbreviation *Cham.* This stands for *Chamisso* (in full, Adelbert von Chamisso), a name a good deal less familiar to Californians than the poppy that Chamisso first described and named.

Chamisso came to California only once, for a month in 1816, as naturalist on board the Russian ship *Rurik* on a round-the-world voyage of exploration that lasted three years. The official purpose of this voyage, which was financed by Count Nicolai Rumiantsov, former Russian foreign minister and chancellor, appears never to have been clearly articulated. Judging by the mission's actual activities, however, a main goal seems to have been to search for a waterway northward around North America (discovered later and named the Northwest Passage). At the time of the voyage, Alaska and the Aleutian Islands were Russian possessions, controlled by the Russian-American Company, which in 1812 had also challenged Spanish sovereignty in California by building the settlement of Rus (now Fort Ross) on the coast north of San Francisco. The Fort Ross Russians were involved in trade and in the hunting of sea otters on the California coast, both of which activities were forbidden to foreigners under Spanish law. Hence, it has been suggested that an ancillary, or even primary, purpose of the *Rurik* expedition was to fly the Russian flag and represent a Russian presence in the eastern Pacific, testing the strength of Spanish power in the area.[1] Beyond this, *Rurik* conducted scientific and ethnographic investigations of the sort carried out on earlier Pacific expeditions led by navigators such as Captain James Cook, George Vancouver, Jean François de La Pérouse, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, and Adam Johann von Krusenstern. It was while *Rurik* was anchored in San Francisco Bay that Chamisso collected the little golden-orange poppy that he named after the ship's doctor, Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, and which he described (in Latin) for publication in 1820.[2]

Chamisso also published his views on conditions in the San Francisco presidio and mission as he saw them in 1816, as well as his more general reflections on the present and future prospects of California. As an early visitor to the area, he deserves to be better known for these views as well as in his own right, for the discoverer of the California poppy was a celebrated poet in Germany and an internationally respected scientist in his time.[3]

Though as a writer he called himself Adelbert von Chamisso, Chamisso was in fact born Louis-Charles-Adélaïde de Chamisso into a French noble family that traced its origins back to the fifteenth century. He was born in 1781 at the Château de Boncourt in Champagne, the sixth of seven children, to the Count de Chamisso. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, this royalist family abandoned everything and fled, through the Netherlands, to Germany. The Chamissos experienced some real hardships, and even little Louis-Charles (as he was then known) had to contribute to family finances by working as a miniature-painter for the Royal Prussian porcelain works in Berlin. The skills that he developed here stood him in good stead later as a botanist, when he was able to illustrate some of his own publications. After 1796, however, his life appeared for a time to follow a more conventional pattern for a per-

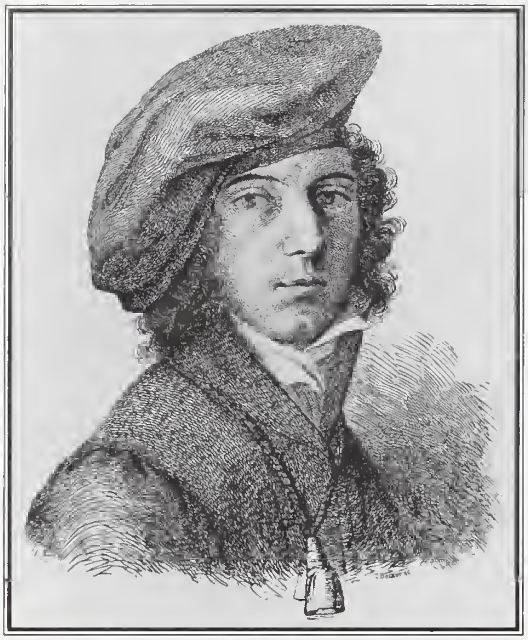


Louis Choris, *Habitants de Californie*, Mission Dolores, 1816. Choris, a twenty-year-old Russian artist who accompanied Adelbert von Chamisso to California on *Rurik*, saw firsthand the stultifying effects of mission life on the Indians of the Bay Area. "Severe fevers occur constantly among the [mission] Indians," he noted. "These maladies commonly carry off a great number. . . . I have never seen one laugh. I have never seen one look [you] in the face. They look as though they were interested in nothing." Copy of a lithograph from a drawing in Choris's *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1882). *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

son of his class, for he became a page in the Prussian royal household and subsequently an officer in the Prussian army. In his leisure time he also began to write poetry, first in French, and then in German. Chamisso had been educated at the French *collège* in Berlin, paid extended visits to France throughout his life, and remained a French citizen until his death. His published writings, however, except for scientific papers in Latin, were exclusively in German, and as the author of these he signed himself Adelbert von Chamisso.[4]

When war broke our between France and Prussia in 1806, Chamisso's position between these nations became intolerably stressful for him. "In Germany I feel myself French, and in France I feel myself German," he wrote at one point to his friend Madame de Staël, the celebrated French woman of letters. He resigned his Prussian army commission in 1808, and from 1812 to 1814 tried to establish some kind of psychological stability in his life by turning away from the turmoil of international events and absorbing himself in a wide range of scientific studies at the University of Berlin, including botany, zoology, comparative anatomy, and geology. When the opportunity arose to participate as a naturalist on a round-the-world voyage, he seized it.

Chamisso joined the *Rurik*, which had sailed from Kronstadt two weeks previously, when it docked in Copenhagen in August 1815. *Rurik* was a 180-ton, two-masted brigantine of the Imperial Russian Navy, and as such was accorded diplomatic honors in the foreign ports that it was to visit. Interestingly, though then only thirty-four years of age, Chamisso was the oldest man on board. The captain, Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue, a Baltic German in Russian service, was twenty-eight, and he had sailed around the



Portrait of Aldelbert von Chamisso. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Chamisso's friend, E. T. A. Hoffmann, a celebrated German Romantic author, composer, and artist. *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

world once already on the Krusenstern expedition of 1803-1806. Although Chamisso was principal naturalist, there were two other naturalists aboard—Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz (also the ship's doctor), from Dorpat (now Tartu) in Estonia, and Morton Wormskjöld, a Danish botanist who left the ship in Kamchatka. Another important member of the ship's company was Louis [Ludovik] Choris, the expedition's artist and illustrator,[5] a Russian of German extraction who has left us some fine drawings of San Francisco, particularly of the Indians that he saw there. The remainder of the company of thirty-two men were Russians.

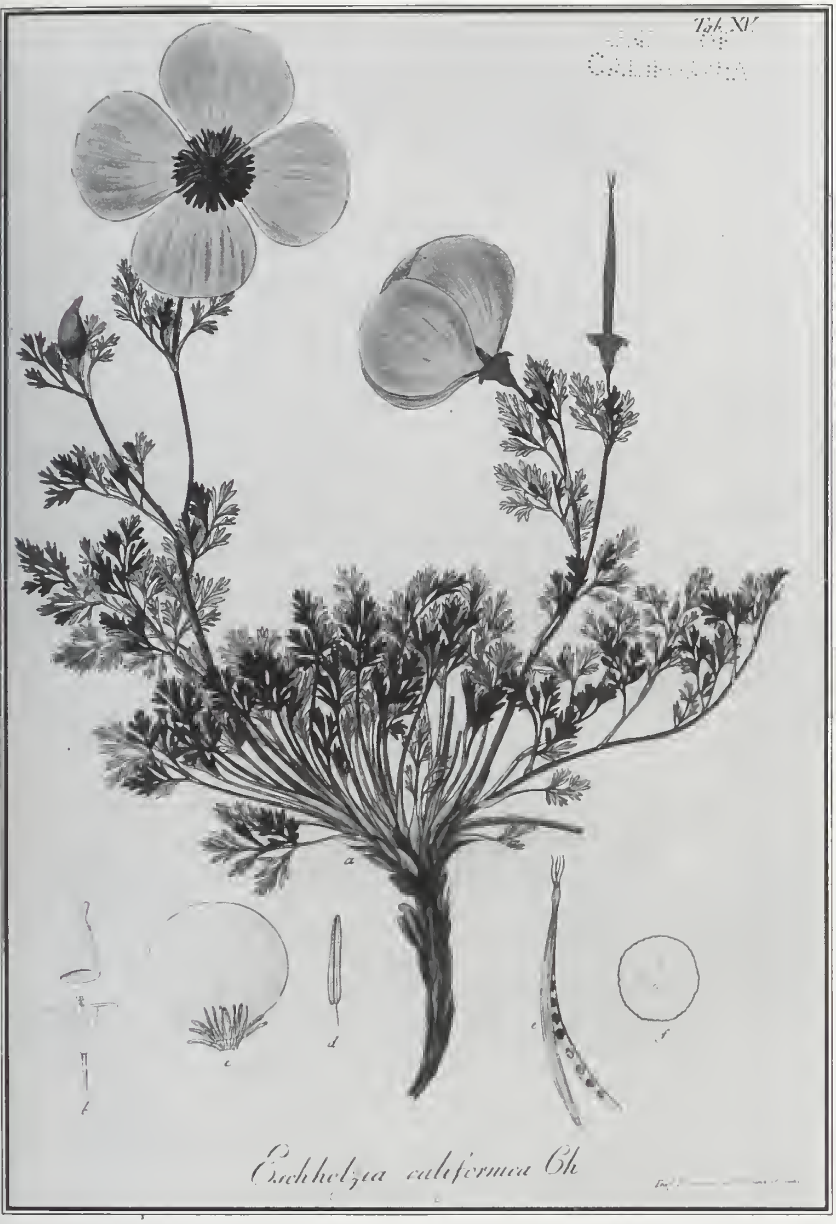
Chamisso's voyage took him to England (Plymouth), the Canary Islands, and Brazil (Santa Catarina), and around Cape Horn into the Pacific. After visiting Talcahuano (Concepción Bay) in Chile, and Easter Island, the ship sailed to Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka before spending four weeks reconnoitering the Bering Strait area in preparation for the main explorations of the following summer. In Alaska, they charted and named Kotzebue Sound, in a bay of which (Eschscholtz Bay) lies a rocky islet, Chamisso Island, named after the poet-naturalist. After stops at Unalaska in the Aleutians, and San Francisco, they sailed to Hawaii and other islands of the Pacific, including the Carolines and the Marshall Islands, spending the winter of 1816-1817 in the tropical zone. The following summer *Rurik* returned to the Arctic, but with the captain's illness the expedition was abandoned, much to Chamisso's displeasure. Following another winter (1817-1818) in Hawaii and the Marshall Islands, *Rurik* returned to Europe via Guam, the Philippines, and Cape Town. After brief stops at Portsmouth (with an important side trip to London), Copenhagen, Reval, Kronstadt, and St. Petersburg, Chamisso returned to Berlin in September 1818.

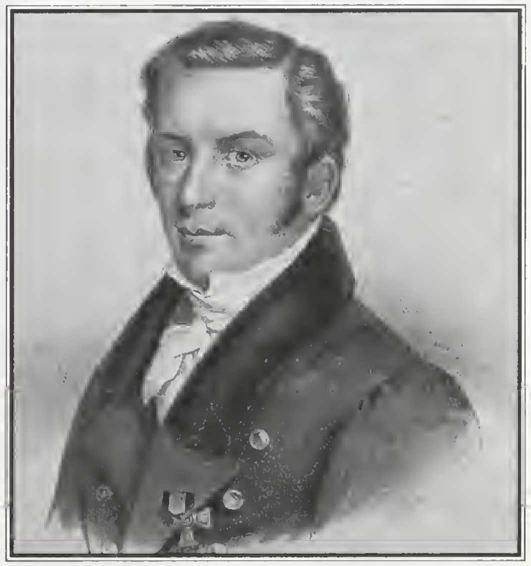
Apart from visits to France and some field trips to different parts of Germany, he spent his remaining years in Berlin, where he died in 1838. A monument to him stands on Monbijouplatz in Berlin.

Even before returning to Berlin, Chamisso had made a name for himself as a participant in the *Rurik* expedition. Hence he was well received in London by established scientists such as Georges Baron de Cuvier, Sir Robert Brown, and Sir Joseph Banks, who had been the naturalist on Cook's voyage of 1768-1771 and was then president of the Royal Society and honorary director of the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew. Banks showed him his famous herbarium, undoubtedly of great interest to Chamisso, who had collected some twelve thousand species of plants and flowers on his voyage. The conservation and organization of these formed the basis of his scientific work for years. What remains of the collection is preserved today in the herbarium of the Botanical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Though he was a well-rounded naturalist, the majority of Chamisso's scientific publications were botanical.[6]

Chamisso's work was descriptive and taxonomic rather than theoretical, traditional rather than innovative. This is shown, for instance, by his adherence to the principle of the immutability of species—though none other than Charles Darwin (his junior by twenty-eight years) called him a "justly distinguished naturalist." His achievements were widely acknowledged by contemporary scientists. Notably, Chamisso enjoyed the respect, as well as the friendship, of Alexander von Humboldt, the greatest German naturalist of this age, who explored South America and Mexico in the years 1799 to 1804 and after whom the Humboldt Current and numerous place-names in California and other U.S. states are named. For his scientific work, Chamisso was awarded a doctorate *honoris causa* by the University of Berlin in 1819, and on Humboldt's nomination he was admitted to the prestigious Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1835. He also became curator of the Royal Botanical Gardens and director of the Royal Herbarium in Berlin.

During the expedition's month-long stopover in





(Above) Portrait of Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, the ship's doctor on the *Rurik,* and the man for whom Chamisso named the California Poppy (*Eschscholzia californica*). From the frontispiece of Eschscholtz's *Zoologischer Atlas* (Berlin, 1829). *Courtesy Special Collections, California Academy of Sciences.*

(Left) First picture of the California Poppy, from Chamisso's original description of the flower in *Horae Physicae Berolinenses* (Bonn, 1820). *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

San Francisco, Chamisso collected, in addition to *Eschscholzia*, more than seventy genera or species of plants, of which over twenty now bear his name. These include the California wild rose (*Rosa californica Chamisso & Schlechtendal*) and a California blackberry (*Rubus vitifolius Cham. & Schl.*). Apart from these, he described and named more than two hundred other plants and flowers gathered from around the world. He also had a total of sixty-three different items named after him by others—plants, animals, and geographical sites (such as Chamisso Island, mentioned above, and Chamisso Bay in the Caroline Islands).

Chamisso's most important and original scientific publication is generally assessed as *De salpa* of 1819. This work, which was also an outcome of the *Rurik* expedition, describes for the first time in any organism the phenomenon of alternation of generations. Specifically, the marine organism *salpa* (a tunicate) displays alternation of generations between an individual free-swimming form and a colonial form.

Chamisso's life experiences, and his personal convictions, too, are also reflected in his longer discursive writings in prose and in his verse. His first poems appeared in 1803, but his most popular work was, and continues to be, the fantastic tale *Peter Schlemihl's Wonderful History* (1814), which has been translated into all major languages.[7] Remarkably, the hero of this story becomes a globe-trotting naturalist by means of a pair of seven-league boots, and so may be said to prefigure its author's life after 1815. Otherwise Chamisso's most notable prose work was his *Voyage around the World*, which comprises his *Remarks and Opinions* (1821) and his *Diary* (1836). *Remarks and Opinions* was his contribution to the official report on the *Rurik* expedition, other contributors being Kotzebue and Choris.[8] It appeared in German in Weimar, was immediately translated into English, Russian, and Dutch, and was translated into French in 1981 and into English again in 1986, showing that it still retains a place in the history of science today. The *Diary* is to some extent a misnomer, since it does not represent a day by day account of the voyage, though it was based on Chamisso's daily journal and letters written en route. In contrast to *Remarks and Opinions*, the *Diary* was written for the benefit of his friends and is rich in personal and humorous touches.

In addition to this, Chamisso was well-known as a lyric poet, and from 1827 to 1838 was one of the most prolific and prominent poets publishing in German. His lyrical creation most popular today is the song-cycle *Frauen-Liebe und Leben* (1830), world-famous in the musical setting of Robert Schumann. The originality and importance of his poems in their day resided in their expression of social criticism, liberal political ideas, and firm cosmopolitan convictions. Among his poems, he wrote three about American Indians, among the earliest of their kind in the German language.[9] These form an interesting pendant to his observations on the Indians of California, who are discussed below.

At this point it seems appropriate to let Chamisso speak for himself, first from his *Diary* and then from his *Remarks and Opinions*, for he was not only a good observer of life around him, but as a man of letters he possessed the ability to express himself vividly and effectively. These passages have been edited to retain what seemed to me most original or interesting for modern readers and to omit information on geography, climate, and population (amounting to about half of Chamisso's text) that is either merely quantitative or common knowledge today. I have also chosen passages that reflect Chamisso's personality in some way—his keen social conscience, as well as his wit and humor. All translations are my own. Chamisso's text is indented.

It will be recalled that at this time San Francisco was one of four garrison towns in the province of Alta (upper) California, the others being San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Monterey. Monterey was the seat of the provincial governor, Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, the last Spanish governor (1815-1822) of the province, who figures in Chamisso's account. The San Francisco garrison, as Chamisso notes, was poorly equipped and badly trained, and Kotzebue's initial undiplomatic posturing (other examples of it appear later) may have been intended as a test of the Spaniards' resolve to deal with Russian incursions along the coast in general. If so, their resolve was seen to be minimal:

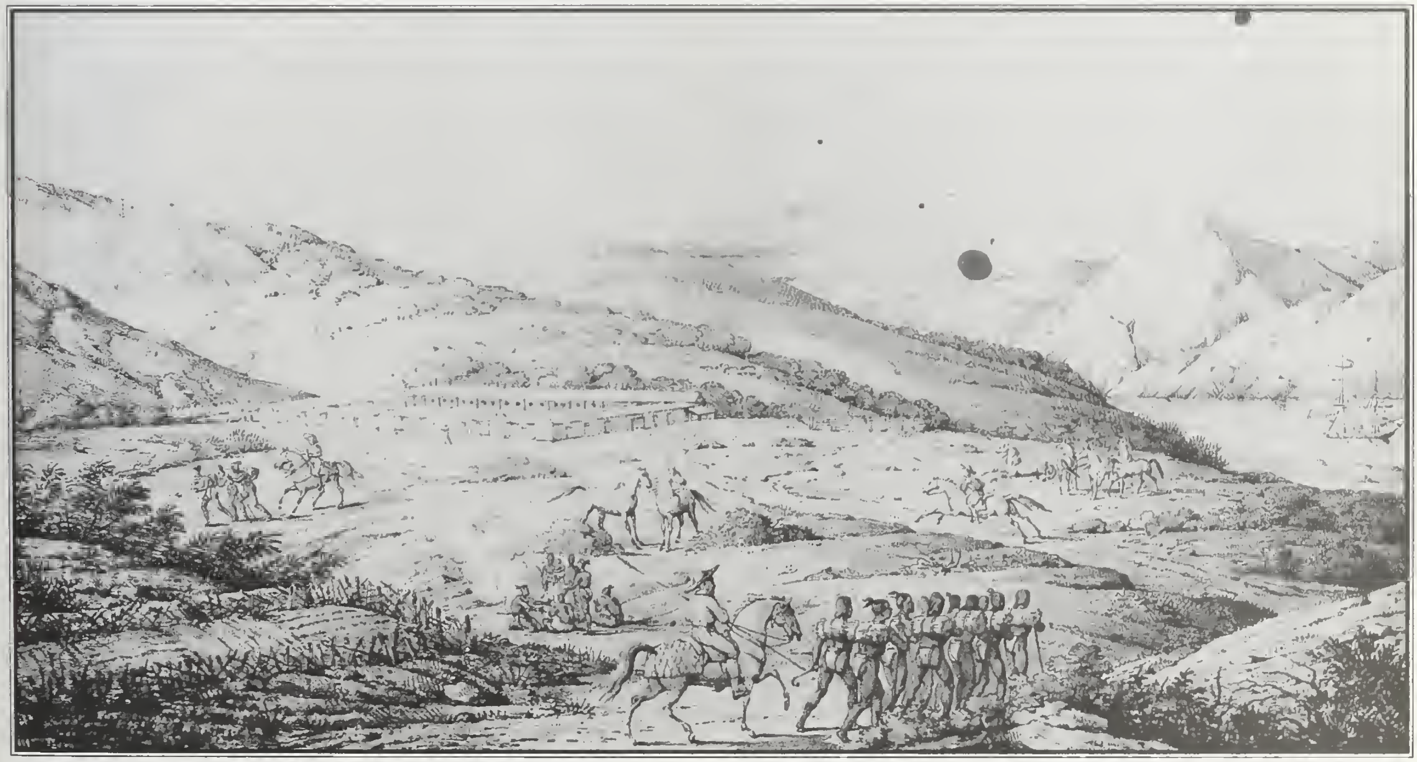
> At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of October 2, 1816, we sail into San Francisco harbor. There is great activity evident on the fort at the southern entrance to the channel. They run up their flag, and we show ours, which does not appear to be known here, and we salute the Spanish flag with seven guns, to which, in accordance with Spanish protocol, they respond with two guns fewer. We drop anchor in front of the presidio, and no boat pushes out from shore to greet us, for the simple reason that on this splendid bay Spain does not possess one single boat.
>
> I was ordered at once to accompany Lieutenant Shishmarev to the presidio. Lieutenant Don Luís de Argüello, interim Commandant since the death of the Captain of Cavalry who had been his predecessor, received us most cordially, attended immediately to *Rurik*'s most pressing needs by sending fruit and vegetables on board, and that same evening dispatched a courier to the Governor of New California in Monterey informing him of our arrival.
>
> Next morning (October 3) I met the artillery officer Don Miguel de la Luz Gomez and a priest from the local mission just as they were coming to the ship and as I myself was about to go to the presidio on an errand for the Captain. I accompanied them on board; they were the bearers of the friendliest assurances of assistance on the part of the Commandant and of the much wealthier mission. The cleric also invited us to the mission of San Francisco for the following day, the feast of St. Francis, and promised to have horses ready to take us there. At the Captain's request, we were immediately and abundantly supplied with vegetables and with animals for fresh meat. In the afternoon, our tents were set up ashore, as were the observatory and the Russian bath. In the evening we paid a visit to the Commandant. Eight guns were fired from the presidio to welcome the Captain.
>
> However, it was not these unsolicited courtesy shots that the Captain lusted after, but the two that were still owing to the Russian flag; and he insistently demanded that they should be granted.There were long negotiations on this matter, and it was only reluctantly and under duress (perhaps even only after the Governor's intervention) that Don Luís de Argüello finally and belatedly deigned to furnish the two missing shots. I should add to this that one of our sailors had to be ordered to the fort in order to fix the cord to run up their flag again, for it had broken when last put to use and locally no one was able to climb the flagpole.[10]

Don Luís de Argüello, who makes a modest appearance here, was later to become the first governor (1822-1825) of Mexican California after independence from Spain. Born in San Francisco, he became the province's first native-born governor. His grave can be seen today at Mission Dolores.

Chamisso soon discovered that the Spanish garrison was seriously demoralized and underprovisioned, dependent as it was on supplies—undelivered for the past several years—shipped from distant San Blas, in the present-day Mexican state of Nayarít. Futhermore, the soldiers suffered from the lack of cooperation of the missionaries. So the soldiers were glad to avail themselves of the hospitality offered by *Rurik*, a fact that Chamisso expresses obliquely and somewhat humorously. Despite the strained nature of official Spanish-Russian relations, garrison and ship's company got on well together personally.

Though brought up a Catholic, Chamisso disapproved of the Catholic missionary work that he witnessed everywhere on his voyage (e.g., also in Guam and the Philippines). Already hinted at in his allusion to the "cleric" above, his critical stance becomes more evident in the following passage, and culminates in his *Remarks and Opinions*:

> As in Chile, so here, too, the Captain managed to accustom the Commandant and his officers to the hospitality of our table. We dined ashore under canvas, and our friends from the presidio usually did not keep us waiting long. This arrangement came about more or less naturally. The wretchedness in which they had been languishing for the past six or seven years, forgotten and abandoned by Mexico the motherland, prevented them from offering us their own hospitality. And the need to pour out their hearts drove them to us also, for we were a jolly and easy-going company. They spoke only with bitterness about the missionaries, who despite lack of outside supplies enjoyed an abundance of products from the land and yet, since at the time money had run out, would supply them [the Spanish soldiers] only on credit, and even then only with what was absolutely essential, and this didn't include bread or flour. They had been living on corn for years, without ever seeing bread. Even the military detachments stationed in every mission for its protection were provided with only the most basic commodities, and on credit also. "Our lords and masters are too kind-hearted!" Don Miguel exclaimed, meaning the Commandant. "They should



View of the San Francisco presidio in 1816. In the bay can be seen *Rurik,* recognizable by the two Russian naval ensigns that it is flying. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). Some of the details, notably those that suggest subjugation of the Indians, were not in Choris's original, but were added by later artists or engravers. *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

simply commandeer whatever we need and have it delivered!" One soldier went even further and complained that the Commandant wouldn't allow them to take prisoners from among the Indians on the other side of the bay and put them to work at the presidio, as was done in the missions. It was a cause of displeasure, too, that the new Governor in Monterey, Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, since assuming office, had been trying to curb smuggling, which was really all that kept them supplied with the barest necessities.[11]

The main "event" of *Rurik*'s visit to San Francisco was a meeting between the governor of Alta California and Ivan Kuskov, the agent of the Russian-American Company and commandant of Fort Ross, which Chamisso refers to as Port Bodega. (Properly, this name would refer to the small Russian sister colony protected by Fort Ross and situated just eighteen miles south of it at Bodega Bay.) The governor wanted the Russians out of the area, and Chamisso was inclined to sympathize with the Spanish viewpoint. In 1812, a time of peace, Alexander Baranov, who was in charge of the company's operations in Alaska, had ordered the settlement to be built on Spanish territory only half a day's journey by sea from San Francisco. It was strongly fortified, manned by twenty Russians and fifty Aleuts from Kodiak, and defended by a dozen cannon. Its purpose was to supply more northerly stations of the Russian-American Company with food, to which end they developed agriculture (including crops and the raising of cattle, horses, and sheep) and built a windmill. They also had a warehouse to store goods for illicit trade with the Spanish harbors along the coast, while their Kodiak Aleuts killed seals and a few thousand sea otters each year, whose pelts were worth a great deal of money (between $80 and $100 each) in the markets of Canton.

Governor Solá, who was coming up from Monterey to the San Francisco Presidio to greet Kotzebue in any case, requested him to invite Kuskov down from Ross. Chamisso acted as interpreter for this meeting, using Spanish and largely German, one assumes, rather than Russian, which he spoke only imperfectly. (Kotzebue would have been fluent in both Russian and German.) His account of the proceedings lends an irresistible comic-opera air to this encounter between minor representatives of great powers in an out-of-the-way corner of the globe. First he tells of the governor's arrival and of the attendant diplomatic gamesmanship between this older gentleman and the much younger and bumptious (perhaps intentionally provocative) Kotzebue:

> . . . on the evening of the 16th, artillery salvos from the presidio and the fort announced the arrival of the Governor from Monterey. Immediately after this a messenger came down from the presidio requesting our doctor's assistance for two men who had been seriously injured when firing a cannon. Eschscholtz responded at once.
>
> On the morning of the 17th, Captain von Kotzebue was waiting on board his ship for the first visit from the Governor of the province; and the Governor in his turn, an old man and a high-ranking officer, was waiting in the presidio for the first visit from Lieutenant von Kotzebue. The Captain chanced to hear that he was expected at the presidio, whereupon he sent me to the presidio with the awkward task of gently informing the Governor: that he, the Captain, had been informed that he, the Governor, had wanted to visit him on board ship that morning, and that he was expecting him. I found the little man in full dress uniform, complete with ribbons and medals, except for a sleeping cap that he was still wearing on his head, ready to snatch it off at a moment's notice. I carried out my mission as best I could and saw the man's face drop to three times its normal length. He bit his lip and said that, unfortunately, he had no stomach for the sea before eating and that he was sorry in the meantime to have to forego the pleasure of meeting

Portrait thought to be of Captain George Vancouver, by Lemuel F. Abbot, in the National Portrait Gallery, London. (There is no authenticated portrait of Vancouver.) From a copy in the Library of the University of British Columbia. Vancouver visited San Francisco Bay in 1792 and 1793; his widely read account of the journey, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (1798), increased European interest in fertile California. *Courtesy of the University of British Columbia.*

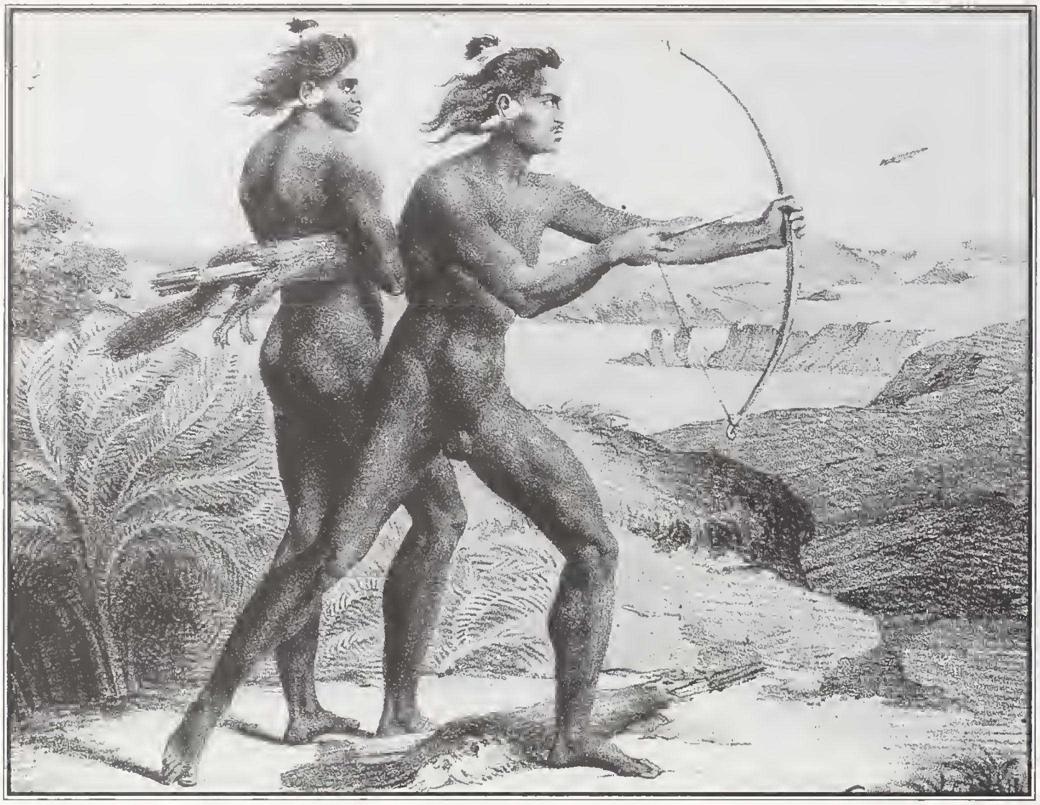
> the Captain.—I had a vision of the old man climbing back on his horse and starting out on the return leg of his official trip across the wilderness to Monterey without accomplishing his mission; for there was no way that Captain von Kotzebue would back down in any manifest conflict of principle.
>
> Reflecting on this, I was slinking back down to the shore when a good spirit intervened and, before further misunderstandings could arise, sealed the prevailing spirit of peace in the most beautiful bond of friendship. The morning had come and gone, and the hour had arrived when Captain von Kotzebue had to go ashore to shoot the sun at its zenith and to wind up his chronometers.—The lookouts who had been posted at the presidio announced that the Captain was coming; and as he stepped ashore, the Governor strode down the slope toward him. He in his turn went up the slope to meet the Governor, and half way up and half way down, Spain and Russia fell into each other's open arms.[12]

While they awaited Kuskov's arrival, entertainment was provided for the ship's company in the form of a fight between a bear and a bull, a popular sport in Spanish California that gave Chamisso no pleasure. Interesting, though, is that the bear had been captured for the occasion on the north shore of the bay, where bears were common at that time, Chamisso noted. Finally, however, Kuskov arrived and the conference got under way. All formalities and proprieties were observed, but the outcome . . . well, the outcome was perhaps what one might have anticipated:

> In the forenoon hours of the 26th the diplomatic conference took place in the presidio. Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, Governor of New California, presented in the clearest light Spain's indisputable jurisdiction over the territory occupied by the Russian dependency under Mr. Kuskov, and required Mr. Kuskov to vacate the land that he was occupying in violation of international law. Mr. Kuskov, Agent of the Russian-American Trading Company and Commandant of the settlement at Port Bodega, without getting embroiled in the legal niceties, which he claimed were not his domain, testified to his utmost willingness to quit Port Bodega just as soon as he was authorized to do so by his superior, Mr. Baranov, who had ordered him there in the first place. At that, the Governor called upon Captain von Kotzebue to intervene in the name of the Czar and to effect the evacuation of Port Bodega. Otto von Kotzebue, Lieutenant of the Imperial Russian Navy and Captain of the Rurik, declared himself unauthorized to act in a matter in which, incidentally, the rights and wrongs seemed so clear to him that they needed no more than articulation to be recognized.—And with that, we had reached the point we started from.
>
> Hereupon, it was their pleasure to prepare an official written statement of the day's negotiations and of the present state of affairs and to have this statement signed and sealed in duplicate by all participants in said negotiations and dispatched to His Majesty the Czar of Russia by the Captain of the *Rurik* and to His Majesty the King of Spain by the Governor of New California.
>
> As interpreter, I had to supervise the proper form of this document, which was drawn up in Spanish. . . .
>
> I have heard that the said statement safely reached its proper destination in St. Petersburg, where without ever being acted on it was officially filed in the appropriate ministry. But Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, Gobernador de la Nueva California, is said to have been sent a Russian order of merit [presumably for not having pushed the issue further than he did]. As an acknowledgement of my valued services, I received a beautiful otter pelt from Mr. Kuskov, and you can see this very one today in the Zoological Museum in Berlin, to which I presented it.[13]

It is certainly true that neither Kuskov nor Kotzebue was authorized to act in the matter of Fort Ross, which remained in Russian hands until sold to Captain John Sutter in 1841. However, it is also fair to say that the Russians were less than candid in their dealings with the Spaniards. Even before all participants in the conference had returned home, Kuskov (with Kotzebue's knowledge) sent two of his Fort Ross *bidarkas* to hunt otters at the far end of the bay.

With regard to the activities of foreigners in the province, California in the second decade of the nineteenth century was drifting ever farther away from Spanish rule. Indeed, as Chamisso could see, Spanish authority had seriously broken down, and the area was too far from centers of power for Spain to reassert it. As an officer in the Imperial Russian Navy, Kotzebue was called upon to play a part in regulating other matters of Spanish-Russian relations also, for the governor would not treat further with Kuskov since he was only an agent of a private company and, to the Spaniards, illegally residing in California. The governor availed himself of Kotzebue's presence to try to rid himself of some unwanted alien prisoners, including a few Aleutians or Kodiakans, whose barbarous treatment by the Russians Chamisso deplores in this and other parts of his report. An interesting individual among these prisoners was a certain John Eliot de Castro, a half-English, half-Portuguese adventurer who had earlier been the private physician of King Kamehameha of Hawaii and who had been captured by the Spaniards when in the employ of the Russian-American Company. It was this man who, when taking passage on *Rurik* to Hawaii, taught Chamisso the rudiments of the Hawaiian language, which with time grew into



Indians hunting by San Francisco Bay. A. L. Kroeber (*Handbook of the Indians of California,* 1953) call this group the Chulamni. They were probably a subgroup of the Costanoans (Ohlone). Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

a knowledge sufficient for Chamisso to write the first grammar of Hawaiian, a pioneering work that appeared in 1837.

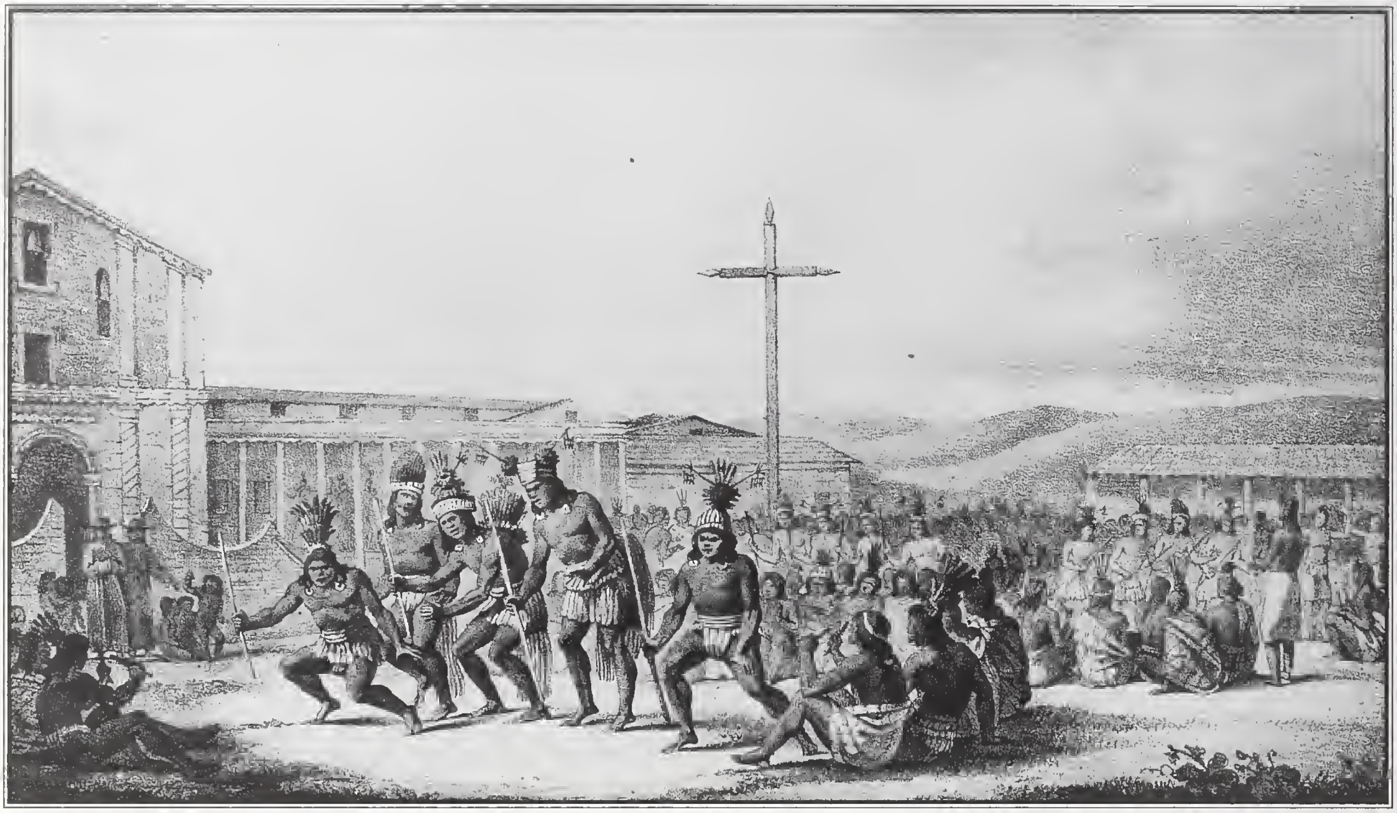
> In Monterey at that time there were prisoners of various nations, who had been attracted to these coasts by smuggling, sea otter hunting, or simply adventure, and who had visited upon them individually the collective sins of all their confraternity. Among them were a few Aleutians or Kodiakans, with whom seven years previously the captain of an American ship had been engaged in otter hunting in the Spanish harbors along the coast. The Russians do not just exploit these northern peoples for their own purposes, but hire them out to others to exploit for a half share in the profits. I have encountered Kodiakans dispersed even as far as the Sandwich Islands [i.e., Hawaiian Islands]. Among the prisoners in Monterey there was also a Mr. John Eliot de Castro. . . . After many adventures as supercargo on one of Mr. Baranov's Russian-American Company ships, dispatched from Sitka to engage in smuggling on the California coast, he had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards along with some other members of his crew. Besides these prisoners there were also three Russians, old servants of the Russian-American Company who had deserted from the Port Bodega settlement and now, missing the language and customs of their homeland, were probably regretting their earlier step.
>
> Don Pablo Vicente de Solá offered to hand the Russian prisoners (for him the Aleutians and Kodiakans were also Russians) over to the Captain, while he refused them to Mr. Kuskov. It does not appear that the Spaniards required any services or tried to derive any advantage from these people, whom Russian greed had cruelly separated from their homeland in order to rent them out for money here. The King of Spain paid, or was supposed to pay, compensation of one and a half *reales* a day for each prisoner. The Captain, with limited accommodation at his disposal, could accept only the three Russian deserters on board and was able to offer Mr. Eliot transit only as far as the Sandwich Islands, from where he could easily reach Sitka or wherever else he pleased to go. The Governor sent for these three Russians, and when they arrived he delivered them into Captain von Kotzebue's care after requiring and receiving his solemn word of honor that, since they had sought and found protection from Spain, they would not be punished in any way. I found his conduct most noble in this matter.[14]

In his *Remarks and Opinions*, Chamisso is generally more objectively informative and less personal and anecdotal than in his *Diary*. Important exceptions to this occur when he comments indignantly on the Franciscan mission and on the part played by distant Spain in the life of the province. He also shows insight into what could and would become of California under a different regime, for under Spain, development and growth were severely restricted. He already saw changes coming, however, for he records that (in 1790) Spain had conceded trading rights to Britain in the Nootka Sound area (in present-day British Columbia, Canada) and that the British and Americans were simply ignoring Spanish sovereignty on the lower Columbia River, where the Lewis and Clark expedition had reached the Pacific only ten years earlier.

> It is with a feeling of sadness that I set down my views on the Spanish settlements along this coast. Envy, acquisitiveness, and the wish to keep others out are the sole motives for Spanish occupation of the area. Spain maintains its presidios at enormous expense, and through the total prohibition of trade by other nations seeks to make all money thus spent flow back to its source. Yet a little freedom would soon make California the granary and marketplace of these northern sea coasts and of the ships that ply them. Wheat, cattle, salt (at San Quintin in Old California), and wine (whose increased production would push up demand) give it various advantages over the Sandwich Islands, whose position on the trade routes between China and the north-west coast is, of course, superior. And with industry and shipping, the Daughters of Liberty, who could share more advantageously in this trade than the people of California, which at present has an abundance of sea otters along all its coasts?
>
> Yet without industry, trade, and shipping California remains desolate and unpopulated. For six to seven years during the civil conflicts between Spain and its colonies, it languished forgotten and without supplies from Mexico. It was only recently, in fact during our stay here, that the ship from San Blas, which had once supplied the settlements annually, resumed its visits to Monterey.[15]

Among the most interesting passages in *Remarks and Opinions* are those devoted to the missionaries and to the condition of the Indians. Given relatively recent debates on this subject, and in view of a certain residual romanticizing in California of life in the missions, Chamisso's critical first-hand account remains relevant even today:

> The Spaniards claim non-political motives for maintaining their settlements in California—namely, the pious intention to spread the Christian faith and convert the heathen. Even the Governor of the province told us that this was the true reason for the Spanish presence. Well, then, so be it—but if that is the case, then here is a worthy task perversely begun and badly executed.
>
> The pious Franciscans who maintain the missions in New California are trained in none of the arts and crafts they are supposed to practice and teach here; they are schooled in none of the languages spoken by the peoples to whom they are sent. They are monks of the sort that one can find in any European monastery. In each mission, two missionaries run a large farm, hold church services, and communicate with their charges through interpreters who are themselves Indians. All property belongs to the mission and is administered by the fathers. The Indians themselves derive no direct benefit from their work. Nor do they receive any pay, should they be hired out to the presidio as day laborers. It is the mission, this rational construct, that receives the meager wages that they earn. They never get to know the meaning of property, and so cannot be tied down by it. We acknowledge the missionaries' kindness and fatherly solicitude, various instances of which we witnessed. Yet the relationship between the missionaries and the Indians remains as I have portrayed it and would, in my opinion, differ only in name if a *slavemaster* kept them for work and for hiring out at his pleasure. The slavemaster, too, would feed them.
>
> The natives come into the mission without much forethought, are glad to accept the food they are offered, listen to the missionaries' teachings—and are still free. But once they received baptism, they belong to the Church and henceforth will look back with longing, but in vain, to the mountains of home. The Church has an inalienable right to their children and vindicates this right here with force. Can this surprise anyone when the motherland still harbors the Inquisition? The natives are unthinking and changeable like children. Unaccustomed work is too hard for them, they regret the decision that binds them, and they long for the freedom into which they were born. And great, too, is their love for their home. The priests usually grant their charges a few weeks' holiday twice a year so that they can visit their relatives and birthplace. On the occasion of these journeys, which they undertake in large groups, *apostates* desert and *neophytes* join. These apostates, who become the Spaniards' bitterest enemies, are first visited by the missionaries on official tours of duty, when they try to win them back by means of kindness. But if this fails, armed force is used against them. That is the cause of many hostile encounters between the Spaniards and the Indians.
>
> The Indians are dying out in the missions at a dreadful rate. Their people is becoming extinct. San Francisco has about a thousand Indians, but the number of dead last year exceeded 300, and by October of this year the number has already reached 270, of whom 40 died last month alone. The number of converts, however, must exceed the number of apostates and the huge number of deaths. We were told of five new missions that had been founded in the province since Vancouver's time [i.e., since 1794]. On the other hand, several of the Dominican missions in Old California have already closed, and the tribes that were converted to the faith there can be regarded as more or less extinct today.
>
> There is no medical treatment available here apart



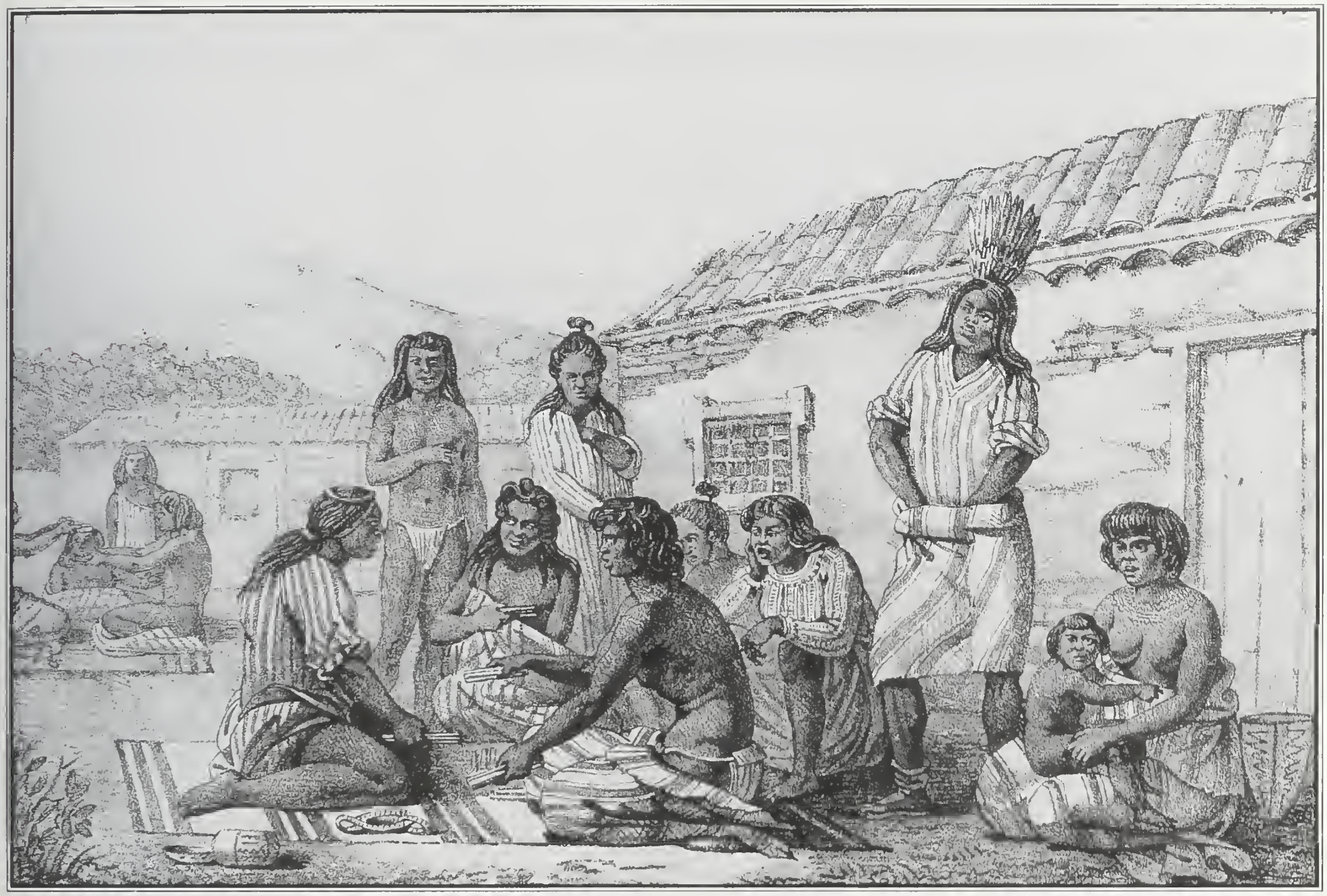
Indians dancing in front of the church at Mission San Francisco. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

> from bleeding (which is supposed to have been introduced by a ship's doctor), and since this is used for every affliction, it is said merely to hasten death. Particularly one illness [syphillis?], which the Europeans probably brought here (though opinions are divided on the matter), carried off its victims without their being able to offer any resistance. It also affected wild tribes, though they are not disappearing from the face of the earth with the same dreadful rapidity. The number of whites on the other hand is increasing.
>
> The contempt in which the missionaries hold the peoples to whom they are sent seems to us an unfortunate circumstance given their purpose. None of them seems to have had any concern for the Indians' history, customs, beliefs, or language. Instead, one hears: "They are stupid savages, and that's all there is to it! Who would want to pay any heed to their stupidity or waste any time on it?"[16]

Fortunately, life on the mission was not altogether without some brighter interludes for the Indians. Chamisso gives some account of these also:

> The priests sent their Indians out to our anchorage in the mission boat just so that they could look at our ship, which was a new sight for them. The mission Indians perform their national dances under the eyes of the fathers on Sundays, and they also play their customary games of chance, always for a stake. In fact, they may gamble away everything they own except for their one garment, a piece of coarse woollen cloth from the mission factory. They are also permitted their customary steam baths [i.e., sweat baths]. Their dances are wild, vary from people to people, and are performed to music, usually without words, that is sung or hummed. Their games of chance involve two players, who rapidly show sticks, even or uneven, while a referee watches and keeps score, also with sticks. The Indians' traditional bath, like that of most northern peoples, is as follows: They sit by the edge of the sea in a cave at whose entrance a fire is built, and when they have sweated enough they let the fire go out, then run over it, and plunge into the sea.[17]

Chamisso was not long enough in California to get to know the Indians very well, or he might have made many additional firsthand observations on their lives and customs, as he did for the Pacific islanders. As it is, the remainder of what he wrote (e.g., on the Indians' appearance, weapons, and languages), though



California mission Indians playing a game of chance. Chamisso describes such a game in *Remarks and Opinions*. Copy of a lithograph from a drawing by Choris, in his *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (Paris, 1822). *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.*

not lacking in interest, appears to have derived at least in part from what he heard in San Francisco or gathered from the reports of earlier visitors.

Chamisso's *Diary* also recorded his farewell to San Francisco, this time marked by an equitable exchange of salutes between the Spaniards and the Russians:

> On November 1, 1816, All Saints' Day, we raised anchor at nine o 'clock in the morning while our friends were in church. We saw them arriving at the fort just as we were sailing past. With one shot from their cannon they ran up the Spanish flag, while we ran up our own. They saluted us first with seven guns, to which we responded shot for shot.[18]

*Rurik* was now bound for the islands of the Pacific, and Chamisso was headed for new experiences that would have a profound and lasting influence on him as a naturalist, ethnographer, and linguist. He never visited California again. Though his sojourn there was short, his accounts of it, ranging from his scientific articles to his travelogues, with their perceptiveness and their occasional humor and pathos, have earned him a place of respect among early writers about California. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 70.*

*Edward Mornin earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Glasgow, Scotland. A professor of German at the University of British Columbia, Canada, he has numerous publications in the field of German literature, particularly German Romanticism and the Scottish-German individualist-anarchist writer John Henry Mackay. Dr. Mornin's present research focuses on the poems and travelogues of Adelbert von Chamisso.*

# JOSEPH BIXIO,

## Furtive Founder of the University of San Francisco

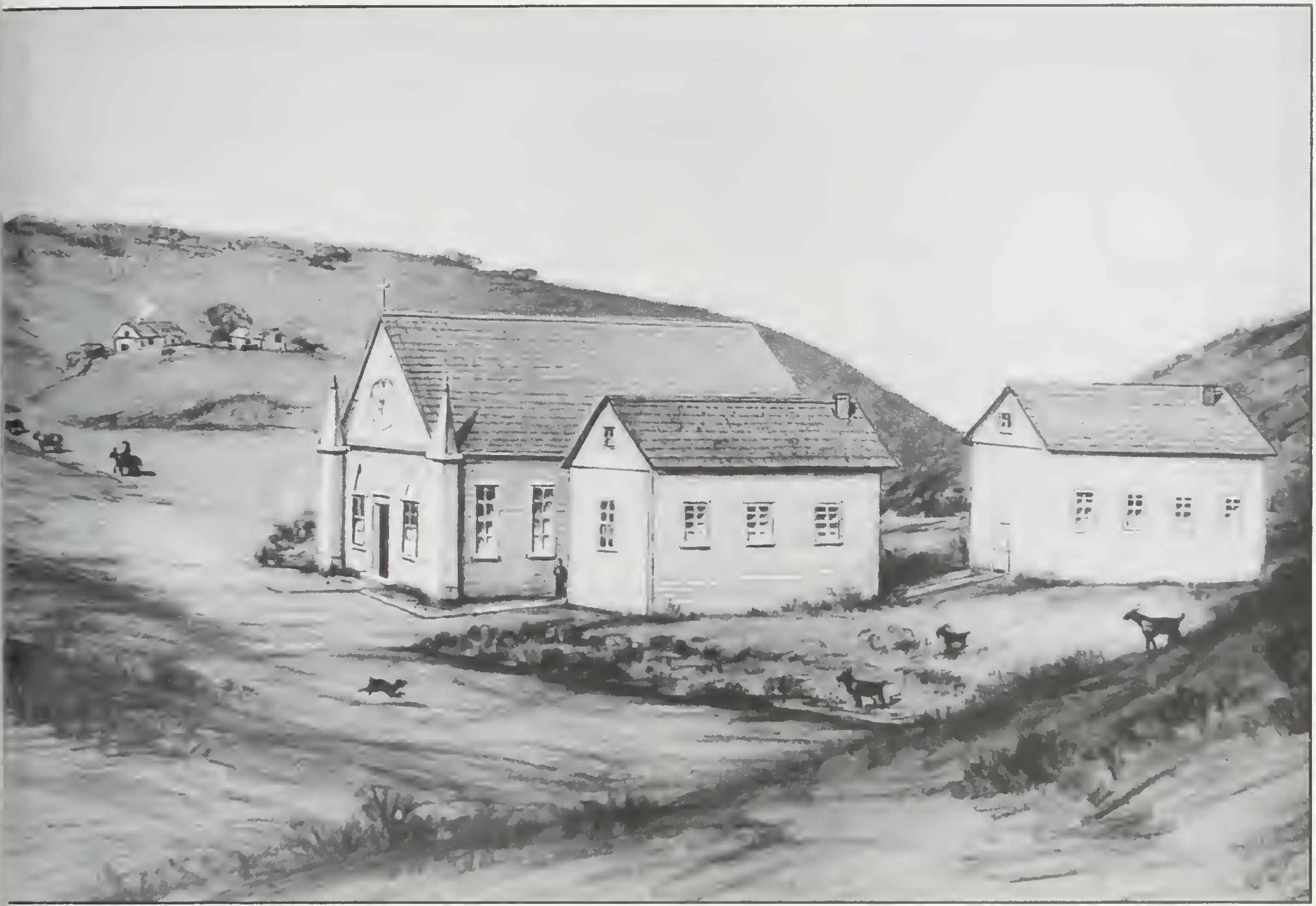
*by Cornelius Michael Buckley, S. J.*

Student docents on the campus of the University of San Francisco today point out to visitors a bust poised on a plinth in a hidden part of the gardens and they say, "That is Fr. Anthony Maraschi. He is the founder and first president of the University." Expanding on their subject, they add that in 1855 Maraschi and Fr. Michael Accolti, whose aristocratic portrait adorns the university's much-frequented Accolti Room, established the institution that has evolved into USF. With reason, Anthony Maraschi (1820–1897) and Michael Accolti (1807–1878) are well-known names on the campus, and they should be: both men are prominent in the early history of Jesuits in California and of St. Ignatius College, which became the University of San Francisco in 1930.

In March 1849 Accolti was a missionary on the Willamette River in Oregon, where he described to a fellow missionary the large crowd of people who had just returned from California: "Some with two thousand, others with three thousand, still others with as much as seven thousand dollars in their pockets in gold ore, bullion, silver money and gold-dust procured in two or three weeks of light and convenient toil." He told about the exodus occurring about him. "Gold, gold, gold," he continued, "It's the watchword of the day. Go where you will, people speak of nothing but gold. Old and young, women and children, lay-folk and ecclesiastics, all have on their lips only the word *gold*. It's amusing to listen to everybody's plans and calculations, dreams and reveries."[1] Accolti himself was soon caught in the flood. After being given permission, "very reluctantly," by the superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission, whose headquarters was with the Coeur d'Alene Indians in present-day Idaho, Accolti and John Nobili (1818–1865), another Italian-born Jesuit, joined the flow of fortune seekers going to California.[2] Years later, Accolti reflected on the San Francisco that greeted them on their arrival in December 1849: "whether it ought to be called Madhouse or Babylon, I am at a loss to determine, so great in those days was the disorder, the brawling, the open immorality and the reign of brazen-faced crime on a soil not yet under the sway of human laws."[3]

Ostensibly, the two Jesuits came for the spiritual welfare of the prospectors, adventurers, and immigrants pouring in from all over the world. But gold-seeking fever was a virus easily, subtly, acquired. No sooner had they arrived in San Francisco than the enthusiastic Accolti wrote to his superior asking that two stout Jesuit lay-brothers be sent to California to stake out a gold mine claim. The amount of money they could make, he argued, would solve the perennial financial problems of the Rocky Mountain Mission and assure that the fathers would not have to worry about being deprived of "a good cup of coffee."[4] In far-off Idaho, however, the proposition did not seem so attractive. No brothers were sent to stake out a claim and, presumably, the two Jesuits had to find other means to supply them with their customary Italian-style coffee.

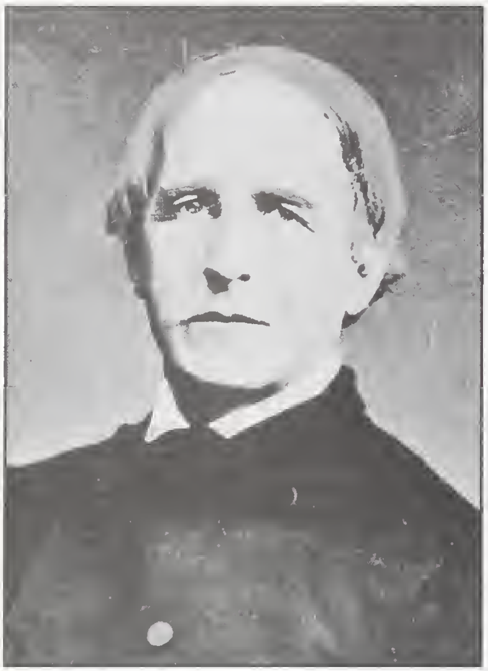
Although "stout" brothers did not arrive, another man did, and he was quick to set out a claim of his own on the two Jesuit priests. He was Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P. (1807–1878), the newly appointed bishop of Monterey and all California, and he sailed into San Francisco in December 1850. Three months later he gave Nobili one hundred dollars and sent him forty miles south to found Santa Clara College at Mission Santa Clara. In 1853 the Spanish-born Alemany became San Francisco's first archbishop, leaving his see in Monterey for permanent residence in a boisterous San Francisco. The following March, he was



"We lived in a hole surrounded by sand hills," recalled one of the early Jesuits who arrived at St. Ignatius Academy shortly after its founding. "Toward the city, which was some distance to the east, and from which we were cut off by barriers of sand," his recollection continued, "there was but one house, and that the shanty of a milkman on the adjoining lot." The church and academy, illustrated here in an 1855 drawing, were located in a pastoral basin then known as St. Ann's Valley, approximately at present-day Fifth and Market streets, now the site of the San Francisco Centre. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

on hand to welcome to the bustling city four more Italian Jesuits, three of whom soon made their way to Santa Clara. Anthony Maraschi, the fourth, was to remain in San Francisco. No sooner had he unpacked his bags than Alemany encouraged him to think about building a church and college somewhere in the sand dunes beyond where Market Street ended. Accordingly, Maraschi purchased a lot on the continuation of Market between what would become Fourth and Fifth streets, and here on July 15, 1855, the first St. Ignatius Church was dedicated. By October, two additional smaller buildings took their places as sentinels beside the frame church, which measured 75 feet in length and 35 feet in width. One of these shed-like buildings was designated the schoolroom of the inchoate St. Ignatius Academy; the other, a two-room "residence" for the fathers.[5]

On October 15, 1855, St. Ignatius opened its doors to receive students. It was an eventful day in the history of what was destined to evolve into San Francisco's oldest university. The savored details contain all the stuff of which legends are made—along with distortions that confuse historical facts. Legend says that Maraschi and Accolti were on hand to greet the boys who showed up that October morning to enroll in class. The fact is, however, that Accolti was by then far from San Francisco. Standing on the threshold of the schoolroom and towering over Maraschi was another Jesuit, a strikingly handsome, nervous man, with an athletic build and a commanding, genial presence. His name was Joseph Bixio. Somewhat understandably—and most regretfully—both the name and the man have long since slipped silently into oblivion, unacknowledged by historians of San Francisco and California.



The Reverend Joseph Bixio, S. J. When St. Ignatius Academy opened in October 1855, Bixio joined Fr. Anthony Maraschi in greeting the three enrollees and served with him as a founder and first teacher. Although Bixio was appointed to other duties just a few months later, and left the state several times, the tall, genial Italian served in California for more than twenty-five years. He died in Santa Clara in March 1889, and is buried at Mission Santa Clara. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

The omission of Joseph Bixio's name as one of the two foundings fathers of the academy (which was chartered St. Ignatius College on April 30, 1859) is understandable, because the following January, Archbishop Alemany asked Fr. Bixio, whom he seems to have trusted and liked, to minister to the Catholics in Redwood City, San Mateo, Menlo Park, and even Half Moon Bay, on the Pacific Coast. The result was that Fr. Accolti was called back to San Francisco to take over Bixio's classes, and with his return, Bixio had to find somewhere else to live. According to one historian, "the [Jesuit] residence was small and poor, and the accommodations so scant" that there was not enough sleeping room on the bare floor for three men. Bixio, whose new duties gave him some flexibility as to his residence, moved to Santa Clara College, which, for the next three years, he made his headquarters.[6] The fact that his name conjures up no recognition is also regretful because, of the many early Jesuits who came to California in the mid-nineteenth century, Joseph Bixio is probably one of the most colorful, and certainly his family background is unparalleled. His life was full of that type of high adventure and derring-do that entitles him to a respected place among the notable characters in California's history.

He was born Giuseppe Bixio—"Pippo" for short—into what was a bizarre, if not a dysfunctional, family, in Genoa, May 23, 1819. Three of his brothers and one sister survived childhood. One older brother, Francesco, followed the father's trade as a silversmith, worked in the Kingdom of Sardinia's mint, and presumably died early. The other two became famous. Joseph's older brother, Alessandro, better known in French history as Jacques-Alexandre, is remembered in both Italy and France for different reasons. He was born in 1808 at Chiavari, which at the time was in the Apeninne *département* of Napoleon's French Empire. Alexandre Stechs, the local sub-prefect, was not only his godfather, but, for all practical purposes, his adopted father.

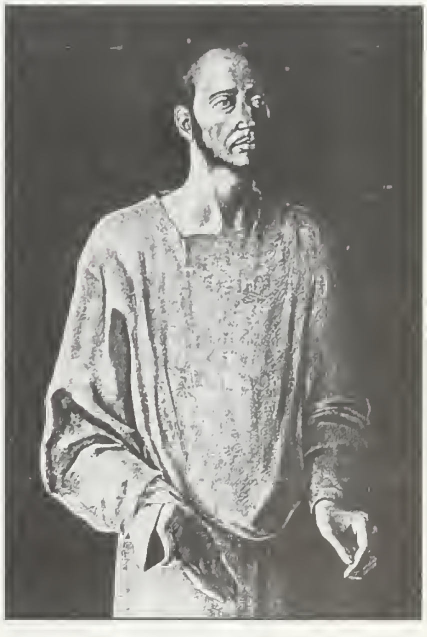
After the reverses of the French in northern Italy in 1813, Stechs took Alessandro to Paris, prefixing 'Jacques' to his gallicized baptismal name. In 1830, Jacques-Alexandre Bixio earned a degree of doctor of medicine, but the twenty-two-year-old physician was more interested in journalism and became active in the many secret political groups opposing the government of King Louis-Philippe. After co-founding the illustrious *Revue des Deux Mondes* that continues to be published to this day, Bixio became one of the editors of the republican daily, *National*. In the wake of the February Revolution of 1848, he was elected vice-president of the Constituent Assembly and was later sent as representative of France to Turin, the capital of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Although the details of his sparkling political career are outside the scope of this article, it is enough to say that he was wounded by a bullet in a Paris scuffle during the June Days of 1848 and that one of the first acts of Louis Napoleon, after he assumed the presidency in 1851, was to name Fr. Joseph Bixio's older brother Jacques-Alexandre minister of agriculture and commerce.

Among the French, however, Jacques-Alexandre is best known for his association with the Saint-Simonians and for his interest in economic planning initiatives, science, the arts, and engineering projects such as building the Suez and Panama canals. His close connection with the Péreire brothers, Jewish financiers and brokers who founded the Crédit Mobilier in 1852, made him a very rich man who speculated in the international market. In 1837, he founded the *Journal d'Agriculture practique*, and in 1849, he appointed his chemist friend Jean-Alexandre Barral (1819–1884) manager of this review, which popularized scientific data. In 1850 Bixio and Barral made their legendary balloon flight to determine the composition, temperature, and degree for hydrometry of air in higher atmospheric regions. They ascended

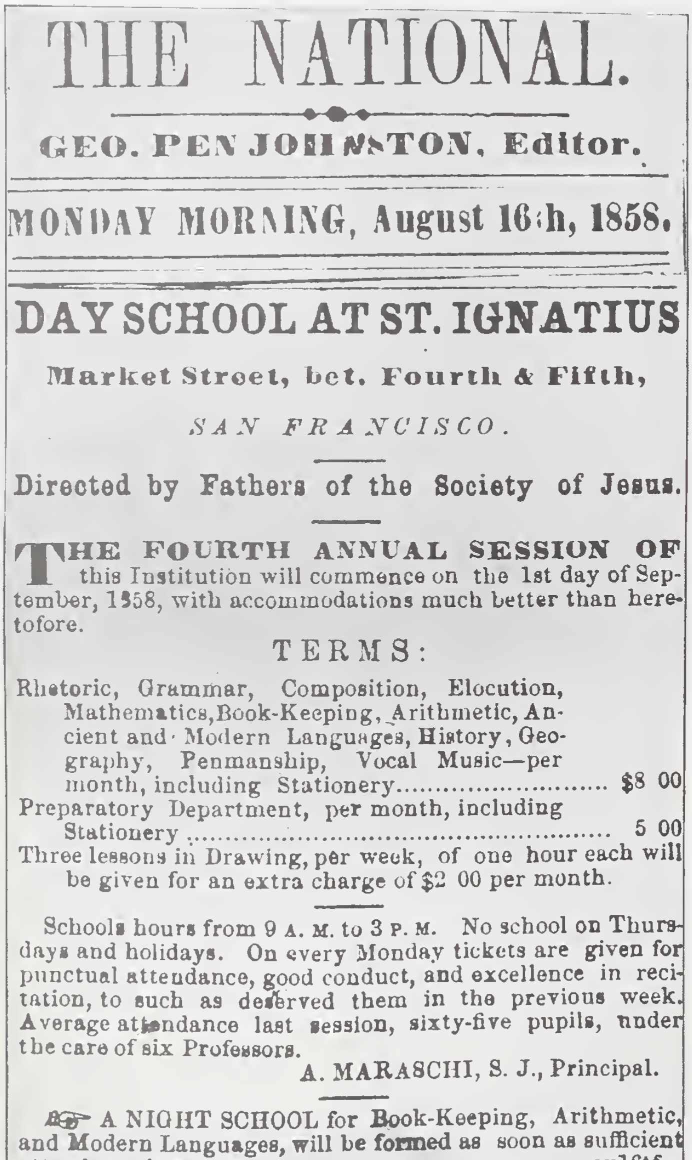
7,000 meters and verified the hypothesis of the causes of halos and paraselenae. In 1856, Bixio persuaded a number of his friends, including such luminaries as Alexandre Dumas, Prosper Mérimée, Eugène Delacroix, and Duke Élie Decazes, to join him for an evening of good food and conversation. This was the first "*dîner Bixio,*" which became until 1914 a continental event in Paris and even after his death a soirée to which artists, authors, poets, and politicians from all over Europe begged to be invited. Although for most of his life Jacques-Alexandre was a positivist with strong anti-clerical sentiments, he became a Protestant shortly before his death, which occurred in Paris on December 16, 1865.[7]

Known in Italian history by the name Alessandro, this same brother is remembered for his close ties with Count Camillo Cavour (1810–1861), who in 1847 founded the newspaper *Il Risorgimento* (*The Resurgence*), the peerless trumpet of Italian unification. In 1850 Cavour was made minister of commerce and agriculture and two years later, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sardinia, a position he held, with one short interruption, until his death in 1861. Cavour, who was credited as the architect of the Italian state, relied in no small measure on the economic and political power wielded by Alessandro Bixio. With French money, Bixio reorganized the banking system of Piedmont, obtained favorable loans for the Sardinian government, and built railroads throughout the kingdom. Cavour relied upon him to arrange for his famous July 1858 meeting with Napoleon III at Plombières, where the secret accord that sealed the future of Italy was hammered out. Alessandro was a proto-Europeanist, and his son Maurice (1836–1906), who had fought for the unification of Italy in 1859–1860, inherited his father's entrepreneurial talents and became one of Europe's most powerful international businessmen. Rue Bixio, a Parisian street near Napoleon I's tomb, testifies to his importance in French history and gives witness to the fact that if Bixio is a name forgotten in San Francisco, it has been perpetuated in Paris.[8] Fr. Joseph Bixio certainly had contacts with his older brother Alessandro, but just how frequent and cordial these were is not known. However dysfunctional the Bixio family was, emotional ties between the individual members were close.

In 1838, while Jacques-Alexandre was busy editing his various liberal periodicals, Joseph entered the Jesuit novitaitate of the Turin Province. He was nineteen years old. Ten years later, while he was teaching at the Jesuit College of Cagliari on the island of Sardinia, a revolution, similar to that in which his older brother had played such a preeminent role in France, flared up in Piedmont.[9] History shows that the Jesuits were to the Left what the Jews are to the Right, and so with the revolution came the suppression of the order throughout the whole Kingdom of Sardinia. In panic the Jesuits fled for their lives. Even though the Bixios of Genoa were leaders the anti-clerical faction, Joseph and some of his companions found hidden protection and temporary refuge in the paternal residence. Ties of *la familia* were more binding than those of *la patria*.[10] Indeed, in correspondence among



Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Roman Catholic Society of Jesus and namesake for St. Ignatius College (renamed University of San Francisco in 1930). Born in Guipuzcoa, Spain, Ignatius in his youth spent time as a page in the court of Spanish rulers Ferdinand and Isabella. He also—by his later admission—gambled, caroused, duelled, and was in constant trouble with the law. In 1517 he enlisted in the Spanish army; in his only major battle, an ill-fated defense of Pamplona against the French in 1521, he was injured in the leg by a cannonball, leaving him with a permanent limp. While convalescing, Ignatius read biographies of Jesus and the saints, underwent a spiritual conversion, and vowed to dedicate the rest of his life to religious service. In 1534 he founded the Society of Jesus, commonly called the Jesuits, devoted to improving Catholic education and curbing the spread of Protestantism through extensive missionary work. His influential *Spiritual Exercises*, first published in 1548 and still in print today, prescribed meditation, visualization, and annual, solitary retreats for all Christians. He died in Rome at age sixty-five and was canonized in 1622. The statue shown here, which memorializes him, stands in Spain. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*



THE NATIONAL.

GEO. PEN JOHNSTON, Editor.

MONDAY MORNING, August 16th, 1858.

**DAY SCHOOL AT ST. IGNATIUS**

**Market Street, bet. Fourth & Fifth,**

*SAN FRANCISCO.*

**Directed by Fathers of the Society of Jesus.**

**THE FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION OF** this Institution will commence on the 1st day of September, 1558, with accommodations much better than heretofore.

TERMS:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rhetoric, Grammar, Composition, Elocution, Mathematics, Book-Keeping, Arithmetic, Ancient and Modern Languages, History, Geography, Penmanship, Vocal Music—per month, including Stationery | $8 00 |
| Preparatory Department, per month, including Stationery | 5 00 |

Three lessons in Drawing, per week, of one hour each will be given for an extra charge of $2 00 per month.

Schools hours from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M. No school on Thursdays and holidays. On every Monday tickets are given for punctual attendance, good conduct, and excellence in recitation, to such as deserved them in the previous week. Average attendance last session, sixty-five pupils, under the care of six Professors.

A. MARASCHI, S. J., Principal.

☞ A NIGHT SCHOOL for Book-Keeping, Arithmetic, and Modern Languages, will be formed as soon as sufficient attendance is secured. au16tf

The San Francisco *National*, August 16, 1858, announced the commencement of St. Ignatius's fourth academic year beginning September 1. With the previous year's enrollment at sixty-five students, the "middle school" curriculum, for tuition of eight dollars a year, "including stationery," offered such courses as rhetoric, grammar, composition, languages, and mathematics, and a student-teacher ratio of roughly ten to one. Night classes were also planned. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

family members, the word *familia,* like *Dio* and *Italia,* was always capitalized.

Many of the Sardinian exiles, Joseph among them, found refuge in Maryland, where the Jesuits, well established, were hospitable to them. Joseph finished his studies at Woodstock College, near Baltimore, was ordained a priest in 1851, and was assigned to keep the faith alive among Irish railroad workers in northern Virginia. These itinerant families, whose conditions were as bad as, if not worse than, the black slaves, followed the expanding railroad lines. Meanwhile, in early 1854 Michael Accolti traveled to Rome and persuaded the Jesuit general to designate California a separate mission under the direction of the dispersed Turin Province. The general acquiesced and the Turin provincial-in-exile ordered a number of his charges in Maryland to proceed to California and place themselves under the obedience of the new mission superior.[11] Bixio, however, was an exception. When he realized that his status had not changed, he wrote a letter of complaint in English to the Maryland provincial, Charles Stonestreet, telling him that "I can say by long experience that *this railroad life* during the winter, and spring, owing to the cold of the country, and the strange changes of weather, does not suit at all my delicate health." He confessed that three years of sleeping "under the badly roofed Irish shanteys, exposed to the inclemency of the weather," resulted in his having a perpetual cough. It was not the work; it was the unhealthy Virginia weather that had such a deleterious effect.[12] The letter served well its purpose. Joseph Bixio arrived in San Francisco the following year.

From the outset, however, it seems that Fr. Bixio was not challenged by his California assignments, despite the fact that a man of ordinary strength and energy would have been exhausted traveling on horseback over such a large area and visiting so many mission sites. Soon he was itching to return to Virginia, and, according to Giovanni Battista Ponte, the provincial of the Turin province, he gave the most extraordinary reason for doing so. In August 1860, Ponte informed the Jesuit general by letter that "Father Bixio has returned to the Maryland [province]. He wrote to me many months ago telling me that he had consulted doctors who advised him that the climate in California would be the death of him. I wrote him back saying that he should be patient and await the arrival of the visitor." By this, Ponte meant a representative from the general sent to inspect the colleges at Santa Clara and San Francisco. The "visitor" would interview men, such as Bixio, about whom superiors in Europe were showing concern. But, Ponte informed the general, Father Bixio could not wait that long. Moreover, the provincial reported that Bixio's superior at Santa Clara, "a man of great virtue but not qualified for the job," informed him that Fr. Bixio had departed California with bad feelings toward the superior, and that

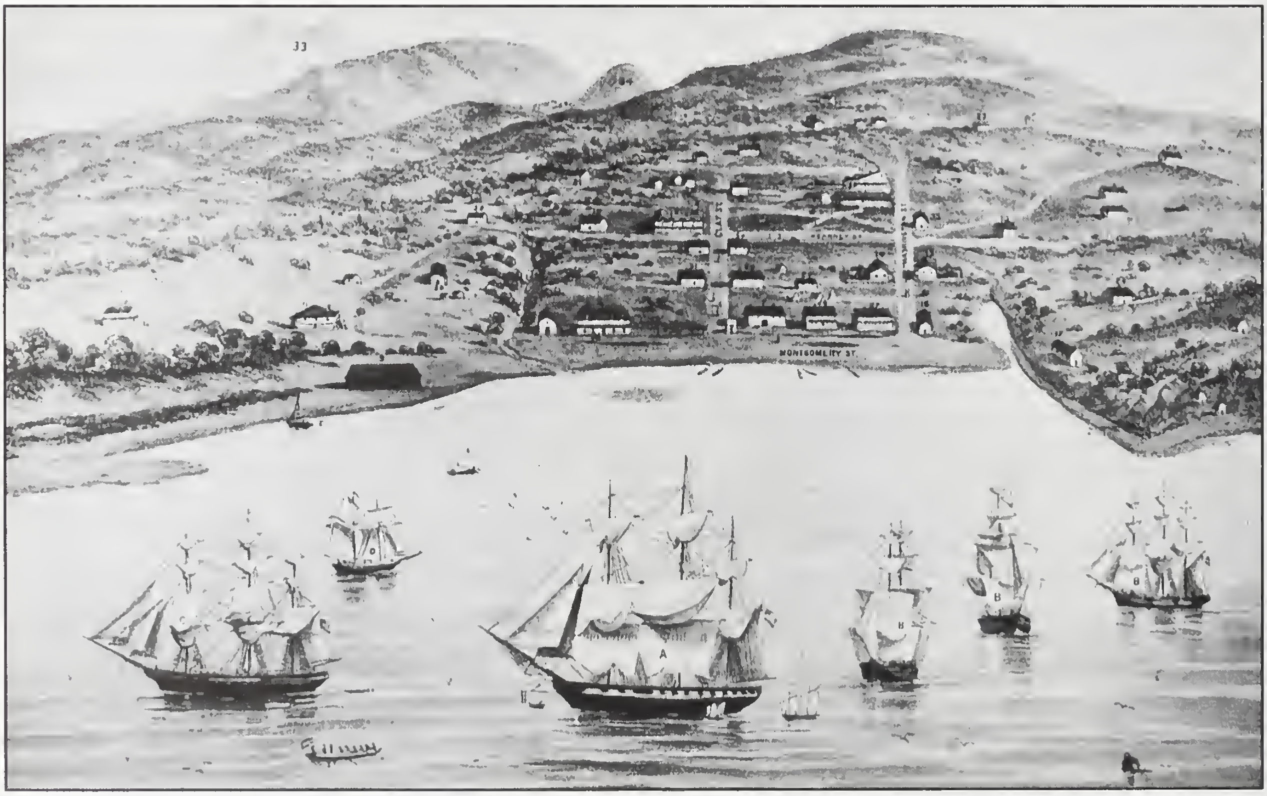
The Most Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany, D.D. (1814-1888), above, was ordained a Dominican priest in Italy in 1837. Shortly thereafter he came to the United States and from 1841 to 1849 served as a missionary in Ohio, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Provincial of the Dominican order in the U.S. from 1848 to 1850, he was consecrated bishop of Monterey in Rome. He died in Valencia, Spain. Below, Fr. Anthony Maraschi, S.J. Fr. Maraschi spent forty-three years in San Francisco, from 1854 to 1897. He served as superior and first president of St. Ignatius College from 1855 to 1862. One description called him "seemingly cold and distant, but for all of that, possessing a warm heart." Maraschi, a man of action, not of words, possessed strong business acumen and foresight. He is also credited with the founding of the college's football program. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

after he left, he had written a letter to the superior in which he suggested that he had been banished from California because of the superior's feelings toward him.

"To a great extent I blame the weather there for Father Bixio's bizarre behavior," Ponte declared. He went on to say that the California climate was causing "the same brain sickness" in other Jesuits at Santa Clara. Expanding on this subject, Ponte advised the general that he had received letters from a number of other priests at the college that made him wonder if all three "had become Protestants." On the other hand, one man had written to say that the most serious infraction of the Rule "was the failure to sing the Saturday litanies of Our Lady." It was all very confusing to Ponte. He admitted that he did not know what to make of situation, but one thing was sure: it was good thát Fr. Bixio was now enjoying a more salubrious climate.[13]

As the general was reading this report and savoring its gentle irony, Bixio was thriving in the August climate of Virginia, having arrived there in the late winter of 1859-60. He was on his own, without bridle or bit, a factor that surely appealed to his native independence. The diagnosis of California doctors notwithstanding, it was the political, not the atmospheric, climate that had affected his spirit. The 1860 presidential campaign and regional animosities over the slavery conflict made the possibility of war a reality in Bixio's former stomping grounds, and the territory he could now cover was not restricted to the size of a few California counties. What was said of Jacques-Alexandre could well have applied to Joseph: "Cultured and cultivated, having a lively, curious mind, Bixio was not content to follow political events from afar or to take part in 'great adventures' from a desk."[14]

We know from extant correspondence that in April 1860 the ubiquitous Jesuit was chaplain to the students at the Visitation convent in Wheeling.[15] His parish, however, was farther south. A detailed letter written by Louis-Hippolyte Gache (1817–1907), the chaplain of the 10th Louisiana Volunteers, summarized Bixio's activities, which crossed northern lines without apparent repercussions. Writing to a fellow Jesuit in January 1862, the French-born Gache reported that he had recently paid a visit to Richmond, where he met the sly Genoese. "When war broke out," Gache informed his Alabama correspondent, "Father Bixio had been pastor of a parish that lay on both sides of the Virginia-Maryland border. During the battle of Manassas he happened to be in the Virginia part of his parish, and ever since he has not been able to return to the Maryland side. But this hasn't bothered him a bit; he has simply volunteered as a Confederate chaplain. He seems to be quite successful in the various places where he serves, and he has the good fortune to be in a part of the country where he has known many people as long as ten years."[16] The Battle of Manassas, called Bull Run by northerners, took place on July 21, 1861, within the confines of Bixio's parish. A visiting British artillery lieutenant later wrote an account of what he had observed of Bixio on that day: "It is to the foresight and judgment of [a Jesuit priest] that Beauregard and Johnston escaped death or capture at Manassas, for had not they met one of these missionaries during the heat of the conflict, and heeded his modest advice, one or another of these calamities must have inevitably ensued."[17] The war seemed to have had an effect opposite to California's "deadly climate" on Joseph Bixio; it energized him. Mapping out campaigns and mingling with soldiers on the battlefields seemed to be as much in his blood as it was in the blood of his younger brother, Girolamo.



San Francisco, as drawn in 1847, the year its name was changed from Yerba Buena. Market Street would soon be laid out by Jasper O'Farrell at an angle to the original grid shown here, beginning approximately between the inlet and the dark building labeled "9" at the water's edge and extending to Twin Peaks, faintly visible as "33" at the upper left. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

By this date, Girolamo (b. Genoa, September 2, 1821), better known as Nino, was adding more notoriety to the already famous family name. After the death of their mother in 1831, the ten-year-old Nino and the twelve-year-old Pippo had been left to fend for themselves, and what they learned they picked up on the streets. A contemporary had described Joseph during this period of his life as "a mischievous, troublesome hooligan," but he was drawn to studies, and so, despite the fact that he had had but very little religious training in his early background, apparently some Jesuit teachers turned him around. Eventually Joseph had been attracted to the religious life with the same intense single-mindedness that was so characteristic of his brothers. Years later he wrote that he chose the Jesuits because they were "the most military order in the church."[18] Young Nino, however, proved to be incorrigible. He ran off to sea as a cabin boy at the age of fourteen, the very year his father finally managed to have him baptized. Later the young man joined the Sardinian navy and succeeded in educating and disciplining himself by extensive reading and hard work, all the while gladly accepting funds from Jacques-Alexandre. In 1846, Nino quit the navy and traveled to Paris to visit this generous brother, who in turn introduced him to French and Italian republicans intent on overthrowing the monarchies in their respective countries.

Nino, who had been indifferent to politics until this time, left Paris that year a passionate partisan of Mazzini. Back in Genoa he organized student riots, and when the 1848 revolutions broke out and sent Joseph to the United States, Nino distinguished himself as a valiant republican combatant. He was commissioned major and was wounded during the siege of Rome. Disappointed by the republicans' failure to unite Italy, Nino turned his back on politics, and, at the same time as Joseph was in San Francisco founding St. Ignatius College, he sailed for Australia intent on repeating, if not surpassing, Jacques-Alexandre's financial successes. In 1857 he returned to Genoa penniless, but by no means discouraged. He too tested the "climate" and, unlike what Joseph was at the same time discovering about California's weary weather, Nino confessed that the promissory war clouds on the Piedmont horizon animated his spirit. He realized the time was ripe to encourage a war with Austria. To this end he became a supporter of King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, to whom his older brother Jacques-Alexandre was already close. Nino recruited volunteers for the army, advocated close ties with Napoleon III, and wrote a column in a newspaper that he was instrumental in founding and naming—significantly—*Nazione*. The Austrian war began on April 26, 1859, and Bixio carved out a niche for himself in the Temple of Fame by fighting side-by-side with Garibaldi at Valtellina and Villafranca; then in the following May he led the second wave of Redshirts to Sicily, where he was greeted on the shore by Garibaldi with words that have become legendary in modern Italian history: "Bixio, here we make Italy or die."[19]

Between this date and the beginning of the American Civil War in April 1861, General Nino Bixio became a veritable legend, who, "because he could go from hot-tempered rages to unbridled sentimentality," incarnated better the myth of Garibaldiism than Garibaldi himself.[20] Jacques-Alexandre's friend Alexandre Dumas judged Nino to be "an indefatigable conspirator, with a passionate love for his country that bordered on madness."[21] For this reason it was all the more startling that after 1860 the former revolutionary became a man of law and order; the erstwhile republican became an elected deputy in parliament and a supporter of the king. But Nino had marked well where he placed his sword. In August 1870 he reached the apogee of his career when, as the second in command of the Piedmontese army, he opened a breach in the wall of Rome's Porta Pia, forcing the Pope to take refuge as "the prisoner of the Vatican." Glory, however was fleeting. In July 1871, stripped of his political toga and no longer needed in the army, Nino set out once more for Malaysia and Australia. He hoped to regenerate his financial empire, but, a victim of yellow fever, what he found on December 16, 1873, was death awaiting him on a deserted Sumatrian beach. A street in Rome, Via Bixio, which runs parallel to Via Cavour, perpetuates his memory.

Meanwhile, fate had cut out for Joseph a role significantly different from his "railroad life" in Virginia and from his college-founding and circuit-riding life in California. In the spring of 1862, a Confederate chaplain named James B. Sheeran, who was a prisoner of war, noted in his journal that Bixio had sneaked over the lines and had "gained the hearts of officers and soldiers" in the Union army.[22] It is fairly certain, too, that Bixio did not sneak back empty-handed. In June Bixio was with the Confederates, at the Battle of Gaines Mill. In his recollections, George Clark, captain of the Eleventh Alabama Volunteers, described how, after being wounded in that battle, "I was sitting on an old log awaiting my turn [for treat-

FATHER MICHAEL ACCOLTI, S. J., IN EARLY YEARS

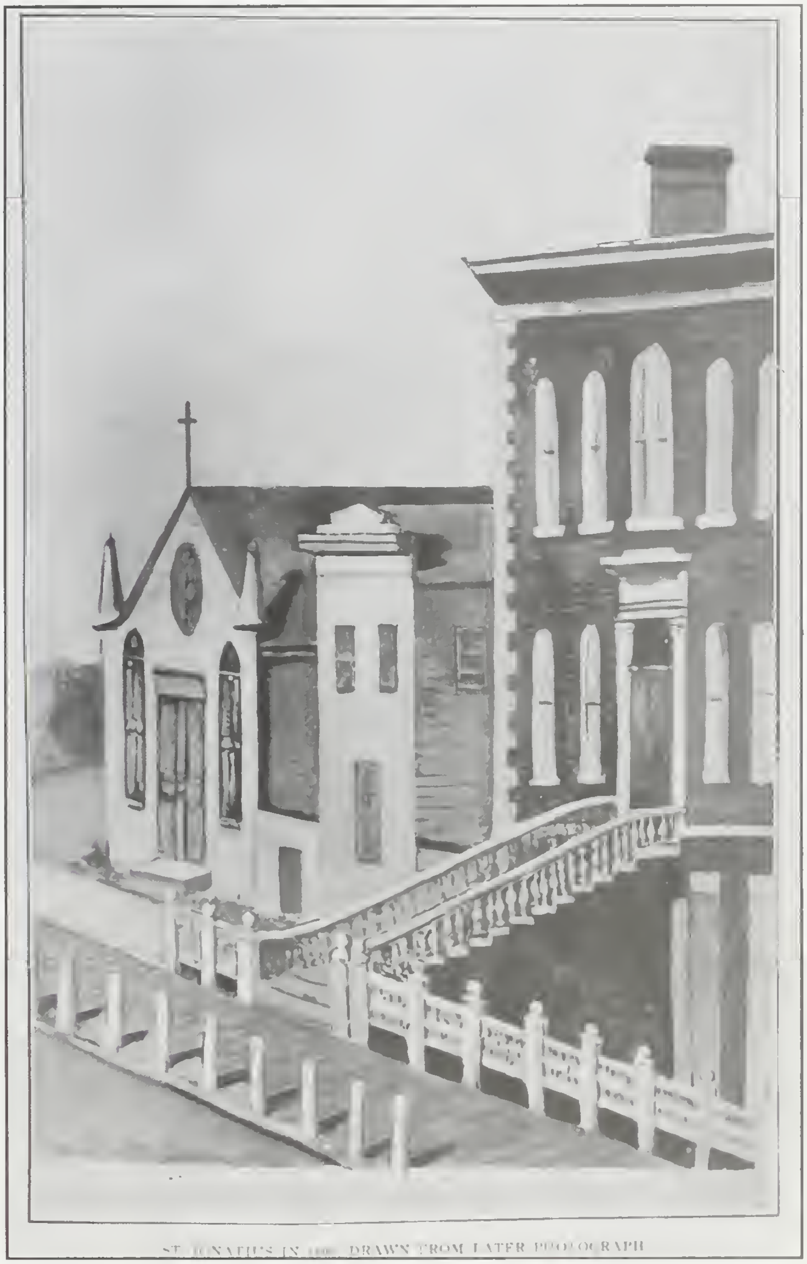
Fr. Michael Accolti, S.J. In January 1844 he and Fr. John Nobili sailed from Belgium around the Horn to the Pacific Northwest with the famous missionary Peter John De Smet (1801-1873). After Accolti completed his term of office as superior of the Jesuits in California, he became the prefect of studies and professor of ethics at Santa Clara College, 1856-1867. In 1867, he returned to St. Ignatius College in San Francisco, where he served until his death in 1878. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

ment] when a Catholic priest came up and told me he would dress my arm if I would permit him, as he had a great deal of experience in the Italian army in the war between France and Austria. He ripped the sleeve of my coat, and took it off of me and most carefully washed and dressed the wound, telling me that I would not need any attention during the night. To my surprise after thanking him for the kindness, he felt around his pocket and pulled out a bottle of brandy, he told me the doctor would allow me to take a drink after the first twenty-four hours after being wounded." Joseph Bixio was the only Catholic priest in Virginia who matched Clark's description.[23]

The Irish-born Sheeran soon came across Bixio again. This time he was in the Shenandoah Valley, after the Battle of Winchester, which took place on September 19, 1864, and before the battle of Fisher's Hill, which was fought on September 22. On this occasion, Sheeran wrote, "he was now playing Yankee chaplain in company with several Yankee officers" and drawing Federal rations at Winchester.[24] How was Bixio able to do so? Apparently his early training as a street-smart urchin in Genoa had not been in vain, and his mellifluous Italian accent could butter turnips. On this occasion, he posed as Fr. Leo Rizzo da Saracena, O.F.M., the Italian-born chaplain of the Ninth Connecticut Volunteers. Fr. Leo had been stricken with typhoid fever, hospitalized and near death, when Bixio "slipped into the sick priest's tent and stole his chaplaincy credential and uniform." Sheeran reported that in this disguise Bixio appeared before General Philip Sheridan, conned him with that charm that had beguiled Archbishop Alemany, and got him to have cartloads of Union supplies assigned to his charge. These he brazenly had transported over the lines to the Confederates in Staunton, one of the five parishes where he was pastor. When Sheridan became aware that he had become the butt of Staunton jokes, he realized how this bold-faced spy had "deceived me and acted meanly." Exasperated, he vented his rage on the imprisoned Sheeran for not warning him about Bixio.

In the meantime, another northern general, whose identity is difficult to confirm with certainty, heard a distorted version of the sting and, confident that Rizzo da Saracena was the guilty party, bellowed: "Find him and shoot the dago on sight." Rizzo da Saracena's biographer recalled that, although the Franciscan had served the Union long and faithfully and had even been wounded on one occasion, "he was almost shot for espionage or treason when as an American citizen he was still only a babe in arms." Fortunately, the accused man was able to find witnesses who testified that he had been unconscious and writhing with fever when Sheridan and Bixio were sharing confidences. But while the friar was pleading for his life, the Jesuit was back in Staunton doling out the Yankee haul. Later, Bixio received "a polite message" from an unnamed Union general, probably Sheridan, "to the effect that ever caught, he would be hanged to the first tree."[25]

At the end of the Civil War, Joseph Bixio appeared at Georgetown College in the District of Columbia "with a trunkful of Confederate script—hundreds of thousands of dollars—expecting to found a college with his treasure."[26] How he got the money was never recorded—but he *was* a Bixio. After April 1865, he covered a number of parish chapels around the

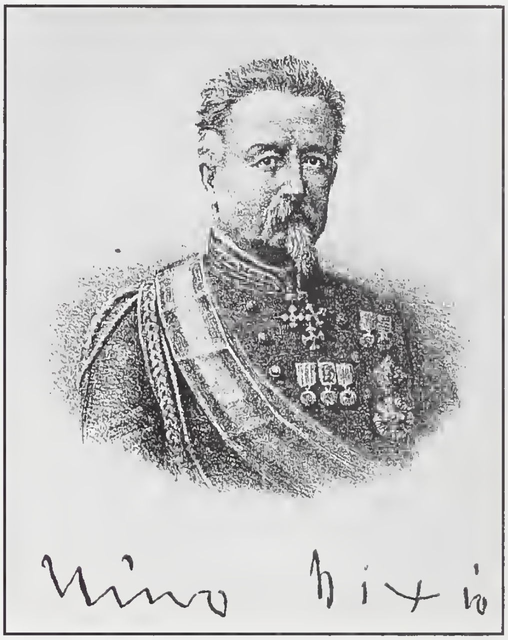

ST. IGNATIUS IN [illegible], DRAWN FROM LATER PHOTOGRAPH

St. Ignatius Church and college, ca. 1860. Between 1856 and 1860, the church and college changed considerably in appearance. The original three buildings, church, school, and residence—shown in a preceding photograph—were united into one. Additional classrooms, a chapel, and a study hall were added. The college was incorporated in 1859. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

Washington, D.C., area and served as chaplain to the young ladies at the Georgetown Visitation convent. As noted earlier, in December that year Joseph's brother Jacques-Alexandre died in Paris. He was given one of the largest funerals the city had known, at which his friend and confidant, Jerome Napoleon, represented the imperial family.

Several months later, in October 1866, some four months after Nino Bixio had salvaged Italy's honor at the battle of Custoza, Joseph's old friend Archbishop Alemany and Michael Accolti went to Baltimore to attend the Second Plenary Council of American bishops. While at the council, they persuaded Joseph to return home to California with them. On November 1, the Spanish-born Dominican archbishop, the former Confederate spy, the coffee-loving superior, and two other Italian Jesuits set sail for San Francisco.[27] With the exception of a short stint at Santa Clara, Bixio was attached to St. Ignatius College in San Francisco until the end of 1870. How often he was in the recreation room with the fathers is a matter of speculation. During the fall 1869 the former provincial, John Baptist Ponte, visited the college in his capacity as visitor to the California Mission. In a letter to the Jesuit general, he reported that Father Bixio was "working very hard" giving missions in the northern counties of the state, where there was plenty of room to roam.[28] In July 1871 Bixio was one of the organizers of the march of 20,000 Catholic men who paraded down San Francisco's Market Street in honor of the silver jubilee of Pius IX. He was accompanied by the California Indian Marcelo, "the Indian Chief and the last of his tribe, who for many years was a remarkable figure around Santa Clara."[29]

By 1878 California had again become too restricted for Father Bixio's restless spirit. He asked for, and received, permission to work in—of all places!—Australia. No mention of climate this time. In August that year he began teaching at St. Patrick's College, Melbourne. Five weeks later, one of his fellow teachers wrote in his diary that Bixio was "dissatisfied with teaching" the few students destined for the priesthood, and that he was complaining that "he didn't have enough to do." He also seemed discouraged: "he considers himself thrown away. 'Twas a strange thing for Superiors in California to send him on here—knowing as they did what sort of man he is."[30] Bixio returned to San Francisco in February 1880, to the newly built St. Ignatius College on Hayes and Van Ness. This time he arrived laden with exotic ferns for the college botany laboratory.[31] By May, he returned to Santa Clara, serving the Catholics there and in San Jose, Los Gatos, Saratoga, Gilroy, and contiguous locations. He was known for "his incredible nobility, coming and going about the town and valley, familiar to all and liked by all." He remained at Santa Clara College until his death, which occurred on March 3, 1889.[32]



General Girolamo "Nino" Bixio (1821-1873), youngest of the four Bixio brothers, shown here in full military dress. After cutting his military teeth during the French and Italian revolutions of 1848 that sent Joseph Bixio to the United States, Nino rose to distinction recruiting Italian nationals in the first war against Austria in 1859. Several years later, fighting beside the heroic guerrilla leader Menotti Garibaldi (1840-1906), Nino led the Piedmontese army in the wars that would ultimately unite Italy by 1870. After his death, Via Bixio, in Rome, commemorated his heroism and patriotism. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

During the years that they were separated, had there been any correspondence between Pippo and Nino, these two brothers who as youngsters had been so close? Yes, however none of it is extant. In 1869, when Joseph left Santa Clara to return to St. Ignatius College, Nino wrote to his wife telling her that he had just received a letter from one of Jacques-Alexandre's sons, Olivier Bixio (1842–1877), who was traveling in the United States. "Olivier saw Pippo at Santa Clara College near San Francisco, California," Nino informed her, and added that Pippo

> asked about us with great interest and that our silence—mine and *yours*—has made him heartsick. This time I have definitely made up my mind to write to him. Strange however—although he said that he was heartsick, he later preached a sermon to Oliver, which he repeated to his parishioners in the church, about how he and his fellow religious of the Society of Jesus renounced everything pertaining to *la Familia*, and that they lived only for the Society, the glory of God and I do not know how many other stupidities. Pippo, as Olivier informed me, is the pastor of the church and it seems that Santa Clara is one of the outstanding colleges in the United States.[33]

He ended the letter by enclosing Pippo's address, hopeful, no doubt, that his wife would take advantage of it. It is a sad letter and one wonders if the leche third St. Ignatius church and college, shown here in a late nineteenth-century photograph, was built in the city on a site bounded by Grove, Franklin, Hayes, and Van Ness, the present site of Davies Symphony Hall. At the turn of the century, St. Ignatius accommodated twelve hundred students. One ity newspaper called it the "million-dollar home of the Society of Jesus in San Francisco." The buildings, however, were destroyed in the earthquake and fire of 1906. In 1930, St. Ignatius College became the University of San Francisco. *Courtesy University of San Francisco Archives.*

ture Pippo gave his nephew—and then, for emphasis, repeated to his parishioners—was not in fact a sermon preached to convince himself that his distance from the family had been justified. It is a letter that speaks volumes about the two brothers, who shared so many personality traits as well as early experiences. But Nino nursed an obsessive hatred for the Catholic Church; his wife did not, nor was she devout. Of course, the Jesuit Pippo was unreservedly committed to the Church and to the Pope who had excommunicated Nino and his partisans. Mutual unqualified acceptance was impossible; yet, despite Pippo's disclaimers and Nino's distance, the ties of *la Familia* did seem at times to modify, if not transcend, the irreconcilable.

Fr. Joseph Bixio is one of the two founding fathers of what is today St. Ignatius College Preparatory School, St. Ignatius Church, and the University of San Francisco. He also established a number of Catholic parishes in northern California. He was a devoted priest and a warm, colorful, delightful California pioneer. Yet for more than a century Pippo has remained the unknown, stealth member of the flamboyant Bixio brothers. Since there are streets and monuments in Paris and Rome that immortalize *la Familia Bixio*, is it not surprising that no such token of recognition exists in San Francisco—not even on the campus of the University of San Francisco? Perhaps the California climate is to blame. On the other hand, do not spies jealously guard their anonymity?[34] CHS

*See notes beginning on page 70.*

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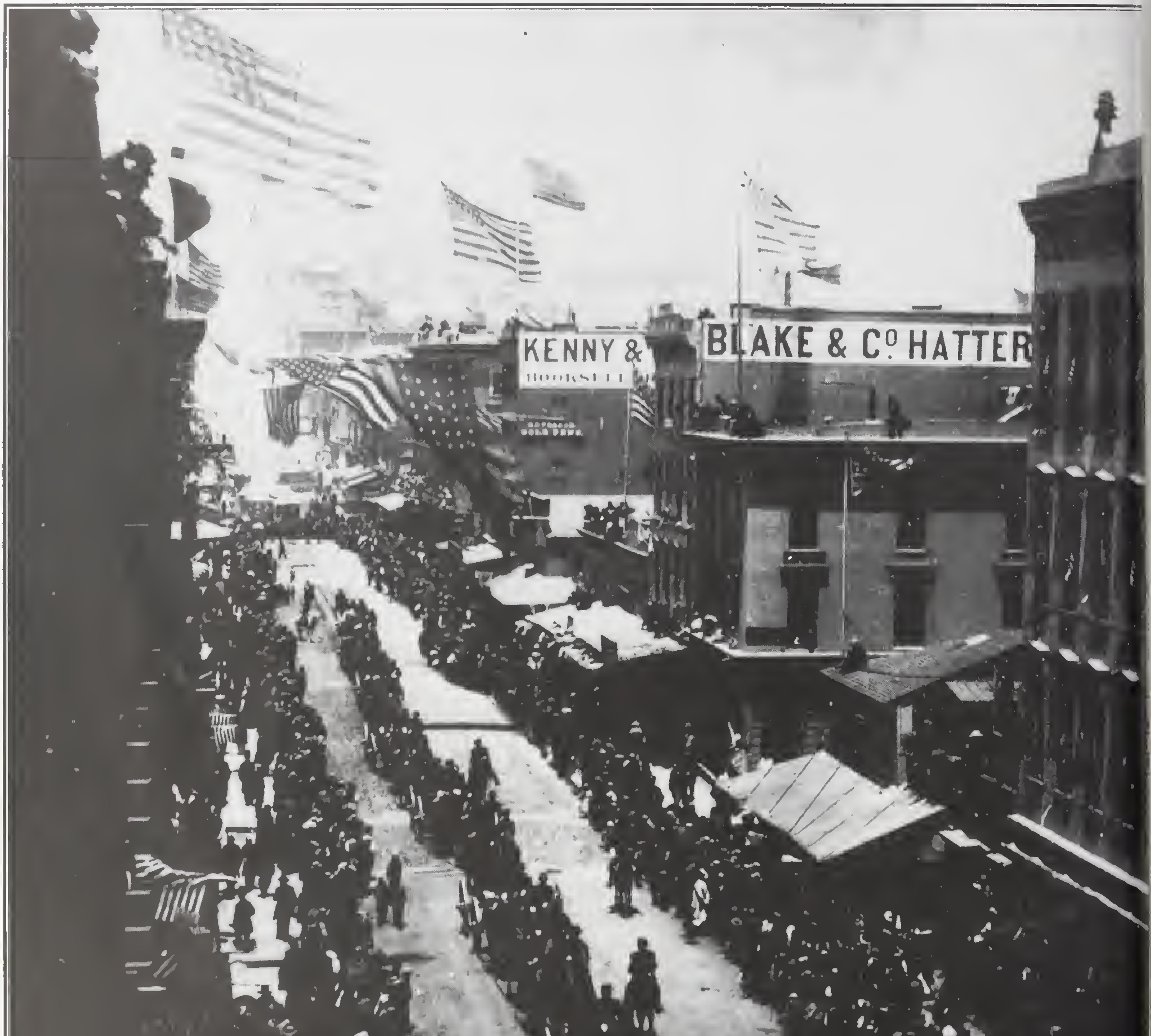


Carleton E. Watkins, *Montgomery St., from Austin's Building, July 4, 1865, San Francisco* (from a stereograph). Eighteen-sixty-five marked the first year African Americans were permitted to participate in San Francisco's annual Independence Day parade, a victory they heartily celebrated despite the presence of more than a few anti-desegregation protestors. *Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.*

# "BENEATH THE SHADOW OF HER FLAG":

## Philip A. Bell's *The Elevator* and the Struggle for Enfranchisement, 1865–1870

*by Frank H. Goodyear*

During the nineteenth century, San Francisco was home to the largest black community of any American city west of St. Louis. Although the 1,176 blacks counted in the 1860 census represented at that time less than 2 percent of the city's total population, this group's migration to northern California and their subsequent history in its principal city provide a unique opportunity to study the manner in which a black community participated in the settlement and growth of a major American city.[1] It was in San Francisco also that blacks in the West first gained a public voice in their struggle for basic political and civil rights. Their efforts at reform were displayed in a variety of initiatives. From legal challenges to public demonstrations, this community worked to strike down the legacy of discrimination and racism that characterized life in California during the latter half of the nineteenth century. At the heart of this campaign was a group of newspapers owned and operated by free blacks. As an example of the role that the black press played in California, this essay investigates the efforts of Philip Alexander Bell, the founding editor of *The Elevator,* in shaping the political discourse surrounding the contested issue of enfranchisement in the years immediately following the Civil War. Desirous of realigning San Francisco's cultural and racial boundaries, Bell positioned *The Elevator* as the centerpiece in the campaign to win blacks the vote.[2]

From the perspective of the East, California during the Gold Rush seemed to promise prosperity and freedom to all. While some blacks headed west in the 1850s out of fear of the newly enacted Fugitive Slave Law, the majority were free blacks driven by the same dream of economic prosperity that gripped thousands of other individuals following the discovery of gold in the Sierra foothills east of Sacramento Valley in January 1848. Indeed, many of the first blacks in California, most of whom were men, hoped to make enough money by mining or providing services to other pioneers that they might be able to return east and purchase relatives and friends out of slavery. Others wished to save enough so that they could pay for tickets to bring their entire family to California. Abolitionist newspapers in the East encouraged such trips by publishing reports of lucky strikes by black prospectors and articles about California's attractive landscape and climate. For the first time in their history, free blacks seized the chance for a fresh start by voluntarily relocating in the Far West.[3]

Yet blacks quickly learned that the newness of fledgling communities such as San Francisco and Sacramento and the richness of the gold fields did not mean that they had escaped the age-old prejudices and fears of the racially entrenched dominant culture. Although blacks were not segregated in specific neighborhoods as were the Chinese during this period, they did face restrictions on their civil rights that were often more severe than those that they had confronted in the communities from which they had come. In particular, they encountered discrimination in public accommodations, were denied access to public education, and lacked the right to submit testimony in a court of law. In San Francisco, however, black leaders organized to press for changes to such inequities. The reform of testimony rights, particularly, occupied their attention throughout the 1850s. Unable to defend themselves in court, blacks were intimidated from establishing mining claims and other economic enterprises that might allow them to settle in California. On three different occasions, blacks throughout the state came together to adopt and submit petitions to the state calling for an end to the practice of barring blacks from courts. Each time, though, the state legislature ignored their petition.

Hoping to provide a louder voice for the black community, leaders called for a political body that would strengthen and solidify their presence. Delegates attended the First Colored Convention in Sacramento in November 1855 and immediately recognized the

Miner at Auburn Ravine, 1852. Approximately five thousand African Americans immigrated to California between 1848 and 1860, encouraged by eastern abolitionist newspapers—such as *Frederick Douglass' Paper*—that trumpeted the economic opportunities available in the allegedly egalitarian Gold Rush. Once they arrived, however, black miners found that they faced discrimination, violence, and constant threat of arrest under the California Fugitive Slave Law of 1852. The First State Convention of Colored Citizens of California convened in 1855 to combat unjust laws and to fight for African American suffrage and equal rights. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

need for their own statewide newspaper. With proceeds gathered at the convention, California's first black newspaper, the *Mirror of the Times*, was established in San Francisco the following year. The *Mirror's* editors, Mifflin W. Gibbs and Jonas H. Townsend, continued to press for changes to the Witness and Testimony Law; however, lacking the necessary financial resources and discouraged by the strong resistance that they met in their efforts, Gibbs and Townsend ceased publishing the weekly paper less than two years later.[4] It would not be until 1863, in the midst of the Civil War, that this law was finally amended.

Although not the top priority of these early reformers, the right to vote emerged as the leading issue among San Francisco's black community in the years directly following the Civil War. The political climate in the months directly before and immediately after the Union victory set the stage for a national debate on this issue. Yet, whereas blacks were effectively silenced in earlier discussions concerning the political franchise, they now reached out in large numbers to participate through the vehicle of the black press. Black-owned newspapers such as *The New Era* in Washington, D.C., *The Black Republican* in New Orleans, and *The Colored American* in Augusta, Georgia, were all founded in 1865. It was also at this time that Philip Bell organized and began publication of *The Elevator*. Bell's new weekly newspaper first appeared on April 7, 1865, only two days before Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. In the five years leading up to passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, *The Elevator* provided an important regional voice in this national campaign to win blacks the vote.

The establishment of *The Elevator* was by no means Bell's first involvement in such political activities. Long before the debate over enfranchisement began, he had been working for the advancement of his race as a journalist and an activist. Born in New York City in 1808 and educated there at the African Free School, Philip Bell got his first job in journalism in 1831, when he became the New York City agent for *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison's Boston-based abolitionist newspaper. Along with Frederick Douglass, Henry Garnet, and Martin Delany, Bell emerged as one of the most vigorous black abolitionists of the antebellum period. Besides his involvement in educational programs for young blacks and on committees for the assistance and protection of fugitive slaves, Bell also helped found and edit the *Weekly Advocate* in January 1837. (Two months later, Samuel E. Cornish renamed it *The Colored American* when he became the newspaper's publisher.) Until its demise in 1842, this journal represented the most important forum for black opinion of its time. Even after the newspaper ceased publication, Bell remained committed to the abolitionist cause, attending many of the national Negro conventions and lecturing for black suffrage and against black colonization proposals. To support himself during this period of activism, he managed an employment agency for blacks in New York City.[5]

Although he had by the late 1850s attained a prominent place in the world of race politics in the East, Bell decided, for reasons that are not altogether clear, to leave New York for San Francisco.[6] Settling there in 1860, he briefly ran a real estate agency before turning to journalism. In April 1862, Peter Anderson, a long-time leading political voice in the city's black community, recruited him to edit a newspaper that was intended to fill the void left by the long-since-defunct *Mirror of the Times*. This newspaper, the *Pacific Appeal*, described itself as the "Official Organ of the Colored Citizens of the Pacific States and Territories." Only four months after the paper was launched, though, Bell resigned, unable to resolve basic philosophical and personal differences between himself and Anderson.[7] Despite Bell's resignation, the *Pacific Appeal* continued to be published until Anderson's death in 1879.

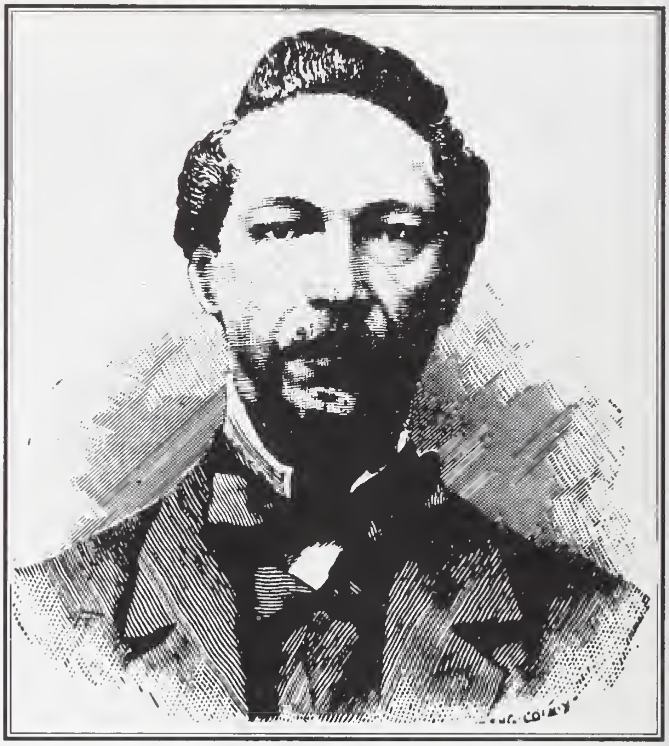
Having severed his ties to the *Pacific Appeal*, Bell began making plans to establish his own newspaper. Among his strongest supporters was a group of influential black Californians who represented the political power of the state's Colored Convention, which had organized in 1855. Comprised largely of the educated elite from across the state, the Executive Committee was responsible for establishing and implementing programs and policies that would benefit California's black population. Once a supporter of Anderson's *Pacific Appeal*, the Executive Committee now lined up firmly behind Bell's new weekly journal. Indeed, every member of *The Elevator*'s five-member Publishing Committee also served on the Executive Committee. A letter, simply signed "Veritas," in the June 16, 1865, issue of *The Elevator*, suggests this shift in allegiance. "The people are united in sustaining a good paper . . . . We have too many old fogies [Peter Anderson], who have been leading us some twelve or fifteen years, who don't seem to comprehend the new condition of things, and we are determined to get rid of them."[8] With the committee's support, *The Elevator* quickly supplanted the *Pacific Appeal* as the most widely read black newspaper in California

Although *The Elevator* addressed many issues that affected the black community in San Francisco, none was more important than the republican tenet of "Equality before the Law." This motto, which was printed on the masthead, represented the underlying philosophy of the newspaper. "Our Paper and its Purpose," a poem in the newspaper's first issue by the black poet James Madison Bell—he was not related to the editor—celebrates this idea in flowery verse. In the poem's final stanza, Bell wrote,

> Then let us raise the sign of progress,
> And bid the vaunting scoffer see
> With all our lip-friends of profession
> That *manhood's right is liberty*.
> That manhood has, when left untrammeled,
> Aspired to all that's good and great,
> And many a slave by chains empanneled
> Would fill, if free, a chair of State.[9]

Having dedicated itself to the principle that "manhood's right is liberty," *The Elevator* aggressively pursued a whole platform of specific reforms. During its first years, though, none was as important as the political franchise.

While earlier black leaders such as Townsend and Gibbs, the co-editors of the *Mirror*, had also championed this issue, Philip Bell reconceptualized the manner in which the debate would be carried forward. Before *The Elevator*'s appearance, the rhetoric of San Francisco's black reformers can be characterized as pedantic. Writers had put forth the reasons they believed they deserved the vote in a sterile, straightforward fashion. Little emotion charged their language. A sense of history did not inform their arguments. The underlying principle, they seemed to believe, was enough. Furthermore, these previous leaders were reluctant to organize public demonstrations to show off the community's solidarity in regards to this issue. Influenced by his long abolitionist career, however, Bell revitalized the debate by infusing his weekly newspaper with a more assertive style. The following excerpt from the first issue is indicative of this new vibrancy and forcefulness: "Our name is indicative of our object, we wish to elevate the oppressed of all nations and of every clime to the position of manhood and freedom. We wish to place all mankind on a level; not by lowering them to our standard, but by elevating them in virtue, intelligence, and self-reliance on a level with the most favored of the human race. We are levellers [*sic*], not to level down, but to level up."[10] Not only did he express his ideas in a more robust manner, but he was also not hesitant to criticize other mainstream papers for their racist opinions. Entering the political fray, Bell reviewed six of the leading white newspapers in *The Elevator*'s first issue. Some, like *The American Flag*, he praised; others, like the *Democratic Press*, he chastised for being "devoid of honor and principles, brutal in its instincts, and traitorous in its professions."[11] In this way, Bell made the white community sit up and take notice of his newspaper's presence.



Philip Alexander Bell (1808-1889), founder and editor of San Francisco's *The Elevator.*

While engaging others was a common practice in *The Elevator*, Bell was cognizant enough to realize that pointed attacks on white society would not resolve the problems of his constituency. Such an approach invited potentially dangerous verbal and physical reprisals from segments of the dominant culture. Furthermore, it reinforced the divisions within the larger community that Bell and others were trying to overcome. As a result, Bell adopted a rhetorical strategy that emphasized the basic political allegiance that blacks and whites shared. He hoped to advance the cause of equal suffrage by demonstrating the overwhelming patriotism of the black population. Conscious of the fact that San Francisco at this time was a city in which a majority of its inhabitants were either immigrants or first-generation citizens, Bell stressed the importance of understanding and abiding by American laws, customs, and institutions. Insisting "that all foreign nationalities among American citizens should be abolished," Bell proclaimed in *The Elevator*'s prospectus that those who settled in California "must become Americanized . . . . In accepting the precious boon of American citizenship, they should adopt our customs, habits, and language as they adopt our laws . . . . These foreign nationalities are the bane of our country, and contrary to the genius and principles of our Republican institutions . . . . Until we become one in sentiment, one in action, truly Americanized, we will be open to the assault of foes without, and the designs of traitors within."[12] A longtime opponent of black colonization efforts, Bell believed that age-old conflicts between ethnic and racial groups in America could only be solved by embracing the "genius and principles of our Republican institutions." This patriotic belief guided Bell's efforts to win blacks the vote. As a result, *The Elevator* became more than simply a public space in which to defend San Francisco's black population against the attacks of their oppressors; instead, Bell used it to reshape the political debate concerning the black community's place in American society.

As Bell attempted to use his newspaper to bridge the divisions that separated the different races, the majority of those within the mainstream press wanted to keep the races apart. Most California newspapers at this time were against the idea of equal suffrage. The most-often-repeated reason the vote should *not* be given to blacks stemmed from the belief that blacks were by nature intellectually and culturally inferior to whites. To the question, "Is a negro equal to a white man?", an editorial in the July 18, 1865, issue of the *San Francisco Daily Examiner* used the scientific work of "learned writers on ethnology" to suggest the "superiority of the white races. In fact, all scientific writers concur that the black, inter-tropical nations, of which the negro is the type, are decidedly the lowest in the intellectual scale. Their characteristics, in fact their normal condition, are indolence, the grossest barbarism, and the most cruel superstitions. In their native land, the idea of social community has made no progress among them. All they can lay claim to of civilization in any period of the world's history has been thrust upon them by the strong hand of slavery."[13] Given that "ninety-nine out of each one hundred of the negroes of the country are steeped in ignorance," claimed an editorial in the April 11, 1865, issue of the *Sacramento Bee*, this lack of intelligence "would make them fools of the arrant [*sic*] and most unscrupulous demagogues." This fear that "unscrupulous demagogues" might take advantage of these "fools" fueled the belief that giving blacks the vote would lead directly to "the inevitable war between the races."[14]

Those writers in the mainstream press who opposed enfranchisement for blacks employed this and similar ideas to play on white fears that "liberated" blacks might physically rise up against white society. Because of their recent experience fighting the Confederacy during the Civil War, many whites believed blacks were prepared to do just that. An editorial in the June 14, 1865, issue of the *San Francisco Daily Examiner* articulated the danger that many believed would accompany such legislation.

> If we should consent to give the ballot to the dusky hand that brandishes a dripping blade, we should feel bound, also, to consent to place it in the one yet unstained with gore. The smell of human sacrifice is not pleasant in our nostrils. We turn with loathing from fratricidal slaughter. The right to participate in republican government does not spring from a love for carnage and plunder, else, why reprobate the courage of the highwayman, or the skill of the assassin. Until we see some other claim asserted in behalf of the negro and his political equality than that of a military education, we shall resist all efforts tending to overthrow the liberties of the Republic through a mistaken sense of gratitude to him.[15]

In this political climate, it is not surprising that *The Elevator* never used the argument that blacks should be given the vote because they served admirably in the Union Army. Although white reformers around the country regularly referenced this contribution to support the case for enfranchisement, Bell and others within the black community seem to have wanted to avoid invoking the image of the armed black man.

Instead, Bell's first concern as activist and editor was how he could best assuage this climate of dread and uncertainty that pervaded the political discourse. His decision to wrap the black cause in the American flag demonstrates his adroit use of patriotic rhetoric to allay such fears and simultaneously promote his cause. In *The Elevator*, Bell continually wrote about the bright future that lay ahead for America when it embraced these reforms. His editorial entitled "The Duties of the Nation," which appeared on May 19, 1865, both celebrated the nation's reunion and suggested the unfinished work still left to be done.

> We have removed the emblems of mourning which for the wonted period gave out evidence of our woe; we have flung back the sack-cloth from our brow and cleansed our head of the ashes we had strewn upon it; our glorious old Flag can again mount to its utmost peak, and flout to the sky its bright stars, not one erased, and the few bedimmed ones fast renewing their former effulgence. Hail! brethren, and rejoice, ye wise men of the nation, sages and patriots, sires and sons, old men and maidens, wives and mothers, all rejoice, the prodigals have returned, the Pleiads have been restored. With the reconstruction of our Union other duties will devolve upon our nation . . . . American must be free indeed. She has no slave within her wide domain; she must have no disfranchised citizen beneath the shadow of her flag.[16]

In Bell's estimation, anything less than universal suffrage would compromise the nation's underlying principles. For that reason alone, he argued that America's future security and welfare depended on such legislation.

Invoking the foundations of American history was another of Bell's means toward his end. Yet, while it might have been easy to use examples that portrayed America at its worst, Bell instead published articles that pointed with pride to some of the nation's finest moments as a means of drumming up support for black enfranchisement. In particular, writers in *The Elevator* drew lessons from the injustices that provoked the American Revolution. For example, John J. Moore, a regular contributor to *The Elevator* and the founder of San Francisco's first black church, described the political system that left so many disenfranchised as a "relic of English toryism." Moore then equated the advocates of black enfranchisement with the patriots of the American Revolution. "Because without this right of suffrage the colored man is subject to taxation without political representation—which principle justified the American colonies, in 1776, to appeal to arms against the British or home Government as oppressive. Surely, taxation without representation is as unjust now as ninety years ago. A Christian government must admit it as an equal outrage upon the negro as the Saxon."[17] By couching his argument in patriotic

CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

George H. Goddard, *Bird's Eye View of the City of San Francisco and Surrounding Country*, 1868. In 1860, about 2 percent of San Francisco's 56,000 inhabitants were African Americans. Rather than being segregated into separate neighborhoods, as were Chinese immigrants in Chinatown, blacks lived dispersed throughout San Francisco's many districts. This colored lithograph by Britton & Rey was published by Snow and Roos, San Francisco. *California Historical Society.*

rhetoric, Moore suggested the allegiance that blacks felt toward America and its founding principles. Such a strategy was all part of *The Elevator*'s larger effort to disarm the militancy of the movement's enemies.

The prevailing argument that writers in *The Elevator* used to persuade readers that blacks should be given the vote was that no citizens were more loyal and honest than those from within the black community. In his editorials, Bell repeatedly returned to this theme. Faithful to the Republican Party, respectful of American institutions and customs, and dedicated to the progress of their community, blacks represented, in Bell's opinion, America's most ideal citizens. An editorial entitled "Citizenship and Suffrage" illustrated this argument. "What had the negro population done, either as a class or individually, that the entire race should be disenfranchised? We answer confidently, nothing. We were law loving and law abiding, honest, industrious, and possessing higher moral character and greater forbearance than ever shown by any oppressed people. We have fewer criminals, as the statistics of the country prove, than any class, except the Quakers; fewer paupers than any race except the Jews; and never was there found a traitor to the Government wearing a black skin, or claiming an affinity with the African race."[18] Bell often said that loyal black men would help counterbalance disloyal whites in this period of Reconstruction. Demonstrating the black population's allegiance to America, Bell hoped to show whites that they had nothing to fear in granting blacks the vote.

Bell promoted this view not only in the pages of *The Elevator*, but also at select times of the year in public demonstrations. Previous leaders had not always been so willing to act in this manner. While the first of August and the first of January also held great significance to blacks in San Francisco, no single day was celebrated more publicly than the Fourth of July.[19] In the years following 1865, the date that San Francisco's white civic leaders first granted blacks permission to assemble and march in the annual Independence Day parade, blacks embraced the opportunity to participate in this uniquely American ritual. The 1865 celebration, in particular, was marked by much rejoicing among blacks. In preparation, community leaders established a "Committee of Arrangements for Celebrating the Fourth of July," the proceedings of which Bell published in *The Elevator*. Organizers scheduled a "Grand Dinner" and a "Celebration Ball" to follow the daytime parade. Bell himself was selected as a member of the "Honorary Committee" that sponsored the dance. In his weekly editorial prior to the holiday, he used the occasion to reflect upon "The Day We Celebrate" and to remind others that the eyes of all San Franciscans would be upon them.

> We have long desired to celebrate our National Anniversary as an American citizen. While others were rejoicing at the return of the day on which a Nation sprang into existence full of life and vigor, when she flung aside the swaddling bands of Colonial dependence and took "her stand among the nations of the earth," we felt saddened that we could not rejoice with them; but we mourned over the degradation of our country and the thraldom [sic] of our race. Now, however, we can rejoice . . . . Our country is truly FREE, and we, her sable sons, rejoice . . . that our Government is relieved from the incubus of slavery, and can join in the ever onward march of progress which free institutions hasten and accelerate . . . . Let every colored man join in the procession on Tuesday next. Let us show, by our deportment and behavior, that we appreciate the great boon which has been offered us, and are fully capable of enjoying EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.[20]

The 1865 Fourth of July parade represented an important moment for blacks to demonstrate both their solidarity and their patriotic allegiance. For the first time, whites were to witness the presence of this long-segregated community, joined together and marching as one through the city streets. Bell and other leaders recognized that a large turnout and an untarnished celebration would go a long way in their campaign for the political franchise.

Given the strained political atmosphere, however, much controversy marked the holiday. Several white newspapers objected to the Republican civic leaders' decision to allow blacks to join in the parade. Although some two hundred white citizens met on July 2 to protest the event's desegregation, the civic leaders decided not to revoke the invitation.[21] Upset with this decision, many were present on the Fourth to voice their anger directly at those whose presence they objected to. At several points along the parade route, protestors showered the black contingent with racial insults and taunts. Reports suggest that no fights broke out; however, tempers remained high in the weeks after the festivities. In a vehement editorial entitled "The Teachings of Yesterday" in the *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, B. F. Washington, the newspaper's racist editor, described the Republican Party as a "wild, reckless set of fanatics" and chastised them for their attempt "to desecrate the anniversary of our national birth by perverting it to *party purposes*." After complaining about the low turnout among the city's white citizens, Washington concluded, "To put down this dastardly attempt to mongrelize the nation, and make our Government what our fathers designed it should be, a government for white people, is a work in which the patriotism of all parties may combine in a united effort."[22] Although a few local white journalists, such as Mark Twain, criticized the severe treatment that black marchers received, most editors within the mainstream press remained steadfastly opposed to equal rights for blacks and an integrated society.[23]

In an editorial that appeared on July 7, Bell tried to downplay the negative aspects of the day's festivities. Despite noting an occasional "insulting word" from the predominantly white crowd, he described the day as an unqualified success. "Our march was an ovation worthy the triumphal return of heroes from victorious fields of battle . . . . We were greeted with signs of approval, while bouquets were showered from window and balcony, until the air was almost redolent with the aroma of flowers."[24] Whatever bad feelings the white community harbored about the day did not noticeably affect this jubilant crowd, Bell reported, and nowhere in *The Elevator* in the weeks that followed the celebration did he directly mention the racial slurs that bigoted onlookers hurled at the black procession. It is not surprising that Bell was reluctant to criticize these individuals. By their upstanding behavior in the face of racist protestors, blacks had made their statement. As the events of the day indicated, it was not the blacks who should be feared, but rather those whites who would provoke such a conflict who were the terrorizing element.

Despite these and other tangible efforts toward full participation in American democracy, activists made little progress toward achieving for blacks anything of lasting political importance in that year. In October 1865, the Executive Committee organized the first Colored Convention in eight years. Upbeat because of the advances of that year, California's black population believed that the time was right to submit an official petition to the state legislature seeking enfranchisement. Much excitement surrounded the week-long conference in Sacramento. *The Elevator* printed the entire proceedings, including the keynote address by William H. Hall, an active community leader whose arrival in San Francisco in 1849 had made him one of the first blacks to settle in the area. Nevertheless, despite the enthusiasm and hopefulness that emanated from the convention, the larger political atmosphere outside the convention was not supportive of their cause. Not only was the California legislature unwilling even to debate the issues submitted by their petition, the prospects of national support for enfranchisement were fast disappearing as well. In the East, black reformers soon learned that President Andrew Johnson was not the man that Lincoln had been. Fearful that any "further agitation of the negro franchise question . . . would engender enmity and strife between the races and lead to a war between them, which would result in great injury to both, and certain extermination of the negro population," Johnson refused to embrace any substantive political reform concerning race during his presidential term.[25] His lack of leadership in this regard sent a clear message to everyone involved in the national debate. Blacks were not going to win the vote as easily as they had hoped.

Discouraged, Bell continued to fight for the cause, but his editorials lacked the optimism and patriotic rhetoric of his earlier efforts. The first signs of this disillusionment are revealed in the following excerpt from an editorial, simply entitled "Reconstruction," in the September 15, 1865, issue of *The Elevator*:

> We now come to the most important point, and to which Government has paid no attention whatever—the suffrage question. In his various proclamations the President has declared what classes are not entitled to citizenship, but he has apparently lost sight of the negro population, which will be a disturbing element as long as they are an oppressed race. They form a large proportion of the Southern States, and will become as necessary to the Government in the future as they have been in the past, if they are treated like men and have the rights as citizens. But in their present anomalous position as freedmen, not freemen, they can render the Government no aid politically, and in case of another outbreak they would not render military service to a government which has once broken faith with them.[26]

Given Johnson's disinterest in the future of blacks in America, Bell was clearly disappointed by the direction that Reconstruction was headed. In later editorials, he was less subtle about his disdain for Johnson. In the following excerpt from an editorial three months later, Bell wrote angrily, "Why then, we ask again, are we disenfranchised? To satisfy the demands of the slave power, which went on demanding, even like the daughters of the horse-leech, crying 'give, give'; and the too willing Democracy of the North ever yielding to their demands."[27] With little to show for their efforts, the optimism that had fueled the newspaper staff in its first months soon dissipated.

Frustrated by the marginalized status still accorded blacks, Bell used *The Elevator* increasingly to disparage not simply President Johnson's administration, but also the one ethnic group in San Francisco that he believed was truly inferior. Although Bell initially was willing to embrace "John Chinaman, if he will learn our language, wear clothes like 'any other man,' cut off his queue, and renounce his chopsticks," he soon soured on the Chinese presence in California.[28] According to census numbers, there were twice as many Chinese as blacks in San Francisco in 1860. However, while the black population experienced little growth in the next ten years, the number of Chinese grew by 343 percent. By 1870, the Chinese population outnumbered the black community in San Francisco by more than nine to one.[29] The increasing number of Chinese meant fewer job opportunities for blacks. Although blacks might easily have been recruited to build the transcontinental railroad, construction companies looked overseas for their main sources of cheap labor. Railroad executives joined with shipping companies to establish liberal credit-ticket systems that allowed poor Chinese laborers to come to America. Having already tried in the 1850s to keep blacks from emigrating to California, legislative officials and businessmen were not enthusiastic about introducing a new wave of black settlers to their state. Not only could construction companies more easily control Chinese workers because of their alien status, but many whites mistakenly believed that they were only temporary workers who would return to China after the completion of the project. These factors made recruiting Chinese workers a more attractive option that importing freed blacks from other regions of the United States. Not until the mid-1880s, at the height of anti-Chinese racism in the West, would substantial numbers of blacks be encouraged to enter the mainstream work force.[30]

Given the chronic labor shortage that California faced in the nineteenth century, blacks did not have trouble finding work. However, the low quality of the jobs that were available to them concerned Bell and other community leaders. In 1860, more than 80 percent of the black population in San Francisco held unskilled, service-oriented positions. Throughout this period, Bell extolled the virtues of learning new trades as an important precondition for social mobility and economic progress. The fact that railroad executives were not offering blacks the opportunity to enter their industry troubled Bell. The decision to import "coolies," a term that Bell used liberally to describe the Chinese in California, further upset him and other black leaders.[31] Repeatedly in his editorials Bell urged the railroad companies to bring freed slaves to California to work on the rail lines. "We hope contractors and managers of that work will see the importance of employing the freedmen on that road in preference to Chinamen. It is said the reason why the latter are employed is in consequence of the scarcity of white laborers. If that is the case, it is a good reason for employing colored men; they can perform double the work of Chinamen, and are accustomed to that kind of labor . . . . The American people owe the negro labor—they have given them freedom, he now requires labor and protection."[32]

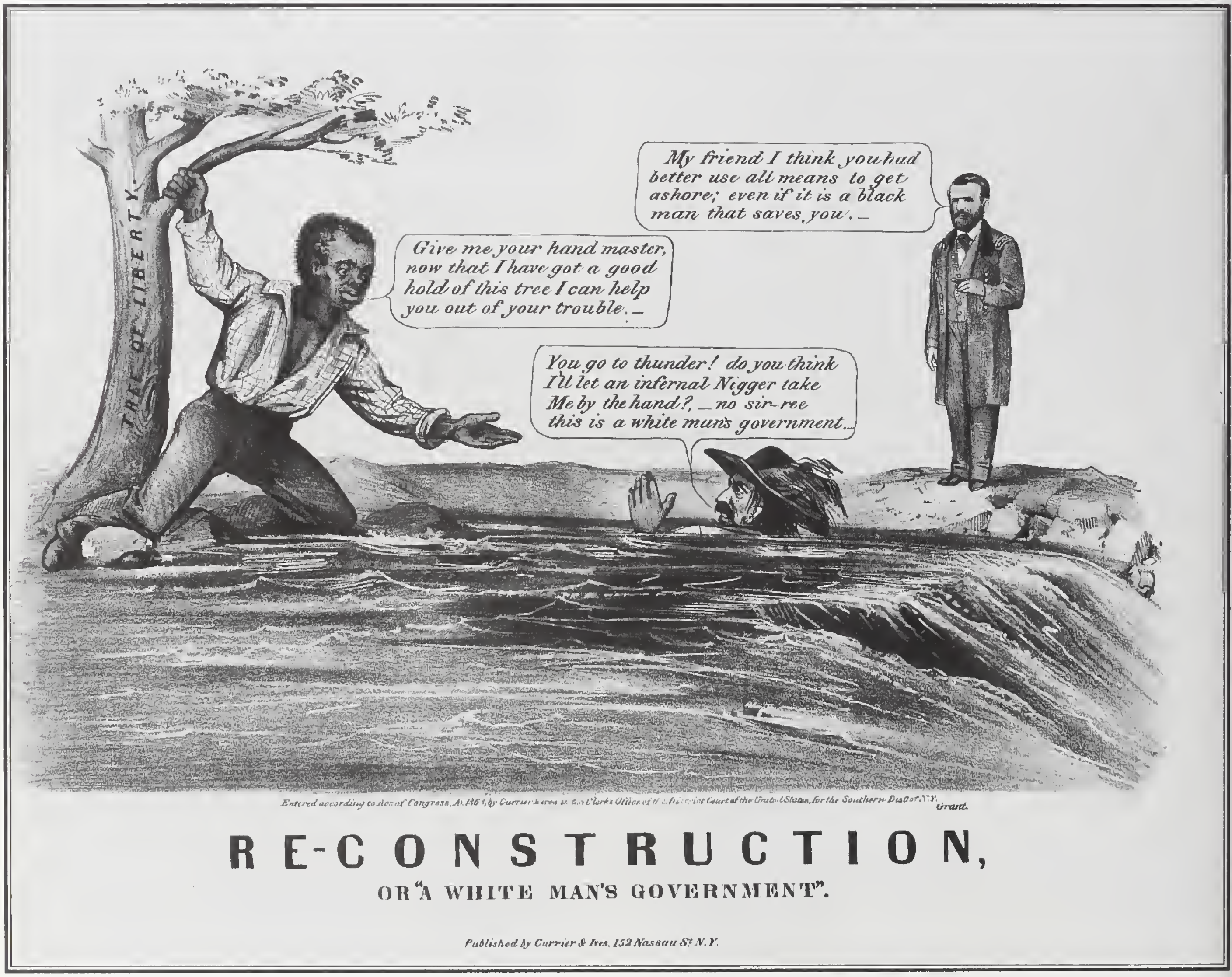
In addition to suggesting that they could physically outperform Chinese laborers, Bell also argued that freed slaves would not be a corrupting influence on society as the "heathen Chinee" would most certainly be. Desirous of building a larger black constituency in California, Bell was not beyond using the same tactics against the Chinese that were being employed by others against his own race. As the following editorial related, the Chinese were viewed as representing everything "native-born Americans" disdained.

> Every month, or oftener, we see an item in the daily papers, "Arrived yesterday from Hong Kong, a ship with 500 Chinese." Is that the kind of immigration the honorable gentleman from Tehama and Colusa would encourage? Have we not enough of them already, or must every hamlet and village be invested with hordes of the lower caste of China, and the moral sentiment of the country be polluted with their dens and brothels? We want laborers, and laborers we must have. There are not sufficient white laborers in the country to supply the demand, and we must either have the Chinese, with their filthy habits, idolatorus worship and courtezan companions, or the negros, with their American ideas, Christian religion, and family connections.[33]

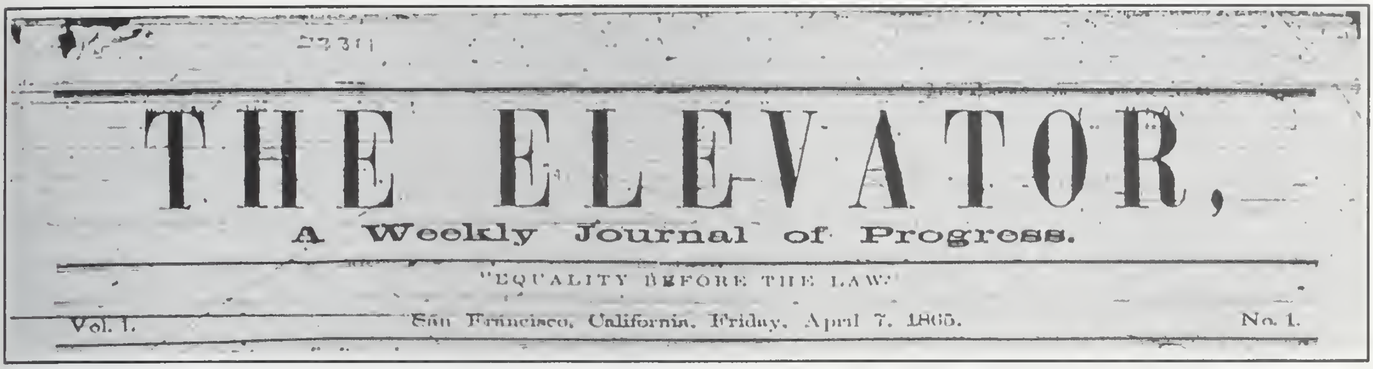
Carleton E. Watkins, *Chinese Man*, ca. 1869 (from a stereograph). Chinese immigration to California increased to about 16,000 annually after U.S. Ambassador Anson C. Burlingame negotiated a new treaty with China in 1868. Already economically disadvantaged and discriminated against, some California African Americans turned their anger against the swelling Chinese labor force. *Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.*

So frequently did *The Elevator* disparage the Chinese in this manner that San Francisco's leading daily newspaper, the *Alta California*, published the following response to *The Elevator*'s opinions: "BLACK VS. YELLOW—THE ELEVATOR, an organ of the colored men, demands the prohibition of Chinese immigration. As there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, so the slave need not travel far to become a tyrant." Bell countered this brief statement by declaring, "We are in favor of foreign immigration when foreigners come here to live, and become Americanized, when they spend their money here, and benefit the country."[34] Although frustrated in his efforts to win both the vote and jobs for blacks, he continued to promote what he believed were the distinctively "American" qualities of San Francisco's black community.

During the latter half of the 1860s, blacks in California, as elsewhere, fought an uphill battle against a dominant culture that had little desire to promote their interests. After the state failed to adopt the petition presented by members of the Colored Convention in the fall of 1865, the campaign for the political franchise suddenly vanished from *The Elevator*'s editorial columns. Discouraged, Bell and other black activists temporarily abandoned their fight for the black vote. Not until federal legislation was proposed four years later, in the spring of 1869, to establish a constitutional amendment granting all citizens the right to vote did Bell renew a sustained effort in the struggle for black enfranchisement. Nevertheless, in the interim years, Bell used his newspaper to comment regularly on political elections. This was especially the case during the state-wide elections in the fall of 1867. At this time, Bell published a list of candidates from the "Union State Ticket," which the newspaper endorsed, and wrote at length about various issues that were at stake in the election. In such editorials as "Why We Support the Union Party" and "Democratic Logic," Bell celebrated the political platform of the Union Party and railed against the abusive policies of the Democrats.[35] Unable to participate officially in the elections,


TREE OF LIBERTY.
My friend I think you had better use all means to get ashore; even if it is a black man that saves you.—
Give me your hand master, now that I have got a good hold of this tree I can help you out of your trouble.—
You go to thunder! do you think I'll let an infernal Nigger take Me by the hand?, —no sir-ree this is a white man's government.
Entered according to Act of Congress, A.D. 1868, by Currier & Ives in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, for the Southern Dist. of N.Y.
Grant.
RE-CONSTRUCTION,
OR "A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT".
Published by Currier & Ives, 152 Nassau St. N.Y.

*Reconstruction, or "A White Man's Government,"* 1868, a scathing political cartoon that mocked the folly of racist white Southerners who refused to welcome the free slaves as equals (from a lithograph by Currier & Ives). General Ulysses S. Grant, depicted positively by the cartoonist as a conciliatory figure, garnered Philip A. Bell's endorsement for president as early as 1867, almost a year before the election. Though encouraged by Grant's dedication to Republican Reconstruction policies, Bell had his reservations about Grant's lack of political experience: "While we doubt not the sincere devotion of General Grant to the principles of the Republican Party," wrote Bell in November 1867, "we do not admire the practice of taking up a man whose only recommendations on the score of capability is military renown." *Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.*



THE ELEVATOR,

A Weekly Journal of Progress.

"EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW."

Vol. I. San Francisco, California, Friday, April 7, 1865. No. 1.

Masthead of the first issue of *The Elevator,* April 7, 1865, championing "equality before the law."
*Courtesy of the author.*

he still hoped not only to impact their outcome, but also to engage the black community in the political process. It was important to Bell that blacks educate themselves politically. Throughout these years, *The Elevator*, like many black newspapers across the country, provided its constituency with a forum to learn about both the process and the larger issues that were being decided.

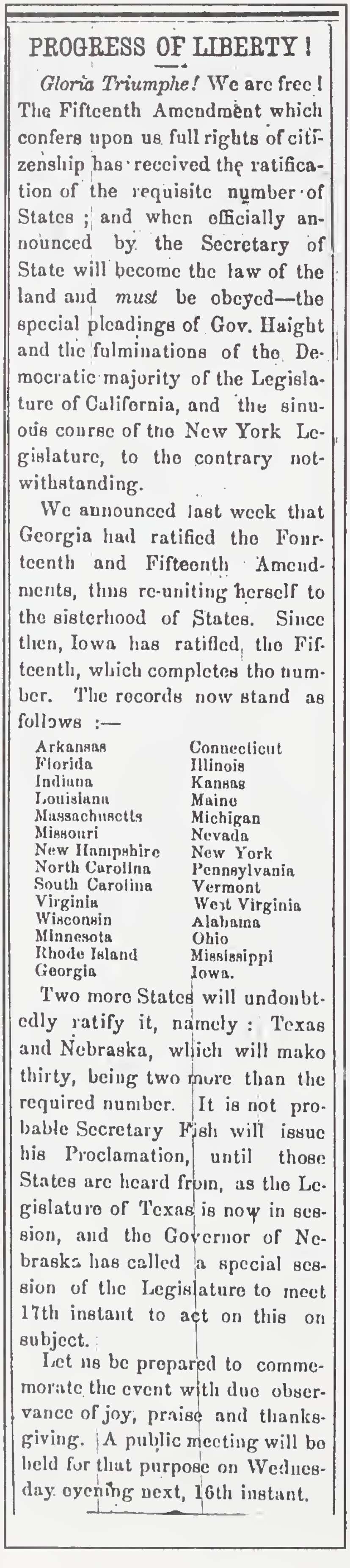
Although the Democrat-controlled state legislature effectively brought a halt to any discussion of black enfranchisement in California, reformers in the East were renewing efforts in their campaign for the vote. In the presidential election in the fall of 1868, Ulysses S. Grant thoroughly defeated his Democratic challenger, Horatio Seymour, and replaced an embattled Andrew Johnson in the White House. The former military commander of the Union Army, Grant identified himself with Republican Reconstruction policies. Less than three months after Grant was elected, Congress approved the Fifteenth Amendment, prohibiting the federal and state governments from depriving any citizen the right to vote on racial grounds. As Congress sent the proposed amendment to the states for ratification, *The Elevator* closely followed the process in each state.

To support the amendment's passage in California, Bell called for the black community to organize a new Executive Committee. Discouraged by its lack of progress and the departure of several important black leaders, the old Executive Committee had stopped meeting in 1866. In part because of its lobbying powers, Bell supported the resurrection of this old policy-making group in several editorials in the spring of 1869.

> We require a settled and permanent organization; not to form any distinct or separate party, but to prepare ourselves to act unitedly. We have great work before us in the ensuing legislative canvass. We should present our condition and advocate our cause before the people through the medium of the Press, and by oral argument. We need lecturers in the field to canvass the whole State. We should employ and pay able and competent men who are well acquainted with the subjects which will be discussed . . . . We require a man of the eloquence, intelligence, reputation, and influence of Frederick Douglass. If he could be induced to come here this year, and lecture, he would convert thousands, and revolutionize the State.[36]

Although the amendment's ratification required only two-thirds of the states' approval, Bell felt strongly that California must cast its vote in favor of the amendment. Despite a shortage of funding, the new Executive Committee was in place by May.[37] At the committee's first meeting, the members elected Bell their president.

To win support for the amendment, Bell employed the same strategies he had used four years earlier. With renewed enthusiasm, he wrote editorials and organized demonstrations that highlighted the patriotism and loyalty of the black community. Almost overnight, the issue of black enfranchisement became the single topic that *The Elevator* discussed. All the arguments that Bell had made in 1865 reemerged in his editorials. In addition, the Executive Committee worked to include the black community in several citywide events. A large group of black soldiers and citizens, led by the Brannan Guards and the Lincoln Zouaves, two black paramilitary organizations, joined the city's grand procession celebrating the completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869.[38] Two months later, the largest contingent of black citizens since the 1865 celebration marched in the city's Fourth of July parade. By participating in such events, San Francisco's black community further expressed its desire to be included in all facets of American life.



## PROGRESS OF LIBERTY!

*Gloria Triumphe!* We are free! The Fifteenth Amendment which confers upon us full rights of citizenship has received the ratification of the requisite number of States; and when officially announced by the Secretary of State will become the law of the land and *must* be obeyed—the special pleadings of Gov. Haight and the fulminations of the Democratic majority of the Legislature of California, and the sinuous course of the New York Legislature, to the contrary notwithstanding.

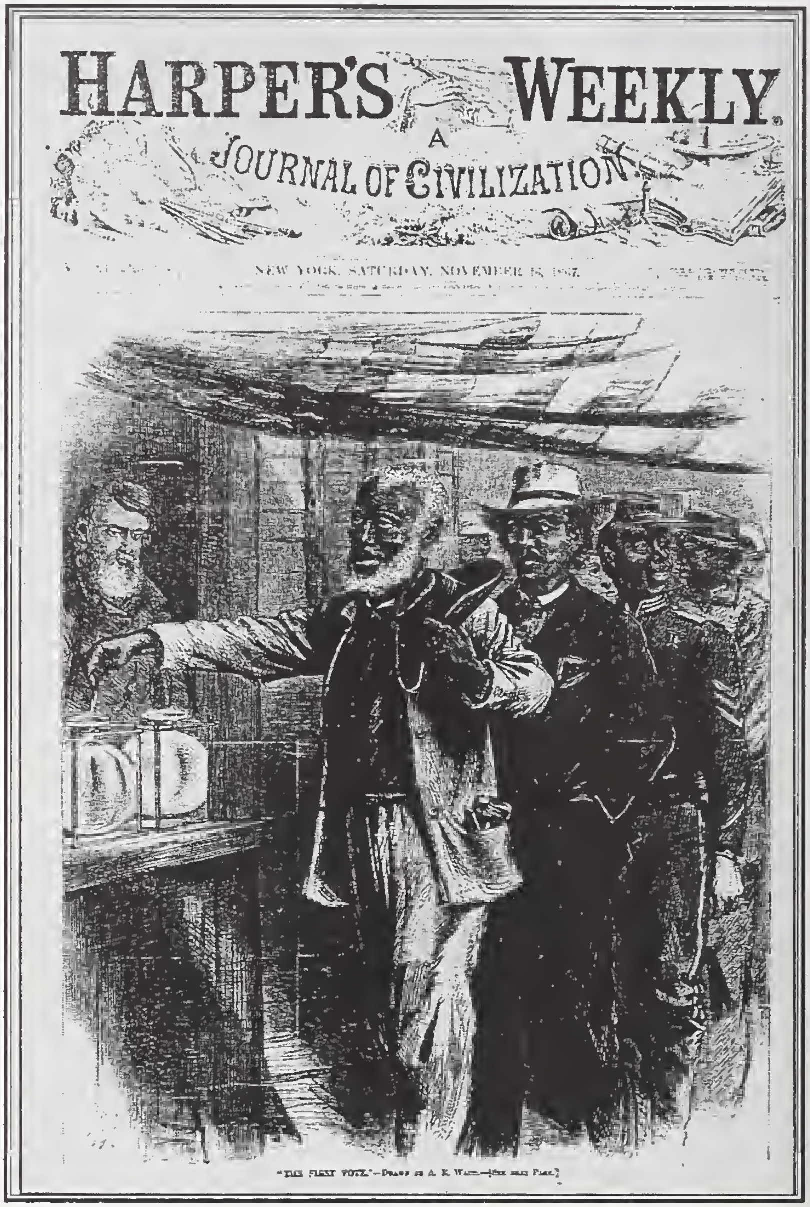
We announced last week that Georgia had ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, thus re-uniting herself to the sisterhood of States. Since then, Iowa has ratified the Fifteenth, which completes the number. The records now stand as follows :—

Arkansas
Florida
Indiana
Louisiana
Massachusetts
Missouri
New Hampshire
North Carolina
South Carolina
Virginia
Wisconsin
Minnesota
Rhode Island
Georgia

Connecticut
Illinois
Kansas
Maine
Michigan
Nevada
New York
Pennsylvania
Vermont
West Virginia
Alabama
Ohio
Mississippi
Iowa.

Two more States will undoubtedly ratify it, namely: Texas and Nebraska, which will make thirty, being two more than the required number. It is not probable Secretary Fish will issue his Proclamation, until those States are heard from, as the Legislature of Texas is now in session, and the Governor of Nebraska has called a special session of the Legislature to meet 17th instant to act on this on subject.

Let us be prepared to commemorate the event with due observance of joy, praise and thanksgiving. A public meeting will be held for that purpose on Wednesday evening next, 16th instant.


HARPER'S WEEKLY
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1867.
"THE FIRST VOTE."—Drawn by A. R. Waud.—[See next Page.]

After decades of struggling for equality and justice for African Americans, Philip Bell celebrated the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in the pages of *The Elevator*, left, on February 11, 1870. Above, "The First Vote," by A. R. Wand in *Harper's Weekly*, November 16, 1867. Before passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which forbade any state from denying suffrage to any citizen because of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude," Radical state governments throughout the South had already granted the right to vote under certain conditions to black men. After 1867 newly franchised black voters comprised a majority of Radical electorates in five Southern States—Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

However, just as the black community was stepping up its efforts on behalf of the Fifteenth Amendment, so too were the opponents of the amendment doing the same. Arguing that Congress should not be allowed to determine how individual states governed themselves, California Governor Henry Haight, a Democrat, promised repeatedly to nullify the amendment if it passed.[39] U.S. Senator Eugene Casserly played on white fears by suggesting that it would lead to the "amalgamation of the races."[40] The majority of San Francisco's newspapers supported Haight's and Casserly's opposition. Although they were opposed to black enfranchisement as well, the leading concern these newspapers' editorials voiced was the effect that such a constitutional amendment would have on Chinese immigration. As an editorial in the July 19, 1869, issue of the *San Francisco Daily Examiner* suggests, the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment would bring about "direful consequences" for the state.

> Judging the Radicals by their actions of the past . . . no one can doubt for a moment that they would seize with avidity upon the opportunity offered by the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to strike from the naturalization laws the word "white," and thus open the doors of citizenship and suffrage to the hordes of Mongolians now in our midst, and to the myriads who may hereafter be precipitated upon us, when they become aware of the advantages presented to them in this country. Can any one see an end of this? Dare any lover of this country picture in his fancy the agreeable sensation produced by having Fung Tang Governor of California? . . . If the people are true to themselves, to their history, traditions and the spirit of their laws, they will by their votes in September decide against the Fifteenth Amendment, and thus bar the door forever against the entrance of the Asiatic heathen.[41]

Despite the renewed efforts on the part of Bell, the black community, and other reformers, in September 1869, California's white voters rejected the Fifteenth Amendment. This outcome suggested the deep-seated fear that continued to grip this racially entrenched majority.

The disappointment and sorrow shared by Bell and his constituents did not last. Although California failed to pass the amendment, it was adopted by the necessary two-thirds majority of states and was ratified in February 1870. "*Gloria Triumphe*! We are free!" exclaimed Bell in the opening line of his editorial marking the amendment's passage.[42] As the news spread across California, black communities came together to celebrate the victory.[43] In San Francisco, the Executive Committee raised nearly a thousand dollars in two months in order to hold a grand celebration that included a procession and an evening dinner dance. On that day in April, black leaders closed schools and businesses so that everyone could take part in this historic celebration. For the sixty-two-year-old Bell and others who had worked tirelessly for years to win blacks the vote, this moment represented the culmination of a lifetime's work.

For Bell, however, the fight for other gains continued. No sooner was the amendment party over than he returned to his newspaper to continue writing on behalf of his race and his community. He published *The Elevator* for another fifteen years. Illness finally forced him to retire in 1885. Now seventy-seven years old, Bell was both physically and financially crippled.[44] For the last four years of his life, he lived on meals donated by the Palace Hotel kitchen help and funds raised by volunteers.[45] On April 25, 1889, he died in a San Francisco almshouse.

In the twenty years following the Civil War, when American society was increasingly becoming divided along race, class, and gender lines, Philip Bell sought to bring the marginalized community of which he was part into the political mainstream. Through *The Elevator,* he had helped to improve relations between blacks and whites. His efforts at winning blacks the vote were a vital part of that process. Although his contributions did not directly lead to the Fifteenth Amendment's passage, they were invaluable and inspiring to San Francisco's black community. Not only did his newspaper give blacks a public voice in the political debate, more importantly, perhaps, it served to educate a newly granted citizenry on the general nature of American politics. Memorialized by sociologist William W. Brown as the "Napoleon of the colored press," Philip Bell provided unparalleled leadership in the campaign for racial equality.[46] CHS

*See notes beginning on page 71.*

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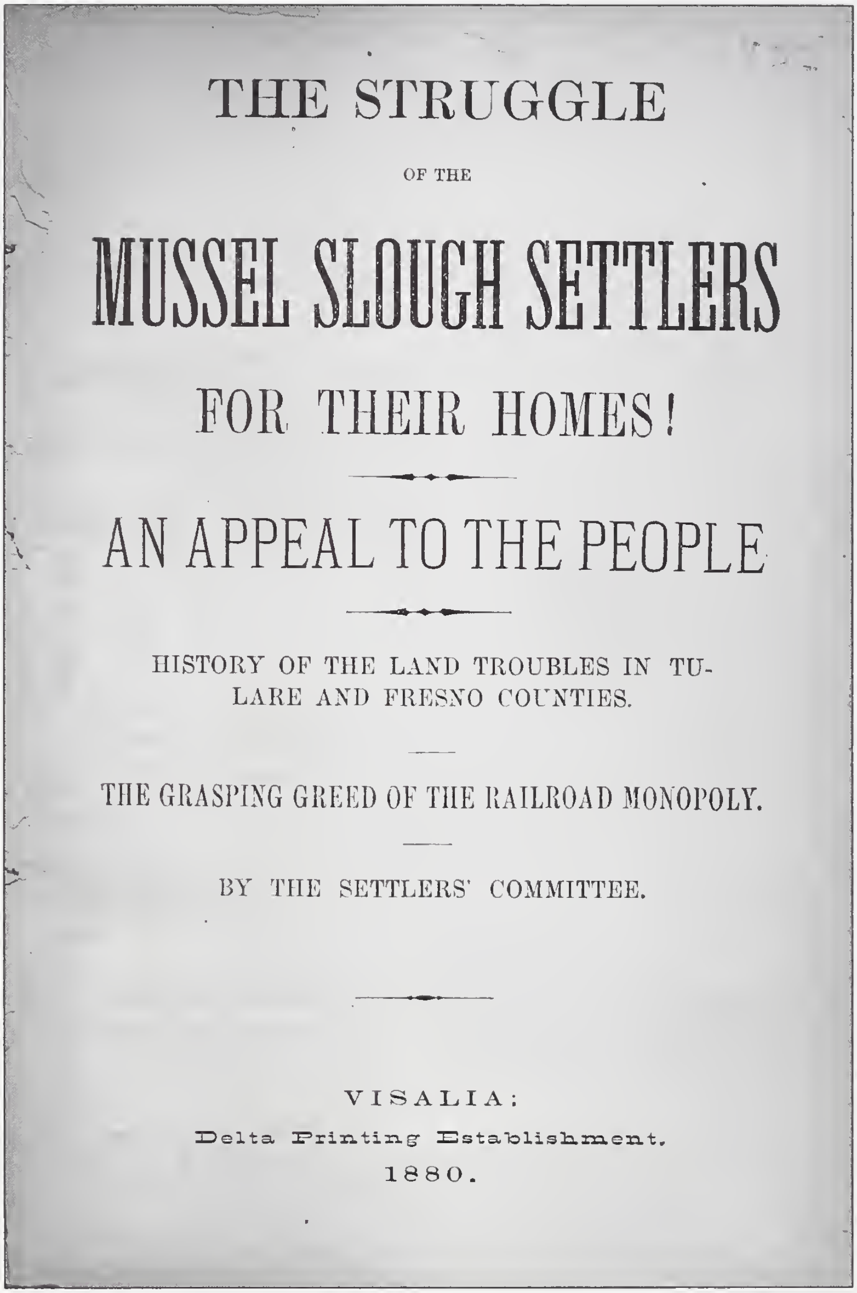


THE STRUGGLE

OF THE

MUSSEL SLOUGH SETTLERS

FOR THEIR HOMES!

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

HISTORY OF THE LAND TROUBLES IN TULARE AND FRESNO COUNTIES.

THE GRASPING GREED OF THE RAILROAD MONOPOLY.

BY THE SETTLERS' COMMITTEE.

VISALIA:
Delta Printing Establishment.
1880.

Cover and title page of the pamphlet issued by the Mussel Slough squatters to rally support for their cause after an infamous shootout on May 11, 1880. Following a nearly decade-long challenge to the titles of the Southern Pacific to railroad land-grants in the Tulare Basin of the San Joaquin Valley, during which settlers resorted to legal protests, intimidation of those who bought land from the company, and violence, courts rejected the claims and a federal marshal arrived to evict several squatters occupying railroad land illegally. When the squatters offered more armed resistance, a gunfight erupted, killing five squatters and two other local residents who had bought land from the railroad. One of the most famous events of California history, memorialized in literature and generations of political campaigning, the Battle of Mussel Slough became a powerful symbol of the struggle between powerful business interests and "the people." *California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library, FN-31567.*

# FARMERS' RHETORIC OF DEFENSE:

## California Settlers Versus the Southern Pacific Railroad

*by William Conlogue*

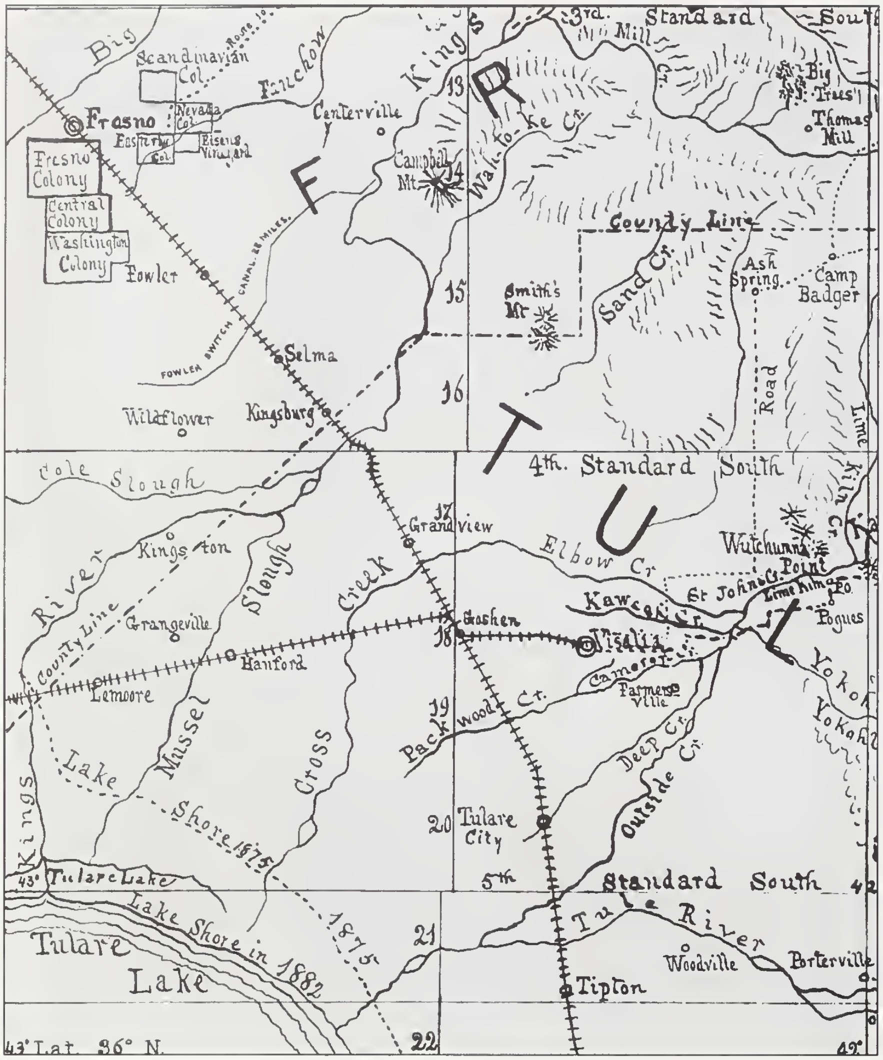
On May 11, 1880, a federal marshal, accompanied by two heavily armed men, rode through California's Mussel Slough country enforcing court orders evicting farmers from illegally occupied lands the men had purchased from a railroad company. Soon confronted by forty settlers demanding he stop, the sympathetic marshal replied that he was duty-bound to proceed. When settlers tried to disarm him, he resisted; in the confusion he was flattened by a frightened horse. Mistaking this for an attack, his companions fired, and a gun battle briefly raged. Seven deaths resulted, climaxing events mythologized as a land war between small farmers and the Southern Pacific Railroad.[1] The Mussel Slough tragedy became one of the most important and noticed events in California history, symbolizing as it did for many people then and now the epic struggle between the common people and large corporations that seemed to characterize the late-nineteenth century state and nation.

Feeding the myth is a pamphlet spawned by the incident, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers for their Homes! An Appeal to the People,* a key primary source for scholars investigating the history of the Mussel Slough land troubles in the San Joaquin Valley. A defensive culmination of settlers' perspectives on events, the pamphlet collects farmers' most important arguments, answers the most damaging charges leveled against them, and appeals for public support. As "the only important armed clash" between nineteenth-century American farmers and railroads, as the inspiration for several farm novels and plays—including Frank Norris's *The Octopus*—and as a staple in anti-railroad agitation for thirty years, the Mussel Slough tragedy is a significant moment in American agricultural history whose rhetorical struggle deserves closer attention.[2]

Understanding how nineteenth-century farmers argued gives us a powerful insight into how they felt about themselves, their work, and their prospects. Exploring farm documents' wrestling with context, audience, and purpose explodes the assumption that nineteenth-century farmers spoke with one voice and illuminates the local contours of their struggles. In arranging their language of protest, ordinary farm men and women fashioned their worldviews to appeal to contemporaries. If we can learn more about how local groups of farmers reacted to their immediate crises, we can know more about the philosophies, goals, and contradictions of the larger social movements they organized, directed, and forwarded. It is not enough to know the content of farmers' arguments: we need to analyze *how* they argued to understand the positions they defended. As an example of such an analysis, this essay studies one significant document's handling of contexts, audience and purpose, logical and emotional appeals, and manipulation of language.[3]

### REMOTE CAUSES OF THE MUSSEL SLOUGH STRUGGLE

The collision of farmers and the railroad at Mussel Slough has its remote cause in two federal acts passed in 1862. The Homestead Act officially expressed the labor-as-capital values farmers took to California; the Pacific Railroad Act authorized a transcontinental railroad linking east and west markets. The latter act, amended in 1864, granted the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads 640-acre sections of public lands, "designated by odd numbers, to the amount of ten alternate sections per mile on each side of the railroad." The even-numbered sections remained public land subject to settlement by anyone. Only when a railroad completed a given consecutive stretch of road did the government offi-


Big
Scandinavian Col.
Fancher
Fresno
Nevada Col.
Easterby Col.
Eisen's Vineyard
Fresno Colony
Central Colony
Washington Colony
Fowler
Centerville
Kings
Campbell Mt.
Wahtoke Cr.
3rd. Standard South
Mill
Big Trees
Thomas Mill
F
R
County Line
Smith's Mt
Sand Cr.
Ash Spring
Camp Badger
Selma
Fowler Switch Canal
Wildflower
Kingsburg
Road
Lime Kiln Cr.
T
4th. Standard South
U
L
Cole Slough
Grand View
Elbow Cr
Kings River
Kingston
Slough
Creek
County Line
Grangeville
Hanford
Goshen
Visalia
Witchunna Point
St Johns Cr.
Lime Kiln P.O.
Pogues
Kaweah
Lemoore
Cameron
Farmersville
Yokohl
Mussel
Cross
Lake
Packwood Cr.
Deep Cr.
Outside Cr.
Shore 1875
Tulare City
Kings
Tulare Lake
Standard South
5th
Tule River
Woodville
Porterville
Lake Shore in 1882
1875
Tulare Lake
Tipton
43° Lat. 36° N.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
42
43°
42°

Map drawn by J. W. A. Wright of portions of Tulare (now Kings) and Fresno counties, 1883, showing the Mussel Slough district at the lower left. The railroad line running from west to east through Hanford and then south from Goshen was the main line, still uncompleted, of the Southern Pacific connecting the San Francisco region with southern California and points east. In the late nineteenth century, Mussel Slough was a flowing branch of the Kings River, which carried water from the melting Sierra snowpack to Tulare Lake. Drained by water diversion, pumping, and filling, Tulare Lake has now nearly vanished, its former lakebed the site of large corporate farms. Although most of the squatters' protest activity occurred in Hanford, major rail center of the region, the Battle of Mussel Slough took place on a lonely tract near Grangeville, a few miles to the northwest. From Elliott and More, *History of Tulare County* (1883). *Courtesy California State Library.*

cially convey the land, usually after some delay. Railroads acquired a varied, but usually large, number of acres per mile. Once a railroad determined where its line would run, it encouraged settlement along that line and often printed circulars offering to sell the land to settlers. But companies did not always build where they had originally planned; some located or changed routes to acquire the most useful, profitable land or to secure the best subsidies from competing communities along potential routes, or to avoid rugged terrain.[4]

An example is the Southern Pacific. On July 27, 1866, California authorized it to build a road south to San Diego and to meet the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad at the state line. The Southern Pacific was offered land grants similar to the Central Pacific's, but its articles of association specified that it build a road along the coast before swinging east in the southern part of the state. Since most coastal lands were hilly and in private hands, the company later moved its line to the more level, less encumbered Central Valley by filing a map of the new route with the Interior Department on January 3, 1867. "By switching into the central valley, not only would some of the richest agricultural districts in the state be opened up but the railroad could take advantage of the generous land-grant privileges in the [Pacific Railroad] Act."[5] Once railroads had filed such maps of their intended routes with the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior, and the department's secretary accepted the map, the law specified that the odd-numbered land sections within the land grant along the routes were immediately closed to further settlement by purchasers or homesteaders and placed in a reservation for future transfer of titles to the railroads.

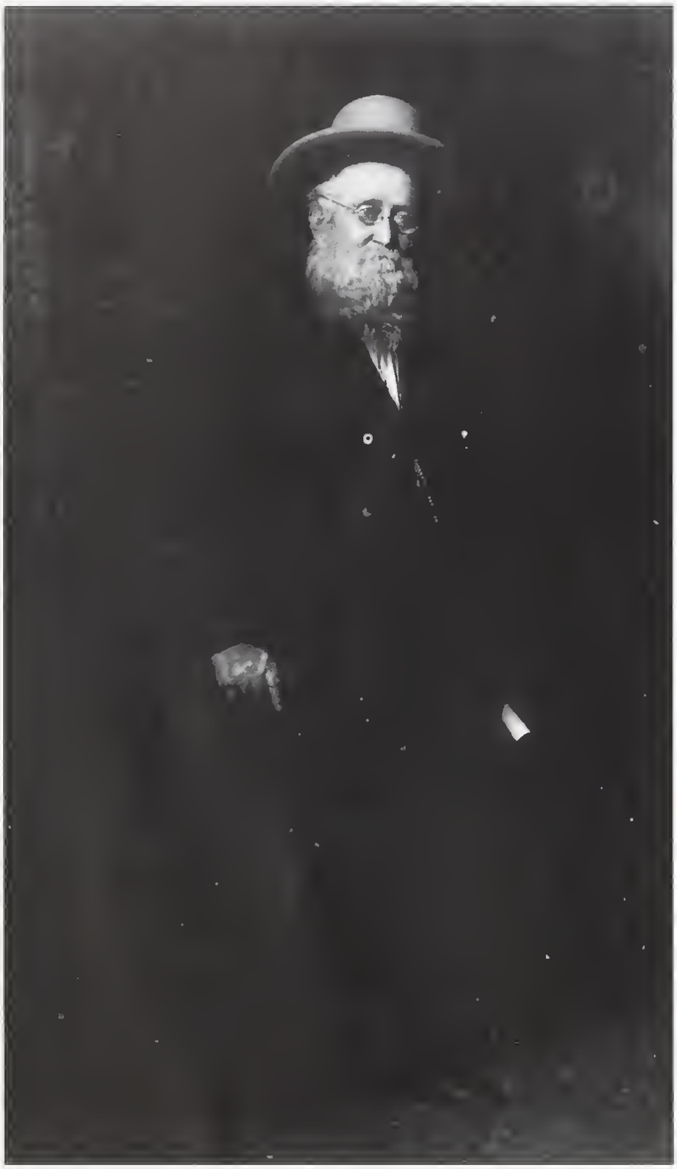
Drawn by anticipation of railroad service and sharply increased land values, settlers and speculators moved into Mussel Slough as early as 1870. Some persons purchased land from the government on the even-numbered sections, but some illegally entered the odd-numbered sections closed to ordinary settlement and reserved to be transferred to railroad ownership once the line was completed through the area. It was common for settlers to buy and sell such speculative claims even before they had title. Some had multiple claims to tracts on both even-numbered government sections and odd-numbered railroad sections. The arid area did not reveal its true wealth until it was well-irrigated, however. In 1872, the year rail service came to the region, farmers completed two irrigation canals, the Lower Kings River Ditch and the People's Ditch, diverting water from the Sierra and valley streams. Because of access to water and a railroad, "land prices in the Mussel Slough country increased about fourfold." More people flocked to the valley, and soon a wheat boom was on. Though the region was quickly a cradle of several 10,000-acre wheat farms, most farms were between 100 and 499 acres.[6]

Many settlers occupying railroad land believed that the company, once it had gotten title from the federal government, would sell to them at the land's unimproved government price—$2.50 per acre. Others never intended to pay the railroad for the land, but worked from the beginning to overturn the railroad's title. But as settlers improved their lands, the land rights of all classes of occupants hung in limbo. Through the 1870s, they unsuccessfully tried securing title from the government, arguing that the railroad had no legal right to change the route and to build where it did and, even if it had, that it ought to sell to them at the minimum government price. To complicate matters, the Southern Pacific, about 1875, in anticipation of finally receiving title to Mussel Slough lands and after many rival claimants to its lands in the area had already arrived, began issuing pamphlets advertising its lands and inviting settlers to purchase. One such circular announced that "If the settler desires to buy, the company gives him the first privilege of purchase at the fixed price, which, in every case, shall only be the value of the land, *without regard to the improvements.*" After much confusion and delay, the Southern Pacific received its land patents in the district on October 20, 1877, and soon began offering settlers their claims at what settlers maintained was the lands' *improved* prices, usually several or more times the government price. The railroad countered that it was the rail line's construction, and not the settlers' improvements, that had raised the land's value. Alarmed, ignored by Congress, and rebuffed by the Interior Department, six hundred settlers on April 12, 1878, formed a Settlers' Grand League to fight the company. The Grand League conducted paramilitary operations of secret, hooded cavalry, who burned out or evicted landbuyers who agreed to purchase from the railroad. Finally, on May 11, 1880, when the Southern Pacific had won court judgments against trespassers and a federal marshal attempted to evict those who would not pay, men were gunned down.[7]

## LOCAL TENSION

Though appearing to speak for all in Mussel Slough, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers* pamphlet, published after the tragic gun battle, walks a fine line between supporters and non-supporters of the position of the settlers/squatters. The region's population was not simply anti-railroad: "The Mussel Slough land battle . . . involved a deep-seated struggle among different kinds of settlers, not just between settlers and the Southern Pacific." The first Anglo settlers, primarily cattlemen, were not happy with the later-coming farmers and their fences; the cattlemen tended to see themselves, too, as a regional elite, and many held pro-railroad views. Among the newer settlers were also farmers or speculators on odd-numbered lands who were willing to pay the railroad's graded price; several were even accused of foiling a June 1880 compromise between the company and the League. Adding to tensions, the new settlers, a mix of honest farmers and opportunists ready to exploit a railroad settlement, were mainly southerners fleeing the occupied, war-ravaged former Confederate states and who reviled the Southern Pacific as a Republican Yankee organization as repressive as the Reconstructionists then tyrannizing the South.[8]

Questioning settlers' obedience to federal law, the railroad often reciprocated by "waving the bloody shirt," especially in the face of League leader Thomas Jefferson McQuiddy, a Tennessean and former Confederate spy and army major. The rebel charge stung so that the pamphlet answers it twice, first by identifying settlers as loyal Americans, like the reader, and reporting that, though many hailed from New England and western states, "some are from the South is true, but they are good, true men; they are peaceable, law-abiding men, and they are brave men" (pages 30-31). In its penultimate section, the charge that the League is "a body of rebels" is dismissed as "an infamous calumny" (p. 31). To iden-



Thomas Jefferson McQuiddy, shown in 1900. A former Confederate cavalry officer and spy, "Major" McQuiddy had migrated to the Mussel Slough country from Tennessee and Missouri in 1873. He legally purchased large tracts of land on even-numbered government sections and, like many of his neighbors, also moved over to occupy speculative squatter claims on the odd-numbered government sections. An experienced politician and soldier, McQuiddy emerged as a leader in the squatter opposition to the railroad. He was the organizer and principal "officer" in the paramilitary squatter cavalry militia formed in 1879 to resist evictions from railroad land. *Courtesy California State Library.*

tify settlers with its loyal American readers, the pamphlet reaches back to the American Revolution; the railroad company is a "band of heartless tyrants" worse than "George III, whose yoke was thrown off by our ancestors" (p. 29).[9]

The railroad also had a history of hostility with Tulare County's largest town. When Visalia refused "to pay the exorbitant bribes the Southern Pacific demanded" to build to it, the railroad swung west and created its own town, Tulare City. Visalia's Delta Printing Establishment, publisher of the *Visalia Weekly Delta* and printer of the pamphlet, was vehemently anti-Southern Pacific. Its newspaper advertised itself as working in "The Interests of the People...it advocates the popular rights in opposition to rings, cliques, and oppressive corporations...the property-owner cannot afford to be without it." Its pages carried League-written articles, and the newspaper was officially given the League's thanks at a September 20, 1880, League picnic. The paper's "accounts of some of the participants" in the Mussel Slough gun battle were reprinted across the nation. Editor Charles Morrow wrote an anti-railroad novel based on the shootout, *Blood Money,* published by the *Delta's* owners in 1882.[10]

## PRE-MAY 11 ASSERTION/POST-MAY 11 DEFENSE

The space designated to sections of an argument illustrates the importance writers attach to those parts. Thirty-three pages long, including cover, string-bound, and approximately 5 3/4" by 8 1/2," the pamphlet creates exigence simply by reminding readers of the "lamentable occurrence of the 11th of May" (p. 3). Pages 4 through 12 detail the settler-railroad title dispute, while pages 12 through 14 suggest a September creation of the pamphlet, reprinting an August 1880 California Supreme Court ruling "rendered during the last few weeks" that claims railroad circulars are contracts (p. 12). The center of the pamphlet (pages 15 through 18) is a narrative by the sister of a shootout victim. Pages 18 through 22 connect land values to settlers' improvements, and pages 22 through 29 reprint settler-railroad correspondence just before the shootings. A conclusion follows on pages 29 through 32.

That the document compiles previously published material, most of it from the *Delta,* raises serious interpretative questions because such material appeared in radically different rhetorical situations. Taking the offensive, pre-May 11 publications challenge the railroad. For example, "An Appeal to the People" appears in the *Delta* on May 7, just four days before the shootings, as tensions rose to a fever pitch. Addressed to the "people of California," the article predicts "bloodshed and outlawry" if the government fails to take action on the settlers' behalf. But when the article is reprinted in the pamphlet, these key phrases are cut, indicating that, in wake of the shootings and in appealing to the world, the settlers had quickly distanced themselves from responsibility for a tragedy they predicted.[11]

Though pre-May 11 material asserts settlers' rights in the public relations battle with the railroad, post-May 11 publications show settlers on the defensive. For example, appearing in the *Delta* on June 4 is the narrative of the woman who "lost a brother (A. McGregor) in the late fearful slaughter." Instead of predicting violence, settlers have now become victims of violence. The post-May 11 pamphlet, combining pieces printed before and after May 11, retains a defensive posture begun in the immediate post-May 11 atmosphere, when League supporters were quickly and sharply answering critics, who were many, throughout the state and nation. A May 28 *Delta* response to a May 21 letter ends, "Your correspondent should inform himself upon a subject of so great importance, before writing articles tending to prejudice the public mind against the settlers...." By September, support had deteriorated even within the League; members were defecting, League leaders had been indicted, and neighbors were coming to terms with the railroad. By this time, too, settlers, having lost all court cases and appeals, had long ceased defending their legal claim to the land; they now sought only a reduction in its graded price. With the public appeal of their agrarian ideals waning, the settlers' zeal in fighting the Southern Pacific ebbed.[12]

### CREATING AN AUDIENCE/DEFINING THEMSELVES

Writers do not merely target an audience. They create one. When the pamphlet speaks to "the people," "the Candid Men and Women of the World," "the public mind" (cover and p. 3), it addresses a universal audience, which, according to a recent authority on rhetoric, is not "an experimentally proven fact, but...a universality and unanimity imagined by the speaker." Since "each individual, each culture, has thus its own conception of the universal audience," analyzing a particular construction of it illuminates the writer's own understanding of his fellows. The pamphlet's conception of audience is mainly a reflection of settlers' own self-identity. Addressed as those who "sympathize with the right" (p. 3), "men and women of heart and soul and justice" (p. 18), and "fellow-citizens" (p. 30), the pamphlet's audience is assumed to be anti-railroad: "jealousy of railroad corporations does not exist simply because they *are* corporations, but because it is known to all men that they too often take advantage of their great power to annoy and oppress individuals" (p. 3). This language targets a wide swath of the late-nineteenth-century American public, though small farmers fighting high freight rates and urban workers decrying low wages would especially recognize and appreciate an appeal by "hundreds of poor men" (p. 3), "hundreds of houseless and homeless" who relocated to California or else "remain houseless and homeless forever" (p. 14), "poor men" (p. 14), and "the poor settler" (p. 18). [13]

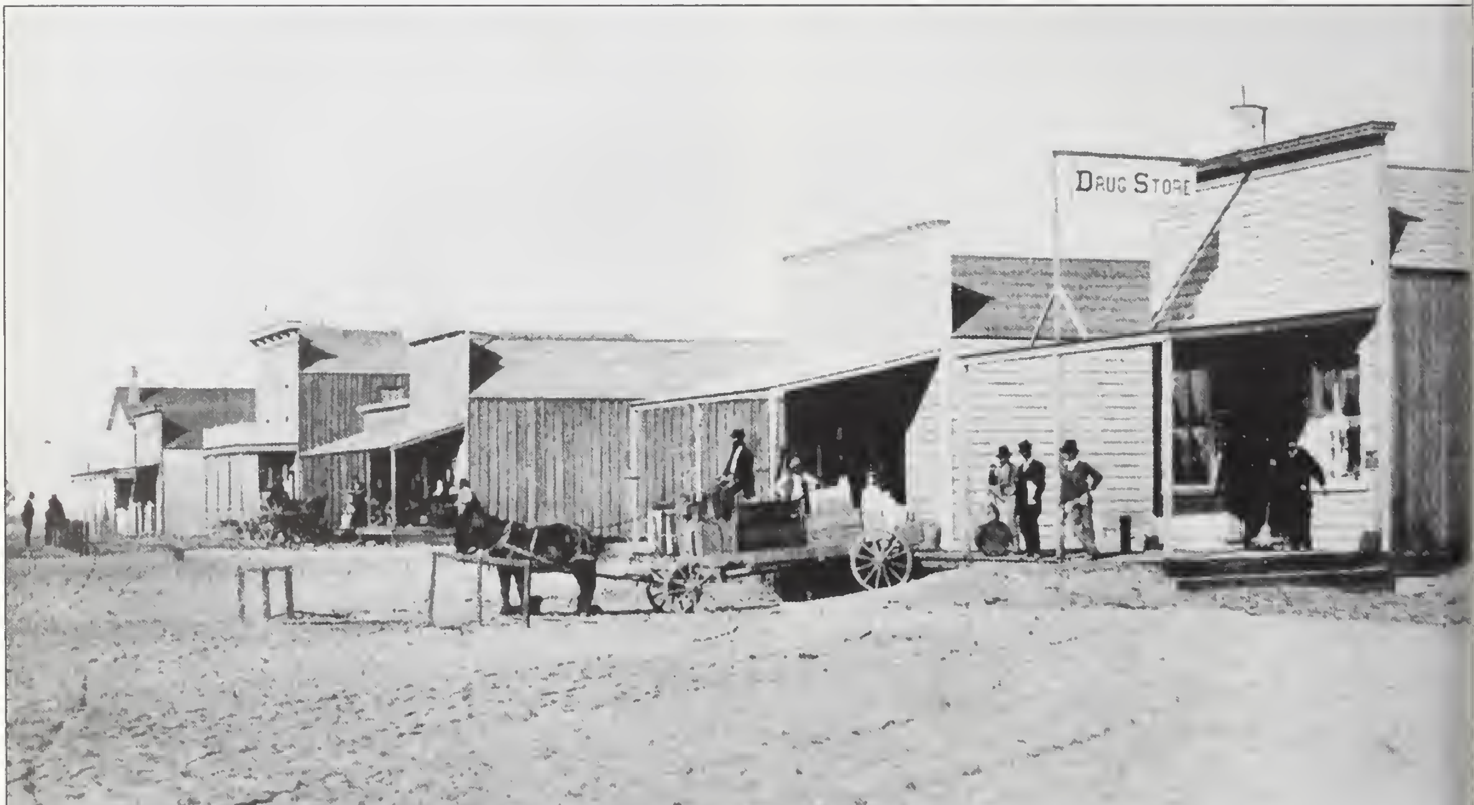
That the pamphlet preaches to the converted, to a universal audience centering on small farmers and urban workers, is even clearer when we consider its local context. The Mussel Slough country was fertile ground for agrarian radicalism. One indication was that a Mussel Slough village was named Grangeville. Hanford, its principal town—ironically, named for a Southern Pacific auditor—was "a California stronghold of the national Anti-Monopoly League." J. W. A. Wright, League "intellectual and penman," had been a member "high in the councils of the state and national Grange." And mainly small farmers were affected by the land dispute; according to court records, rival claims to railroad land averaged 128 acres.[14]

Mussel Slough farmers had sympathetic ties to workers in San Francisco. For example, John J. Doyle, a League leader and in many ways the originator and principal propagandist of the squatter rush, was affiliated with militant labor organizer Denis Kearney. In 1879 Doyle represented Tulare County at the Workingmen's Party Convention in San Francisco and cemented a political alliance between Mussel Slough farmers and urban workers when he convinced the convention to pass a resolution supporting the former. Kearney spoke to enthusiastic crowds in Mussel Slough towns in the spring of 1879. The pamphlet's anti-corporate descriptions of the Southern Pacific—"grasping greed of the railroad monopoly" and "the money power"—also echo established eastern labor rhetoric (cover, p. 31).[15]

To refute charges of vigilantism against League members, the pamphlet describes an audience sensitive to the rule of law. The reader is urged to render "a verdict . . . after reading what is here submitted"; and the document concludes, "We appeal . . . to your verdict as to the *justice* of our cause" (pp. 3, 32). The pamphlet asks readers to rule on two definitions: "Whether or not [the Southern Pacific] is oppressive, exacting, rapacious and heartless" and, more importantly, "whether or not the hundreds of poor men who, with their families, have settled upon these lands, are mere 'squatters' upon the lands and trespassers upon the rights of the Railroad Company" (p. 3). Though the squatter was seen as "almost a folk hero in the Midwest and plains states," many Californians feared that squatters worked "to bring law and order in California to its knees." Afraid the public might perceive them as "'outlaws'" and "'landjumpers'" in the shootout's aftermath, settlers who included many who indeed had from the beginning been true squatters, now present themselves as "law-abiding" citizens who "would aid in the enforcement of the law" and who look to the U.S. Supreme Court as the court "by whose decisions we must all abide" (pp. 31, 32).[16]

## PURPOSE(S)

The pamphlet works to maintain public sympathy, which settlers had generally enjoyed before May 11, but which had slipped dangerously immediately after. Following the shootings, one staunch supporter, the *San Francisco Chronicle,* castigated settlers for placing "themselves clearly in the wrong before the tribunal of public opinion." Worse, the public's first impressions of the shootings were the railroad's. Immediately after the killings, railroad officials "clamped down a rigid censorship" in Mussel Slough, closing local telegraph offices and stopping all trains. Company officials in San Francisco, including president Charles Crocker, personally visited newspapers with a version of events that was published the next day. Ten days after the shooting, the *Delta* wondered, "How shall we retain the best wishes and the good will so generously manifested in our behalf?" In the same issue, a letter-writer notes



The railroad town of Hanford, the political and commercial center of the Mussel Slough country, shown in 1877, shortly after its founding by the Southern Pacific. *Courtesy California State Library.*

that "it is feared by some of the most ardent supporters and best friends of these settlers, that the influence of armed men, believed to be working in connection with the league, will yet have an unhappy effect upon the public mind." In such conditions, suppressing suggestions of vigilantism and keeping sympathy alive meant holding the public mind in an anti-railroad, anti-corporate mood.[17]

Behind the League's public relations problem lies a real history of violence beginning in November 1878. Companies of armed men paraded nightly through the streets of Hanford. League members were guilty of arson and of holding at gunpoint pro-railroad individuals and employees. League activities reflect California's long history of vigilantism, and its specific tactics may have been modeled on Ku Klux Klan nightriding. The May 11 violence soon led to the defection of League secretary Luther J. Hawley. And right after the shooting, even supporters within the League were deserting. According to one recent account of the tragedy's aftermath, "after June 1 droves of settlers rushed to take advantage of the railroad's [latest] offer [of reduced prices]," and by December 1880 most had legalized their claims.[18]

The arrest of seven Leaguers in August raises further questions about the pamphlet's audience and purpose. Their November 30–December 23 trial ended in five being sentenced on charges of resisting a U.S. marshal. The pamphlet, then, appeared between their arrest and conviction. Was the pamphlet written to present the settlers' case—en masse, as it claims—or was it issued to exonerate those arrested by showing that the soulless railroad was at fault? Both. The pamphlet touches the indictments in its conclusion: "the sword of prosecution that has so sorely smitten us, may be invoked by us in return . . . We have been prosecuted and persecuted. . . ." (p.32) The pamphlet gives the world a reasoned account of the Mussel Slough trouble, but the context of its appearance suggests that it is as well an argument for the acquittal of League leaders. Accusations had been leveled against Doyle by several writers, among them Ambrose Bierce, no railroad sympathizer, who accuse Doyle of fomenting the entire anti-railroad campaign to engineer a payoff or to obtain cheap land for speculative purposes. In the end, Doyle, Patterson, J. D. Purcell, W. L. Pryor, and William Braden were given "brief sentences to San Jose prison; an ovation was tendered them on their release" in 1881.[19]

In addition, by September 1880, the League's image problem had become a financial one. At a poorly attended picnic held on September 20, members discussed the "urgent necessity of promptly raising the necessary funds for continuing the railroad cases." Attending were indicted league members Doyle and Patterson; though agreeing that "never before had the public sympathy been so aroused in behalf of the outraged settlers," they were fearful that League attorneys might lose heart if sufficient monies were not raised quickly. The meeting resolved that "a number of competent and reliable representatives be sent abroad into the various sections of this state, to correctly present the grievances of this people and to solicit pecuniary aid to carry on their litigations with the S.P.R.R. Co." As it was raising consciousness, the pamphlet was raising money. Distributed by these representatives it served as documentation of settlers' claims and was itself a surrogate representative.[20]

### BUT WHO WROTE IT?

The pamphlet seeks a single voice to create a sense of unanimity. Its cover proclaims that its creators are members of the "Settlers' Committee," a subdivision of "The League," a body of settlers formed to "enable [the settlers] to present against the money power arrayed against [them] by the railroad an opposition which it was impossible for [them] to do as individuals"(p. 31). No one is named. The effort is to present a united front, a single, reasonable voice, rather than the voices of a clamorous multitude, to answer the corporation's voice. Faced with a corporate body, the settlers form themselves as a corporate body. Doing so alludes to their League's articles of formation: "we will stand in the attitude of one man until our case is finally adjudicated in the United States Supreme Court." The single voice facilitates spreading a single story, especially in the hands of representatives carrying the pamphlet to the ends of the state. But, as we have seen, this voice did not speak for everyone in Mussel Slough.[21]

Though it seeks a single voice, the pamphlet probably had no single writer. While J.W.A. Wright may have been the League's social philosopher and writer, McQuiddy, Patterson, and Doyle signed the original *Delta* articles and were selected to negotiate lower prices with Leland Stanford in March 1880 in a failed last-ditch effort at compromise (p. 24). Because there may be several composers of original parts of the pamphlet and because it compiles so many writers' work, it is more helpful to think of its creator as a redactor, possibly *Delta* editor Charles

Morrow, and one or more of the above League leaders, maybe others. In any case, from this angle, the document's arrangement is as significant as its prose: Why is it weighted with transcriptions of Interior Department correspondence? Why is a narrative at its center? Why conclude as it does? How does its arrangement speak to its audience? The answers lie in its assigning of responsibility for the troubles.[22]

### ASSIGNING RESPONSIBILITY: TO NATURAL OR ARTIFICIAL PERSONS?

The pamphlet, appearing at a crucial moment in farm/legal history, is not sure how many voices it confronts, suggesting that its creators are unsure who is responsible: the individuals who make up the company? Or the company as an entity? Deciding is important legally and rhetorically—legally for regulatory purposes, rhetorically to argue accountability convincingly.

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, amidst an increasingly complex national economy, federal courts were wrestling with defining corporations. Were they "artificial persons" or collections of natural people? Should they be accorded the same rights as natural persons? The U.S. Ninth Circuit Court in San Francisco, which ruled against the settlers in the railroad's test case, *Southern Pacific v. Orton* (1879) and many other cases that followed in 1879 and 1880, took the lead in defining corporations as artificial persons. In *Orton*, Judge Lorenzo Sawyer defined a corporation as an artificial person: "When such a being is brought into existence, a corporation has been created. A legal entity, a person, has been created, with a capacity to do by its corporate name such things as the legislative power may permit." This artificial person's rights—and profits—were soon protected under the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment in Sawyer and Stephen J. Field's rulings in *San Mateo v. Southern Pacific* (1882) and *Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific* (1883), rulings that "today stand as the highest—indeed in some respects the only—authoritative judicial statement and justification of the corporate constitutional 'person.'" Sharply reducing states' power to regulate railroads, the latter cases reversed the Supreme Court's stance in 1870s Granger cases, such as *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), which had affirmed Illinois's right "to establish maximum rates for storing grain."[23]

The pamphlet's language embodies the debate over corporate number: for example, the Southern Pacific is "a great corporation, whose individual members are worth their scores of millions" (p. 18). Its choice of pronouns points to its confusion of definition; at times the pamphlet refers to the "Railroad Company" and "the Southern Pacific Railroad" in the singular, as "it" (pp. 3, 11), at other times as "they" (pp. 4, 6), and interchangeably as "it" and "they" (p. 8). Though acknowledging the corporation's agency as a single entity in creating roads and buildings, the pamphlet wants to assign corporate responsibility to individuals, "railroad cormorants" (p. 18), "heartless tyrants" (p. 29), and "railroad magnates" (p. 31), presumably Crocker, Stanford, and Huntington. But while its metaphorical language consistently personifies the company and its deceit, it does so in both the singular and plural. For example, Secretary of the Interior O. H. Browning's July 14, 1868, reprinted letter restoring railroad lands to the public domain "tore the mask from railroad pretensions, and left their land fraud, naked as Adam before the era of fig leaves, to the gaze of the world" (p. 5). And, "greed and avarice had calloused their consciences and gangrened their souls" (p. 18). Though the pamphlet's confusion over what a corporation is probably went unnoticed by its intended audience, small farmers and urban workers, the document's personification, no matter the number, paints the company as a palpable evil—making its presence immediate and real for readers tuned to the anti-railroad agitation of the Grange and the Workingmen's Party of late 1870s California.[24]

### THE ARGUMENTS: MAPS AND PROMISES

But at a crucial point in its argument, the pamphlet suggests again a singular construction of the company in another allusion to Genesis. To claim that the Southern Pacific has denied its birth, the document reprints letters from two interior secretaries and an attorney general who argue that the company's state articles of association, rather than a map it filed with the Interior Department, January 3, 1867, "breathed into the corporation the breath of life" (p. 7). Carrying this implication to its logical conclusion, settlers argue that the Southern Pacific's failure to build its road where it was ordered to by law is a "fatal and flagrant defect"; in effect, the company does not exist because it was never legally born (p. 7). If the company does not legally exist, then no land patents could have been conveyed, and no one can take farmers' land. But if there is no company, what does one do with the finished road?[25]

Defining the road's location was not a trivial matter. The rail route was the determining line on either

Farmstead near Grangeville of Henry Brewer, one of the Mussel Slough squatters, ca. late nineteenth century. Brewer had owned several legal farms, including this one, on even-numbered government land sections. With partner John Storer, however, he had for several years also occupied an unimproved, but cultivated 320-acre tract of railroad land to the south of this farm. Brewer, like many of the squatters, protected his investment by sheltering his improvements, including house, fence, barn and outbuildings, and water sources, on his legal farm. On May 11, 1880, U.S. Marshall Alonzo W. Poole was enforcing an eviction order against Brewer and Storer when forty armed militia riders in military formation attempted to stop him, touching off the Battle of Mussel Slough. *Courtesy Kings County Library, Hanford.*

side of which would be located specific odd-numbered sections the railroad would choose for its patents. Although most settlers could readily check maps at the federal land office in Visalia and certainly understood if they were or were not on reserved railroad land, because of a number of potential ambiguities, a few settlers did not know they occupied a specific railroad section until the line was built and the titles along it conveyed from the government to the company. Various definitions of reality hang in the balance: is the road the real thing? or its verbal representation? or its visual representation? According to the railroad's articles of formation, the road exists in counties along the California coast; according to the company, the road exists as mapped in the Central Valley. According to the settlers, even the constructed road cannot be the Southern Pacific because it does not connect to the company's lines from San Francisco. The visual representation wins over the verbal one and the subsequent fact of the road; Congress validated the map with the altered route on June 28, 1870, and the state of California followed shortly thereafter.[26]

The map is the central element in settlers' arguments against railroad title; they point to it over and over again in antecedent arguments. For example, in an 1876 petition to Congress, Doyle argues that settlers "are *not* willing to admit that Congress loses control of this land simply on account of its [the land's] withdrawal [from settlement] and the filing of a line on paper [the map] in the General Land Office" (p. 12). The map is also a point of contention in *Orton*. Even after the shootings, when they file suit against railroad ejectments issued after May 11, settlers point to the "false and fraudulent map." For the League, the map is a symbol of the abstract nature of the company's claims, in contrast to the settlers' tangible possession. In the latter's view, their argument is based on solid ground, while the company founds its argument on paper-thin technicalities. But to distant arbiters of the conflict, members of a burgeoning federal bureaucracy and court system, the map has authority; settlers could not bring their grounds—sufficiently or literally—before a federal government rooted in disposing public land based on a grid system that depicted the land's commodification.[27]

A remnant of Mussel Slough just east of Hanford, photographed in 1986. In the 1870s, some settlers in the district established cooperative, joint-stock irrigation companies to divert water from the slough onto their farms, increasing the value of their crops and lands. The irrigation works provided the principal basis for the settlers' contention that it was their improvements, not the railroad's construction, that had raised land values in the district. The Southern Pacific countered that without the railroad the new crops could not have been grown and marketed at a profit. Like many waterways and wetlands in the Central Valley, Mussel Slough by the twentieth century was largely obliterated by land-fill and upstream water-diversion. Only tiny portions of the once-flowing river remain. *Photograph by Editorial Office Staff.*

But to lend the impression that its argument has already been assented to by the federal government and to back claims about the illegality of railroad land grants, the pamphlet reproduces letters from officials representing the Grant and Hayes administrations. The paper trail is two-fold. First, it shows that settlers have a long history of patience in enlisting the government—and by association, the law—as an ally. And, by calling attention to their patience and their adherence to law, settlers defuse accusations of vigilantism. But federal law had, in fact, already denied their legal claims—the pamphlet, of course, does not mention the *Orton* case, or a string of legal precedents stretching back years and undercutting the settlers' arguments. Presenting its version of history as it does builds the pamphlet's ethos: this is how the situation developed. The official, heavily documented backing conveys the necessary authority. In effect the pamphlet argues that if two administrations have sided with us for a dozen years, why are we still denied our rights? Underscoring the solidarity of these administrations' positions, the pamphlet notes that even when the Southern Pacific used "chicanery and fraud" in the hopes of bending the government to its will, it was unsuccessful (p. 6). Mentioning railroad "chicanery and fraud" again reminds readers to view the Southern Pacific as malevolent and answers the above question: the denial of settlers' rights is a railroad fraud, a land grab.

Granting the railroad's legal existence and the legality of its map, the pamphlet turns to arguing that the settlers are, in fact, actual settlers, whose rights are protected by a Congressional joint resolution of June 28, 1870 (p. 8). What is an actual settler? Anyone living on railroad land? Those occupying the land before 1870? Or before the filing of the map? Or even before the creation of the company? Though *Orton* had defined an actual settler as someone who occupied the land prior to the filing of the map—making all others squatters—the pamphlet answers this decision by keeping before the reader the argument that railroad circulars inviting settlers to the land are contracts.[28]

To support the circulars-are-contracts claim, the pamphlet lists "explicit promises" from circulars: to sell land at its unimproved price and to offer it first to the person occupying it (p. 12). The main warrant lying behind the claim is that the audience understands that "the whole theory of our government is founded upon the idea that promises, such as these are, assume the status of contracts" (p. 12). And, in fact, this claim was upheld by the California Supreme Court in *Boyd v. Brinckin*, decided August 27, 1880 (p. 12). The pamphlet allows the ruling to stand as an analogy to the Mussel Slough case; it reprints the judges' opinion and bookends it with: "the following unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of this State, rendered during the last few weeks, upon an exactly parallel case, affecting the Central Pacific Railroad...The above decision of the Court is conclusive as to our equities" (pp. 12, 14). The case argues that settlers have solid reasons for an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, and its placing anticipates—and validates—a narrative by one actual settler who had "faith in their word" that the circulars were indeed promises (p. 16). Mary Chambers's story, analyzed below, connects people and land in contrast to the company's reliance on their alienation. Ultimately, however, the Supreme Court refuses to hear the settlers, thus silencing their collective voice.[29]

## THE HEART AND SOUL OF THE ARGUMENT: PATHOS AND CONCRETE VALUES

Though the pamphlet entreats readers' reason, its central appeal is to their sympathy and self-identity. Not only is Mary Chambers's narrative a relief from the legal labyrinth that comes before, it diverts attention from legal distinctions between squatter and settler. Not only does her narrative break the pamphlet's pattern, it serves as its focal point. Appearing in the exact center of the work, the story grounds legal arguments in readers' experience. She appeals not only to readers' emotions, but to their identity as potential fellow sufferers of corporate injustice. Her narrative, the only extended, clearly post-May 11 piece in the pamphlet, defends the Jeffersonian ethic implied in its title and brings home the weight of the settlers' conception of their equities.

Her defense of farmers' equities relies on distinguishing a squatter from a settler (p. 15). While to her a squatter is "an idle, worthless person, who would rather enjoy what belonged to others than his own," settlers are people who "made a country, built towns, churches and schoolhouses" in the manner of her neighbors—and presumably her readers (pp. 16, 17). But her description of a squatter serves another purpose. As part of her discussion of the irrigating of Mussel Slough, it shows exactly who lives there: industrious and valuable citizens—who just happen to be poor. Most cuttingly, in the larger context of the land trouble, her words perfectly affirm the settlers' understanding of the company as "thieves in the night" (p. 17). Her plural personification confirms the entire pamphlet's: both ultimately assign responsibility to the corporation as a set of individuals, though Chambers narrows her accusation to "railroad lords" Crocker and Stanford (p. 17).

Chambers argues that she and her neighbors are hardworking, salt-of-the-earth yeomen. In introducing her work, the pamphlet describes Mussel Slough's pre-settlement environment, piling up several sentences using anaphora, for volume, which tend to be short and declarative: "It was the home of the tarantula and the lizard . . . It was arid and uninviting. In summer it was hot" (p. 14). The reliance on verbs of being—is and was, especially—lends this introduction an air of fact. Its switch to a third-person voice creates objectivity, especially in referring to settlers as "they" (pp. 14-15). The historical tone suggests an exact reckoning: "They had no capital...They thus had to live . . . They were inspired . . ." (pp. 14-15). After preparing readers for the truth of Chambers's story, the pamphlet deploys it, like the best of illustrations, to "strengthen adherence to a known and accepted rule," here that the Southern Pacific is wrongly persecuting law-abiding citizen-farmers. Her exemplum, in turn, strengthens reader adherence to the recounted history surrounding it.[30]

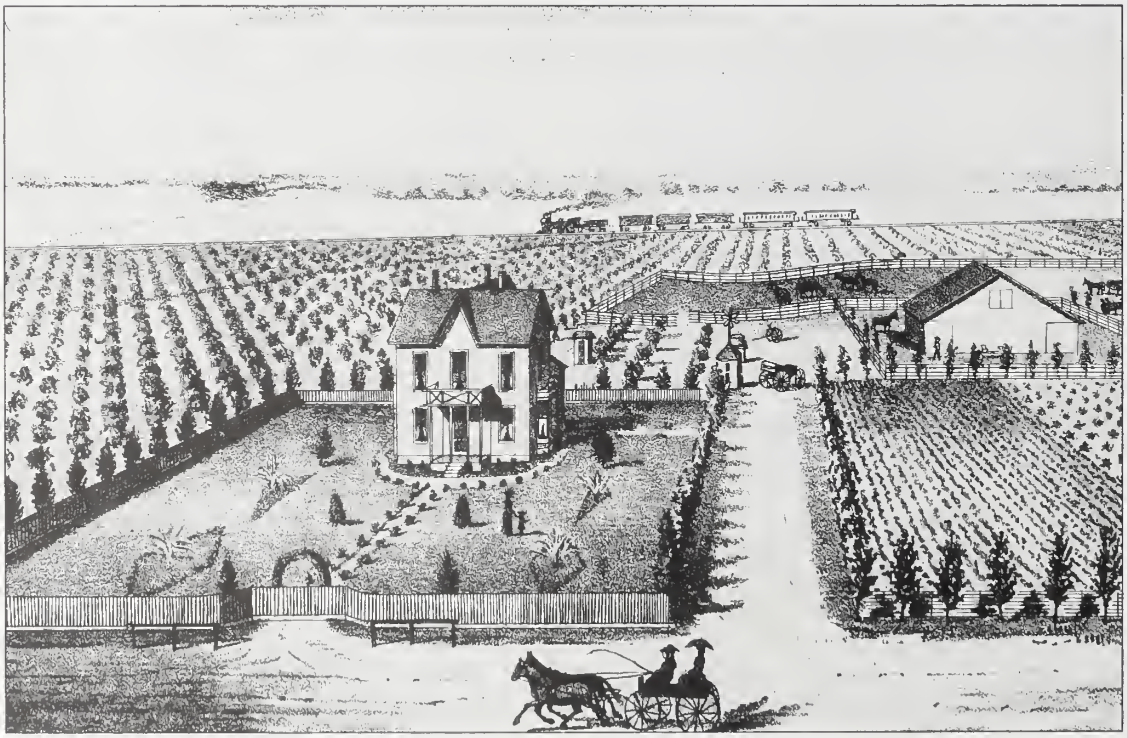
Her most vivid and concrete details attend the key issue of value: what gave the land its worth—market access, i.e., the railroad? or farmers' irrigation? Chambers's pathos argues that it was irrigation:

> women and children ran out to see the first water

> come in the ditch...I have known men, when they were working on those ditches, to grind corn in their coffee-mills to make their bread, and take their frying-pan with them and depend on catching fish for their meals (p. 16).

She beseeches the reader's sense of justice with a Jeffersonian understanding of settlers' equities: we own the land we sweated over. She describes in "simple truths [that] glow with a pathos that will reach all hearts not made of stone" the difficulty of hewing a home from the arid Mussel Slough and how heartrending it is to have that home threatened by the railroad (p. 15). The sister of a shootout victim, she embodies Mussel Slough as a story of family, not simply of legal abstraction.[31]

Chambers's and the railroad's perspectives on land values divide on time, too. Forward-looking, the latter suppresses history to sell land based on its potential; a typical circular, by Southern Pacific Land Agent Jerome Madden, claims, for example, that Fresno, Tulare, and Kern counties are "destined to be filled, at no distant time, with an intelligent and industrious people, and to be the centre of great wealth." The expanding railroad, of course, creates value in providing access to more land and new markets. Settlers, however, look to a past of agrarian mythic progress: "the country was a barren plain of sand...the winter rainfall, as a rule, was entirely insufficient to mature crops of grain" (p. 14). Chambers's argument relies on history; land values are the culmination of past labors, not of markets. Since she and her husband had worked so hard to improve the land—by constructing on it "a house, barn, orchard, alfalfa pasture, flower garden, ditches, and a well-cultivated farm"—they have the right to it, regardless of legalities (p. 17). Without improvements, especially their ditches, the land would be worthless. Her reasoning has a long history in the United States, beginning with Thomas Jefferson, with roots in John Locke's theory of natural right. Andrew Jackson, George Julian, Henry George, and Horace Greeley all maintained that "wild land on the frontier had no value, that its value came from the improvement made upon it and in its vicinity." Events at Mussel Slough predict that this reasoning would find no place in a post-frontier United States.[32]



This 1883 illustration of H. P. Gray's farm between Hanford and Lemoore in the Mussel Slough district exemplifies the image of orderly, productive, Jeffersonian agrarian people that the Mussel Slough squatters attempted to project for themselves. From Elliot and Moore, *History of Tulare County* (1883). *Courtesy California State Library.*

Chambers's words remind readers of contemporary disputes between squatters and other claimants, disputes hinging on similar arguments: the Des Moines River lands controversy—"one of the longest and bitterest conflicts between various contenders for title to well over a hundred thousand acres"—running from before the Civil War to the 1870s; the Osage "steal," where railroad companies negotiated five treaties to obtain 1,500,000 acres of Indian reserves; and the nearer controversy in California between Mexican ranch claimants and U.S. immigrants after the Mexican War. In this context, her argument is prophecy; if Mussel Slough farmers are not defined as settlers, they too will lose, adding to the list of railroad conquests. Other hard-working people—her readers—will be next.[33]

Post-Chambers

Following Chambers's improvers-are-settlers/irrigation-adds-value argument in the pamphlet is a May 28, 1880, report from a committee of "twelve disinterested citizens of Fresno and Tulare counties, as to the past and present value of these lands and the cause thereof" (p. 18). These "disinterested" citizens report that the land was worth only $2.50/acre, if that, before settlers' improvements; they conclude that settlers' "equitable interest" in the lands "amounts to the major part of their estimated value" (p. 18). To buttress the reliability of these citizens, the pamphlet includes corroborating letters from two long-time settlers who could not make the committee's meeting, both saying essentially the same thing—the lands are worthless without the farmers' improvements. One letter-writer makes this claim even though settlers have tried to "override" him and "destroy" his property (p. 19). The use of convergence and reluctant testimony is needed as backing because the committee was formed at a "mass meeting" eleven days after the Mussel Slough massacre; it submitted its report six days later (p. 18). How much disinterest any committee could possibly maintain in the tense circumstances is understandably questionable.[34]

Following this testimony are short notes from the Southern Pacific informing settlers that their farms are now offered for sale at market prices. Appearing publicly first in an 1878 settler petition to Congress, these letters end up in the pamphlet in altered form—minus the lands' exact grid survey locations. While increasing readability, the erasure does more; it suppresses suggestions of the land as a commodity to keep readers from possibly seeing farmers as speculators. Understood this way, the notes argue

MILLS D.
HARTT.
AGED
28 YRS. 4 MS.
HARTT.

Grangeville cemetery gravestone, ca. 1980, of Mills D. Hartt, mortally wounded at the Battle of Mussel Slough. On the day of the gunfight, Marshal Poole was in the process of placing Hartt and Walter Crow, another local buyer of railroad land, in possession of their properties, and the two heavily armed men, whose lives had been threatened repeatedly by squatters, accompanied the marshal. Hot-headed and aggressively violent, Hartt, according to most witnesses, fired the first shot that touched off the battle. *Editorial office photograph.*

for the value of farmers' improvements and underscore railroad rapacity. For example, Mrs. Martha G. Watkins of Grangeville is informed that "The S.P.R.R. Co. has reduced the price of the land you occupy from $27.50 to $24 per acre" (p. 20). That this is the *reduced* price inflames readers' sense of justice. But if readers do not react so, a bracketed insertion makes sure they do because it notes that Mrs. Watkins's lands have been regraded yet again and are "raised to $27" (p. 20). In the pamphlet's view, a settler like Watkins, buying her land at the railroad's price, pays for her home twice: once in sweat, again in currency. The letters are presented as threats: "your money or your life—*your money*, if you have the ready cash; *your life*, if you will but give us a mortgage on your home" (p. 20). Who will stop these robberies of innocent women like Mrs. Watkins? The League, public opinion, the reader.

To document and defend farmers' good faith negotiations with the company, the pamphlet reaches its conclusion by reprinting League correspondence with Leland Stanford in the weeks immediately preceding the shootings. This shows not only how things came to an impasse but how hard settlers worked to compromise and to avert tragedy—though the letter-writing was originally a delaying tactic to keep the company from removing people from the land until the Supreme Court agreed to hear the settlers' cases (pp. 22-29). The correspondence ends with a letter from Stanford "regretting the necessity of further litigation" and claiming that the railroad's prices were "at least fifty percent below the actual value of these lands" (p. 29). The settlers are impassioned:

> Can human insults go farther? Is it possible that we who have struggled for ten years past, and given this country all the real value there is in it, are thus to be robbed? Can all these things be possible in our boasted free country? In short, are we American citizens? (p. 29).

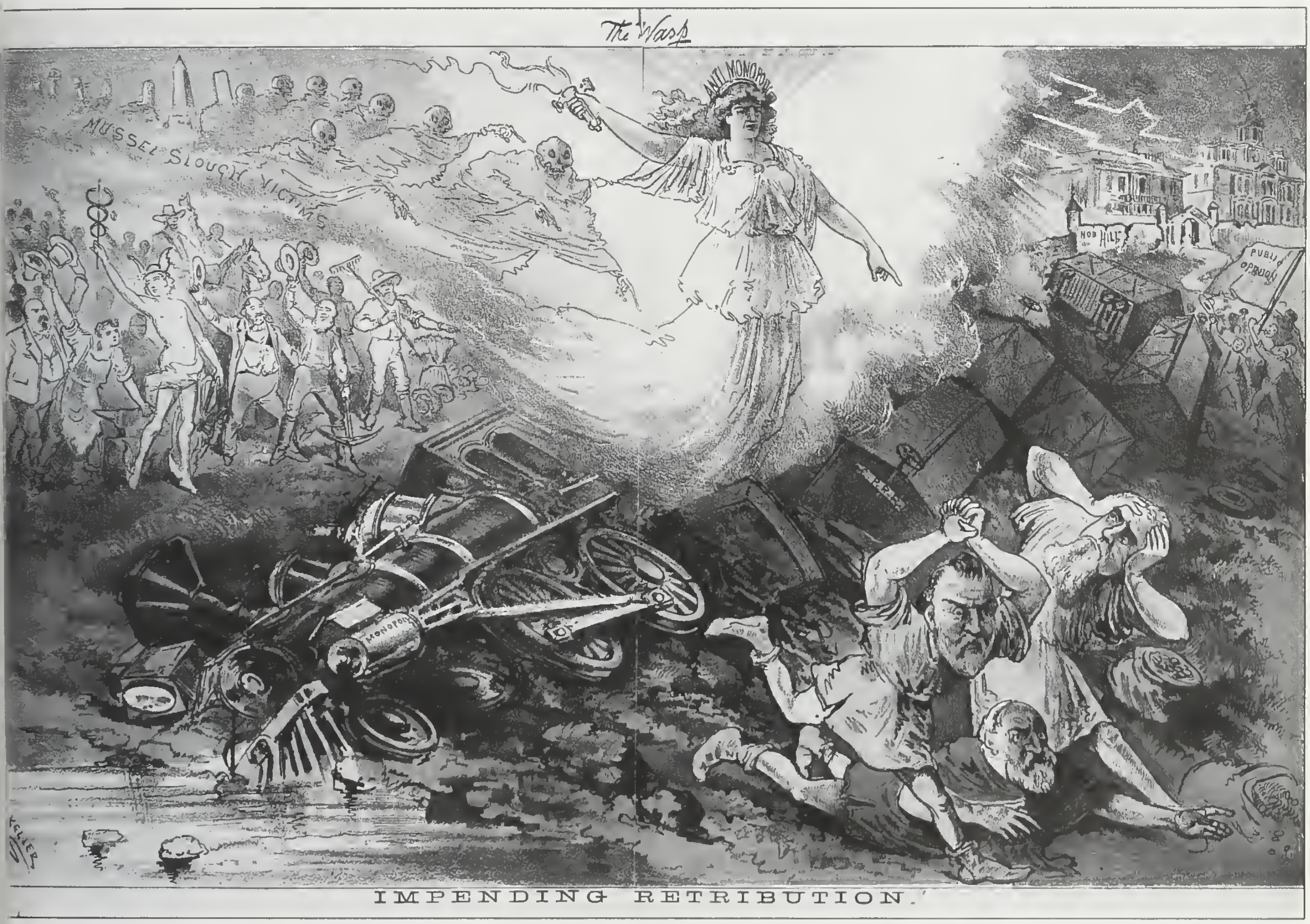
One might expect a description of the killings, but the pamphlet refuses to describe them. This is calculated. Images of Mussel Slough were still present to readers; in the circumstances, restraint foregrounds reasonableness. What follows the above quote is white space, followed by the pamphlet's less impassioned peroration; within the white space, readers fill in images of the massacre, images created by newspaper accounts they have read, images made present, too, by brief reminders in preceding pages of the document (pp. 3, 15, 17, 18).[35]

## The Conclusion

Just as the pamphlet deploys anaphora for volume to introduce Chambers's letter, it ends similarly but with an emphasis on "we." The latter pronoun, of course, implies the settlers' unity of action and purpose in the arguments they have set forth: "We are doing, as we *have* done in the past, everything in our power to secure favorable judicial decisions . . . we now appeal to our fellow–citizens" (p. 30). And to refute charges of unlawful behavior: "We are not outlaws; we are peaceable, industrious, inoffensive American citizens . . . We have built up . . . we have done . . . we have added . . . we have contributed" (p. 30). The tone is effective because this is what the audience wants hear from those it identifies as fellow strugglers; readers are, by now, fully ready to take the settlers' side. The litany of achievement moves us. We want to give them our sympathy, which they ask for several times: "We appeal to you for your sympathy and help . . . we have, in good faith, toiled and spent and suffered for years . . . we appeal for justice to every good man and woman in our broad land to offer us their sympathy and support" (pp. 29-30). Readers finish thinking not about justice, but about revenge.

As a typical example of how farmers argued within a local crisis, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers for Their Homes!* points us to the several useful rhetorical tools farmers resorted to time and again in nineteenth-century arguments: personification of corporations to assign responsibility and to argue accountability, anaphora to be heard and to augment their movement's extent, and reliance on pathos and narrative to present concrete values as the basis for their positions. We also learn how farmers strive to form a single voice amid the clamor, disagreement, and divergence of interest within their own neighborhoods, and in studying how they target their audiences, we see how they viewed their contemporaries and themselves. Rhetorical analysis of other important agrarian documents will undoubtedly reveal more clearly the connections and distinctions among various nineteenth-century agrarian movements carried on by the Grange, the Alliances, the People's Party.

Mussel Slough farmers were not defenseless. Organized, politically active, and rhetorically skilled at manipulating public opinion, they held off the Southern Pacific for nearly ten years, using the disputed lands virtually for free in the meantime. Documents such as this Mussel Slough pamphlet, though, sustain the myth of the poor farmer always



"Impending Retribution," political cartoon drawn by George Frederick Keller, California's foremost cartoon satirist of the period and published in San Francisco's *The Wasp*, October 7, 1882. The vehement anti-railroad and anti-monopoly movements in California politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries frequently hearkened back to the Southern Pacific's oppression of the Mussel Slough settlers as a justification for curbing the company's power. Railroad founders and leaders Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, and Charles Crocker are caricatured at lower right. *Courtesy Bancroft Library*

battling the soulless corporation at a disadvantage. The either/or rhetoric of agrarian victimization does not hold up under close analysis, though we still cling to it emotionally. Commonplace notions of the big bad guys defeating the small good guys must be questioned. The reality is far more interesting and instructive. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 73.*

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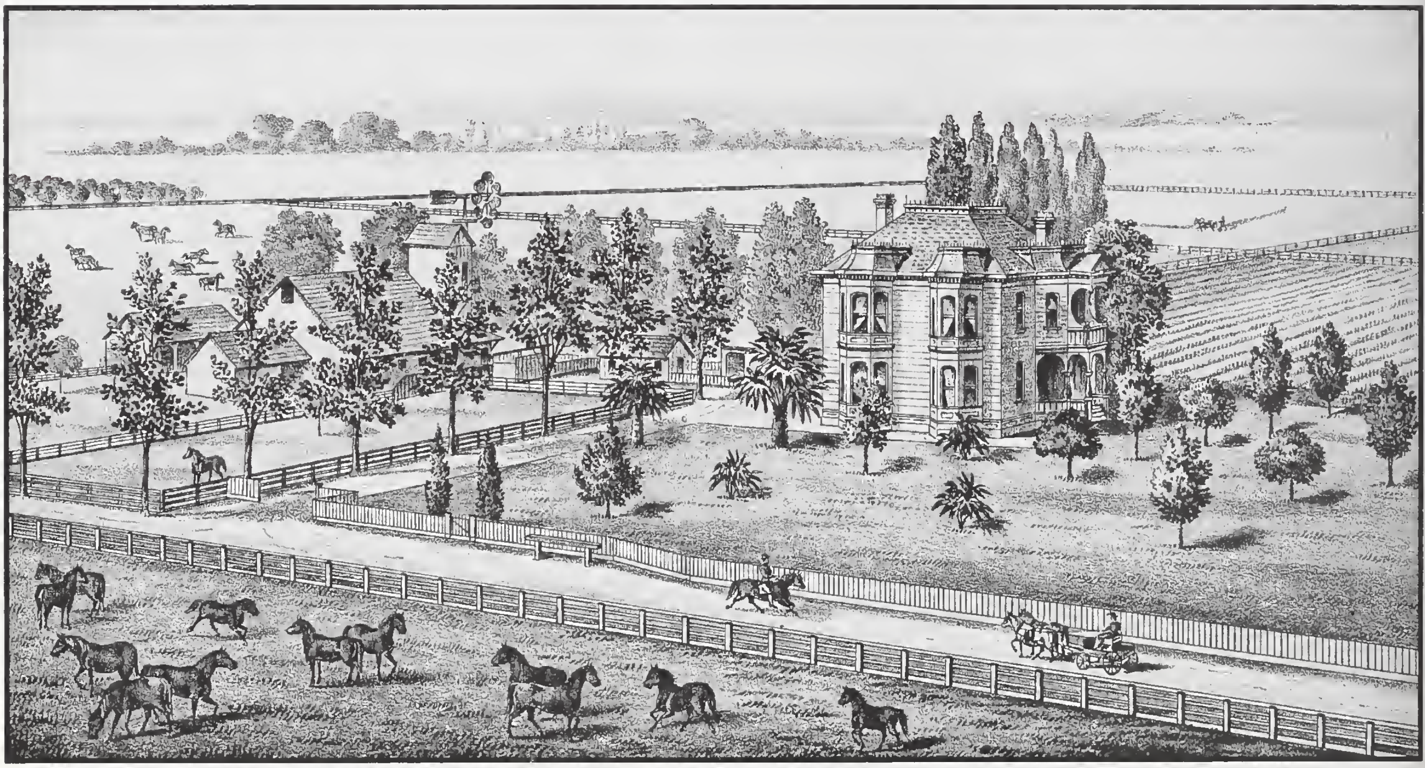
*William Conlogue is an assistant professor of English at Marywood University in Scranton, Pennsylvania. His research explores connections between American literature and American agricultural history.*



Artist's idealized depiction of the residence and ranch of William J. Newport, Hanford, Tulare Country, early 1890s. Newport, along with many of the hundreds of cattle, sheep, and wheat ranchers who migrated into the Tulare Lake Basin after the construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad, modeled his ranch on a vision of agrarian life based on an eastern aesthetic tradition rather than local conditions. From Thomas A. Thompson, *Official Historical Atlas Map of Tulare County* (1892). *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

# REVIEWS

*Edited by James J. Rawls*

## *Re-imagining the Modern American West: A Century of Fiction, History, and Art.*

By Richard W. Etulain. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996, xxvii, 241 pp., $45.00 cloth, $17.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Kerwin Lee Klein, *assistant professor of history at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of* Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America.

This informative and readable book is one of the first synthetic cultural histories of the western United States. Western historians have gradually accumulated an impressive array of focused monographs in cultural history treating everything from body art to poetry, but we have lacked balanced overviews of the field. Etulain's coverage is not sweeping—movies, music, food, and architecture all fall outside his purview—but he has indeed achieved an "introductory, nontheoretical" study of a complex subject. *Re-imagining the Modern American West* should find a place on the shelves of specialists and general readers alike.

Etulain divides his volume into thirds: the West as "Frontier," "Region," and "Postregion." These categories are chronological as well as topical, for Etulain's section on frontier authors and artists approximates the period from the late nineteenth century to the late 1920s; the chapters on region subsume thinkers from the late teens to the late forties; and the pages covering postregional culture focus upon the postwar era. Attentive readers will note that these periods correspond roughly to the popular scholarly divisions of Victorianism, Modernism, and Postmodernism. In Etulain's narrative, Frederick Jackson Turner, Owen Wister, Frederic Remington, and other frontier thinkers celebrated coming "to" the West; regionalists such as Walter Prescott Webb, Mary Austin, and Thomas Hart Benton contemplated being "in" the West; and such postregionalists as Patricia Limerick, N. Scott Momaday, and Judith Baca broke with their predecessors by stressing race, class, and gender.

Those readers familiar with Etulain's many earlier writings will not be surprised to learn that the portions of the book dealing with regionalism are by far the strongest. Indeed, his graceful account of the rise of regional literary journals and the crystallization of a canon of regional literature is a minor gem, and his chapter on regional historiography is likewise a welcome contribution to a very competitive field. The chapter on frontier historiography also deserves careful attention for its welcome discussion of Frederic Logan Paxson.

The "postregional" third of the book is less successful. Part of the difficulty is the sheer quantity of material—the number of western novels, poems, paintings, and histories increases almost exponentially each year, and any historian would be humbled by the prospect of finding order in this chaos. But many readers will balk at Etulain's claim that the writings of authors like Rudolfo Anaya and Leslie Silko have entered the "canon" as "*ethnic* rather than *regional* literature." Since Etulain has so nicely illustrated the recent historical origins of that canon in the values of middle- and upper-class European Americans in the twenties and thirties, many readers will be unimpressed when he justifies his definition of postregionalism by claiming that "few critics" would cite the works of, say, Silko, as "primarily" about the Southwest. Some readers may respond that "postregional" works like *Ceremony* (1977) may be read as efforts at remaking regionalism rather than as entries in some as yet undefined successor project.

Even those readers unpersuaded by Etulain's provocative account of postregionalism will find his narrative thoughtful and informative. Unfortunately, although the book itself is nicely printed and has few typographical errors, the volume lacks a bibliography or bibliographic footnotes. The omission is troubling in a work of synthesis whose target audience could have benefited from Etulain's encyclopedic knowledge of the materials. And although a third of the chapters treat art history, the entire book has only nine images, none of them in color. I suspect that the publisher has practiced such economies in order to keep the price down, but I also suspect that most readers looking for a single-volume introduction to western cultural history would happily spend a few dollars more in exchange for a bit more paratextual substance, especially with a manuscript as rewarding as this one.

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

## *The Rural West Since World War II.*

Edited by R. Douglas Hurt. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998, xi, 258 pp., illus., $45.00 cloth, $25.00 paper.)

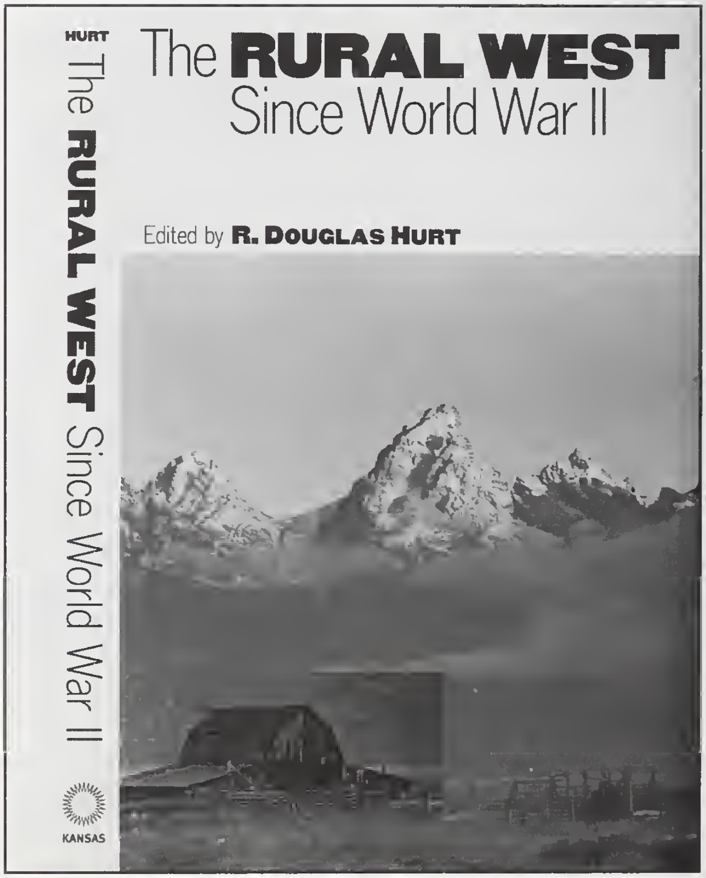
*Reviewed by* Henry C. Dethloff, *professor of history at Texas A&M University and author of* The U.S. and the Global Economy *(1997) and books on American agriculture and forest history.*

The West is no longer the frontier. The rural West is no longer cattle and farming. The rural West, what there is of it, has become a bit of agriculture, tourism, recreation, retirement, and urban all rolled into one still indefinable whole. The West was changing when Frederick Jackson Turner began his historical observations about the impact of the frontier on American history, and it has changed even more during the past half-century. That it has changed is somehow still startling. That the American West, other than as a vast geographic region somewhere west of the Mississippi River, even exists at all may be more startling still. The value of this very perceptively edited volume is that the West, and the rural West, are no longer what we thought them to be. While rural life and agriculture and agrarian politics may be "linked in the economy and culture of the region," the West, like the rest of the United States since 1945, is "city-driven," and our vision and perception of the West are modeled by urban historians.

Thus, Paula Nelson's glimpse into rural life and social change and the urbanization of the West raises a perception of the region today as "engaged in a battle over its future." The conflict engages rural, community, work, survival, frontier ethics, and experiences against urban values and a leisure-time culture. With modern technology, agribusiness, trade, and instant global communications, one can wonder if a rural West really exists.

Once synonymous with West, "the original rural westerners," the American Indians, are still viewed in the context of that very distant past, while the realities are far different, explains David Rich Lewis. Lewis examines the impact of the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act of 1934), the Indian Claims Commission in 1946, and contemporary business and "gaming" activities in the affairs of the American Indian.

Most of the contributors to this volume are interested in modern agriculture and the modern West. Agriculture is treated by Thomas R. Wessel in the context of agricultural policy since 1945, while Donald J. Pisani examines federal water policy and the rural West. Significantly, both seem to agree that, despite a century of federal farm policy and a century of federal land and



Courtesy University Press of Kansas

water policy, much of what happened in the region turned out to be beyond government control. That is not, of course, what the water and agricultural and land policy planners planned. One wonders, with James E. Sherow, what will be the course of environmental legislation and planning on the future of the West? Sherow views a region as the modern playground of two kinds of "planners," the "greens" and the "machines"—those who on the one hand see the world in a holistic light, and those on the other hand who see the world as a machine that constantly needs fixing and fine tuning. Both, Sherow suggests, see the"interconnectedness" of man and earth. Neither are truly agriculturists or rural westerners.

There is an interconnectedness between the articles by Sandra Schackel, Anne B. W. Effland, Judith Fabry, and Mark Friedberger. They, moreso than the other contributors, are looking from the inside out, that is, they tend to see the world from the perspective of the farm or ranch. Sandra Shackel argues that while women have been participants and leaders in the urbanization of the rural West, they also have sustained the classical commitment to the family farm and the agrarian way of life. Anne B. W. Effland examines migrant and seasonal farm labor. (There is, incidentally, an important and historical difference.) In both cases the great transformation has been the displacement of Anglo labor by Hispanic labor in the region. Judith Fabry suggests that agricultural science and technology contributed significantly to the decline in the number of farms in the twelve western states from 511,000 in 1940 to 273,000 in 1987, while the total acreage in farming rose from 258 to 310 million acres during the same period. Mark Friedberger discusses cattle raising and dairying, and the interconnectedness of public (BLM and USDA Forest Service) lands and land-use policies with those industries. Finally, Harry C. McDean focuses on the pervasive influence that seems to underlie each of the articles—agribusiness and the modern rural West. Agribusiness is pervasive, and dominant, and it does not share the values of rural or West.

The reviewer doubts that the authors and editor intended that the collection focusing on the rural West since World War II be as provocative as it is. But it is provocative. The articles are individually excellent, and collectively insightful. Does the West really exist? Is there a rural West? And if so, how do we explain and describe it? And how does it differ from the rest of our life and history and culture? And how does it affect our historical development?

## *Women in the Life of Southern California: An Anthology Compiled from the Southern California Quarterly.*

Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1996, xx, 431 pp., $40.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Jacqueline R. Braitman, *lecturer of history at the University of California, Los Angeles; author of numerous articles on women in California and a forthcoming biography of Katherine Philips Edson.*

My joy at having come upon the beautifully bound *Women in the Life of Southern California* quickly turned into frustration as I perused the volume of eighteen essays published over a period of twenty-nine years (1962–1991) in the *Southern California Quarterly*. "For whom was this anthology intended?" I asked myself after realizing there were no footnotes attached to any of the selections, which are made up overwhelmingly of biographies by non-academic historians. Aside from providing a quick review of what has been written on women over the years, I thought it bothersome that I would have to trek to a library to find the original article for a citation. Since only five hundred copies were printed, however, this collection will be most successful by adding to the libraries of benefactors and history buffs, or it will be a nice addition to secondary school-level libraries. High school teachers might find this assortment of portraits useful as a first exposure to the world of women in local history and for book reports and non-research-oriented essay assignments.

I also wondered why the particular selections were made, how many were left out, and generally, what could this celebratory edition be a monument to? I also wondered why, in twenty-nine years, the *Southern California Quarterly* has published only about that many articles on women, approximately 5-7 percent of the total, and mostly about middle-class white women. Does this reflect the paucity of scholarly choices from which the pre-published selections were made, or the broader dearth of scholarship on women of the region?

On the plus side, the subjects do cover quite a range of individuals and experiences. These include the six and one-quarter pages, plus pictures, of a ranchero descendant in "Reminiscences of Ascensión Sepulveda y Avila," by Sister Mary Joanne Wittenburg, S.N.D., and the eight-page diary excerpts from "Nellie Suydam of Glendora," by Hilda Bohem; the longer, more familiar notable subjects of "Mary Austin: Kern

Anne Loftis, author of *Witnesses to the Struggle: Imaging the 1930s California Labor Movement.* *Courtesy University of Nevada Press.*

County Days, 1888-1892," by Donald P. Ringler, and Valerie Sherer Mathes's "Helen Hunt Jackson: Official Agent to the California Mission Indians." Two of the four non-biographical essays are written by Gloria E. Miranda and provide a brief overview of the variety of women inhabiting the pre-statehood decades: "Gente de Razón Marriage Patterns in Spanish and Mexican California: A Case Study of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles" and "Hispano-Mexican Child-Rearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara." The twentieth century is portrayed by five widely diffuse topics such as Jane Apostols's "Why Women Should Not Have the Vote: Anti-Suffrage Views in the Southland in 1911" and Colleen M. O'Connor's "Imagine the Unimaginable: Helen Gahagan Douglas, Women, and the Bomb." Selections written by two notable women's historians offer the most thematically tied depictions of California women's voluntary associations, reform, and public service: Joan Jensen's "After Slavery: Caroline Severance in Los Angeles" and Gloria Ricci Lothrop's "Strength Made Stronger: The Role of Women in Southern California Philanthropy." Lothrop's co-authored piece with Thelma Lee Hubbell further details the history of the Los Angeles Friday Morning Club.

Iris H. W. Engstrand's introduction, which *is* footnoted, amply guides one's approach to this compilation. However unintended, the message is, however, that women have been an untapped subject for the *Southern California Quarterly*, but here is what they have to offer so far. Or, perhaps, as Engstrand does say, this volume can "suggest new paths for historians of the future." Better yet, while I applaud this effort to enhance the visibility of women in California history, I think it should likely shame editors into soliciting and publishing what is undoubtedly a larger pool of scholarship on the wide spectrum and complexity of women's lives in southern California.

## *Witnesses to the Struggle: Imaging the 1930s California Labor Movement.*

By Anne Loftis. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998, 246 pp., index, $29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Jeff Lustig, *professor of government, California State University, Sacramento, and author of* Corporate Liberalism: Origins of Modern American Political Theory.

The writers and artists of California's depression era are sources of endless fascination. An excitement surrounds the names John Steinbeck, Carey McWilliams, Dorothea Lange, and Paul Taylor, undiminished by the years and unexplained by their separate works. Why this is so, how they worked with each other, and why their names still carry such authority has remained, however, something of a mystery.

Anne Loftis clears up the mystery in *Witnesses to the Struggle*, a composite biography of a collective milieu that, as a milieu, has remained a lacuna in California historiography. This is an extensively researched, well-written, well-paced study, moving from labor camp to court, to the Carmel artists' colony, to protagonists' books and letters, and government hearings before drawing the different strands of the story together, without letting the reader's interest lag. The result is not entirely labor history, biography, technical photographic study, or literary criticism but combines valuable elements of each.

California led the nation in farm strikes in the 1930s. Loftis begins with the famous confrontation at Tagus Ranch near Tulare in 1933 that gave Steinbeck the main characters for *In Dubious Battle*, pulled McWilliams into a political orbit, and cast Paul Taylor and his young assistant Clark Kerr in the stance of neutral mediators. This and the subsequent trial of organizers

WITNESSES
TO THE STRUGGLE
IMAGING THE 1930s CALIFORNIA
LABOR MOVEMENT ANNE LOFTIS
DISARM
THE RICH
FARMER
–OR–
ARM~
THE WORKER
FOR SELF-
DEFENSE

*Courtesy University of California Press.*

Caroline Decker and Pat Chambers, the break-up of their communist union (CAWIU), the travail of dust-bowl refugees, the rise and fall of another farmworker union (UCAPAWA), and the entry of the LaFollette committee provide the backdrop of the story. Where many have seen only Anglos in the fields, Loftis notes that the Mexicans were organizing unions in the twenties; and where many portray farmworkers as victims, she follows Taylor and Lange in seeing them as strong individuals beset by hard times.

This is an account not only of the period's documentary expression. It is a story more broadly of the forging of a new political perspective and vocabulary of dissent. The whole that resulted was more than the sum of its parts, though the parts themselves were pretty large. In addition to the people already noted they included Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffen's dynamic wife Ella Winters, Louis Adamic, George West, and the grassroots Tagus strike leader, Bill Hamett, for all of whom (and more) Loftis provides cameo portraits. The story here is in the connections. These people did not work as a conscious group, often parted ways and crossed pens. Steinbeck would not attend the 1934 Western Writers Conference planned by Winters and McWilliams; McWilliams disagreed with Taylor and Steinbeck that the federal labor camps were models for reform; Taylor objected to the communists—of whose selfless, if sometimes rigid, contributions Loftis gives a good account.

But together these writers, artists, and scholars created a dissenting outlook. It combined values of agrarian self-sufficiency, artistic commitment (Lange defended her photography in terms of craft, not abstracted culture), and older egalitarian cooperative experiments, leavened by Marxist insights and New Deal hopes. It contextualized current struggles in the land ownership patterns of the past, and aimed toward structural reform and public education for the future.

Loftis has done her work. She has read the letters, articles, and reports and interviewed a remarkable number of strike leaders, camp managers, writers, and artists over a period of twenty-five years. This gives her work a freshness missing from many other studies of the period. Her brevity is also to be commended given current standards of length and prolixity. Like Lange she knows how to select the right example. Some may seek greater detail about individual aspects of this story, but Loftis has done the hard work of sketching the whole.

These were public intellectuals. They tackled deep and enduring political questions with alacrity and humor—questions about individualism and collectivism, incremental reform vs. radical change, democratic ideals vs. practice (what happens when the camp council votes democratically to exclude Mexicans, Negroes, and Filipinos?), and art and politics: Does art enrich politics or batten off it, as Steinbeck feared? If art is deepened by social commitment, is popular struggle subsumed to the representations of art? Loftis imparts a sense of the immediacy of these questions without attempting answers. In the course of confronting them, these writers and artists created an autonomous perspective on ground controlled by powerful farm interests and a hostile media. Loftis successfully conveys a sense of the personal strengths, artistic values, and social commitments necessary to accomplish something of that magnitude.

## *California Soul: Music of African Americans in the West.*

Edited by Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje and Eddie S. Meadows. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, x, 507 pp., $60.00 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

## *Central Avenue Sounds: Jazz in Los Angeles.*

Edited by Clora Bryant, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, xxiii, 442 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Douglas Henry Daniels, *professor of black studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of* Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco.

Scholarly studies of different genres of black music at the state level are rare. *California Soul* does justice to the breadth and depth of African American music, as well as its complexity and highly fluid character, in the nation's most populous state. It questions the linear approach to the evolution of modern music as well as the common assumptions that it can be pigeon-holed into discrete categories. Its introduction to the history of urban African Americans in California is superb, preparing readers for an interdisciplinary approach employing not only urban and oral history, musicology, and sociology, but also the concepts and tools of ethnic and gender studies.

Most of the essays deal with the first half of this century and the 1960s. Michael B. Bakan and Ralph Eastman analyze early jazz, rhythm and blues, and the night club scene before 1945. They rely upon a much-neglected source, African American newspapers, and build upon the work of Tom Stoddard, Larry Gushee, and Tom Reed. Considering that Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, and Kid Ory were in California by 1920, one realizes that we cannot truly understand the music's genesis without taking into account the Golden State's role.

Willie Collins on blues, Jean Kidula on Andraé Crouch, and DjeDje on gospel music emphasize the fluidity of styles in the 1940s; in other words, "The strict compartmentalization of musical styles (bop, rhythm and blues, swing) that became common among critics, musicians, and fans during the postwar period was not yet ingrained" (p. 96). Musicians often played several styles. Interviews with blues composer/producer Bob Geddings and Al Bell of Stax Records also reveal how different styles were developed and synthesized into new blends.

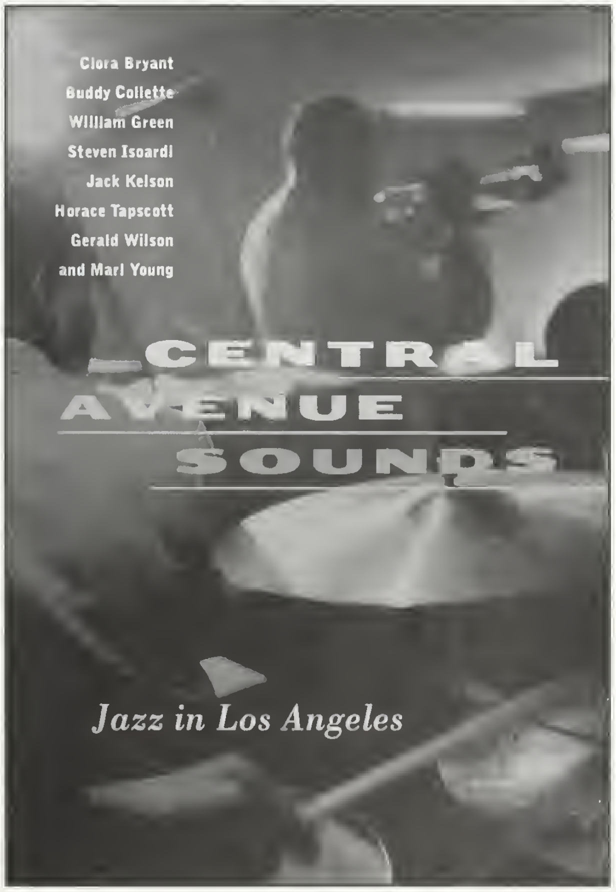
*California Soul* also clarifies the complex subtleties of California society and the varieties of music. The work's focus on the burgeoning film and radio networks illuminates the media and the commercial side of California music and the way in which they interact and affect styles, the public's taste, and consumerism. Danica Stein's research on Clora Bryant and Kimasi Browne's on Brenda Holloway address sexism in the music business and in scholarly analysis.

Demographics—mainly the migration of blacks from the south—and politics shaped the evolution of the music. Initially European classical traditions dominated the black communities, but as early as 1910, New Orleans musicians lived in southern California, and, soon after, the famous Creole Band formed. By the late 1920s, blues and jazz flourished, and by the 1940s rhythm and blues, or rock and roll, and gospel emerged. Yet considerable diversity existed in jazz, blues, and gospel.

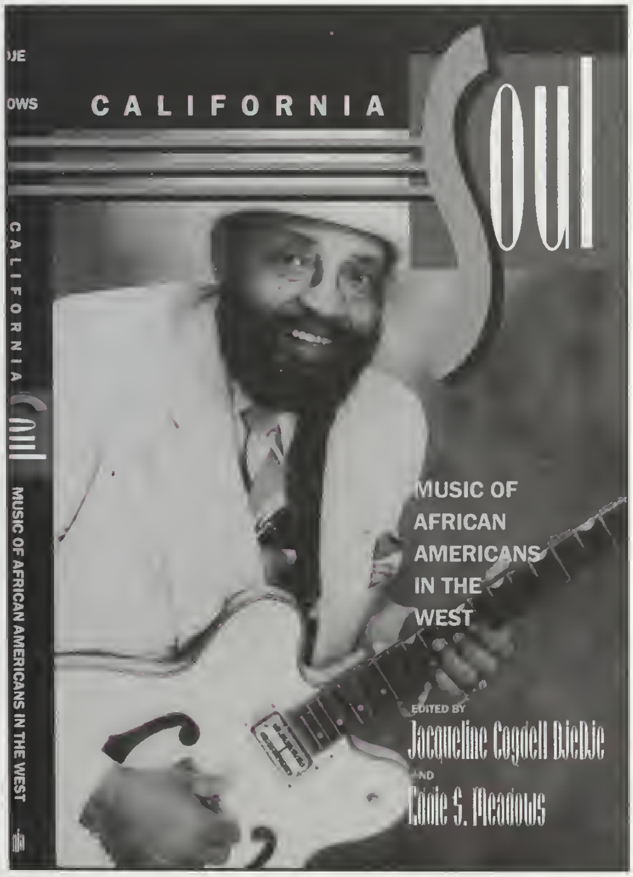
Interviews with musicians enhance the volume's scholarship, such as Geddins's statement that "white people never did understand the blues too much. . . . But now they got down to the bottom of it, and they see why we doing it. They see what kind of feelings it create" (pp. 119–20). And Charles Brown elucidates the link between blues and jazz: "if it wasn't for the blues there wouldn't be no jazz" (p. 229).

The work has some flaws, however. Storyville's role in the origins of jazz is more folklore than it is historical fact, nor did the club's closing spread jazz, for as noted, New Orleans musicians came to Los Angeles quite early. Black California's early emphasis on European classics was not unique, but was also true in New York City and Boston. Mexican or Afro-Latin influences are not discussed. Show business terms like "superstardom" and the misuse of "immigrants" for "migrants" (p. 65) mar the prose occasionally. Also, Lee Young insists he arrived in Los Angeles in 1930, not 1928. To claim the state emerged "without the baggage of slavery" (p. 295) is not quite true, as temporary residents before the Civil War held slaves, and free blacks could neither vote nor testify in court. Despite these minor problems, the work is in a class by itself, enhanced by a comprehensive appendix of nearly one hundred pages.

*Central Avenue Sounds,* an oral history, complements Meadows's and DjeDje's scholarship, advancing the idea that no single musical style characterized this Los Angeles historic district. The informants include musicians who grew up around the avenue, Watts residents, and migrants. The UCLA Oral History Project assisted Steven Isoardi in his goal to give voice to a people and a famous street that have been bypassed in traditional histories. It is remarkable as a collaborative work in which sev-


Clora Bryant
Buddy Collette
William Green
Steven Isoardi
Jack Kelson
Horace Tapscott
Gerald Wilson
and Marl Young
CENTRAL AVENUE SOUNDS
Jazz in Los Angeles

Courtesy University of California Press.


CALIFORNIA Soul
MUSIC OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE WEST
EDITED BY Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje AND Eddie S. Meadows

Courtesy University of California Press.

eral informants served on the editorial committee to make decisions about the book.

The "conversational narrative" structures the format, allowing informants "to share the freest, fullest narratives, told at their own pace and in their particular way of recalling" (p. xix). Marshall Royal and Lee Young have been interviewed by the Smithsonian, but with Buddy Collette, Bill Douglas, Marl Young, Clora Bryant, Gerald Wiggins, and Horace Tapscott's recollections, we have as rich an account as we are going to get from musicians of that era.

They were quite versatile, for as Coney Woodman recalled, "We played any kind of music. For Mexicans. . . . for movie stars. . . . for all the communists," and for Marcus Garvey (p. 98). They reveal how the music's history was dynamic, with Big Jay McNeeley, Sonny Criss, and Teddy Edwards "trying to play bebop before Dizzy and Bird got here" (p. 263). They also advance fascinating ideas about how the shade of the Dunbar Hotel influenced socializing on the street, about "soul" or feeling, and the significance of being "sharp," which need to be taken seriously by writers and fans.

These informants clarify far more than the history of a district whose importance rivaled East Coast locations. They compare the music scene in California to New York City. The roles of mentors, teachers, families, schools, churches, and the black musicians' union local are highlighted. One learns of the tremendous vitality of the culture and the solidarity felt by black residents, by newcomers from the South, and by white movie stars in the clubs. Art Farmer explains their ethos by praising the famous music teacher Sam Browne as "a good example for others to live by, to try to do something to pass on some knowledge to people who didn't come in contact with it" (p. 281).

Ironically, racial segregation and restrictive covenants caused the concentration of blacks on Los Angeles's East Side until after World War II. Then the tide of history changed, integration became a major force in American society, and the segregated Local #767 chose to amalgamate with the white union before the famous 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. This is all here, along with the history of the music, the migration of newcomers, and then the demise of Central Avenue in the 1950s. Despite the success of amalgamation and integration, "a difficult lesson . . . from Central Avenue is that political integration *by itself* does not bring equality" (p. 405).

Some minor errors are bound to appear in such a work. The union building was on the east side of Central, not the west. Lee Young's mother's name was Lizetta, which the author invariably spells in interviews as Lizette. Her maiden name is also incorrect. Marshall Royal claims he wrote an arrangement for "I Got Rhythm" in 1927 or 1928, but the song did not come out until 1930. Careful checking would have eliminated these errors. Nonetheless, this is a valuable addition to the autobiographies of Hampton Hawes, Red Callender, Art Pepper, and Roy Porter.

## *Lawman: The Life and Times of Harry Morse, 1835–1912.*

By John Boessenecker. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, xviii, 366 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* David J. Langum, *professor of law, Samford University, Cumberland School of Law, and author of* Law and Community on the Mexican California Frontier: Anglo-American Expatriates and the Clash of Legal Traditions, 1821–1846 *and co-author of* Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California.

Harry Morse was sheriff of Alameda County from 1864 to 1878, and thereafter founded and managed a private detective agency. In his role as sheriff, Morse garnered a well-earned reputation for chasing suspects all over California and bringing them to trial. He dispersed many of the bands of highway robbers and livestock thieves who infested mid-California in the years following the Civil War. By the end of his tenure in office, Morse became semi-legendary and had a dime novel modeled after his career. There are documented cases of thieves who carried his likeness with them to avoid his pursuit. Following his successful years as sheriff, Morse founded the Morse Detective Agency, a large, well-regarded company. Morse's most renowned action as a private detective was his capture of Charles E. Boles, alias Black Bart, a famous stagecoach robber.

*Lawman* has an usually large number of photographs. Doubtless the subsidy from the National Endowment for the Humanities made this possible. The reader forms an impression from the fact that so many of the photographs and even primary documents are from the author's collection that Boessenecker has made a very long-term study of Morse. The book reflects this. Most biographies of lawmen tend to be filled with daring feats and little else. Boessenecker plays that side of Morse down. He leads us into Morse's private life. He shows us that most of the sheriff's success was due to patiently following trails and tracking leads, coupled with liberal payments to informants.

Although Boessenecker clearly admires Morse, there is nothing hagiographic about this biography. We see lots of negative information. Morse was pugnacious by nature, especially in his younger years. Sometimes he made mistakes. His attitudes toward the Hispanic community were mildly racist, and his actions toward Californio suspects were "overzealous," to use the author's term. However, that racism went with the times, and Morse's was probably less than the norm. He had personal friends in the Hispanic community and arrested suspects who murdered or robbed Californios. The "overzealousness" did lead, nevertheless, to Morse's darkest moments when at least once he perjured himself (p. 182) and on at least one other occasion wilfully suborned perjury by offering a witness whom he had reason to think was lying (p. 192). In both cases, the defendants were Californios.

A large amount of good social history is another positive feature of this well-written and satisfying biography. In the 1880s, Morse himself wrote several articles about his exploits as sheriff, primarily to promote his detective agency. These were published in now-obscure places, but Boessenecker uses edited versions of these primary sources to describe many of Morse's manhunts. Morse was very detailed in describing his travels throughout California, how he traveled, whom he encountered, facilities for the traveler, and so forth. Morse's biography becomes an unexpected source of social history. CHS

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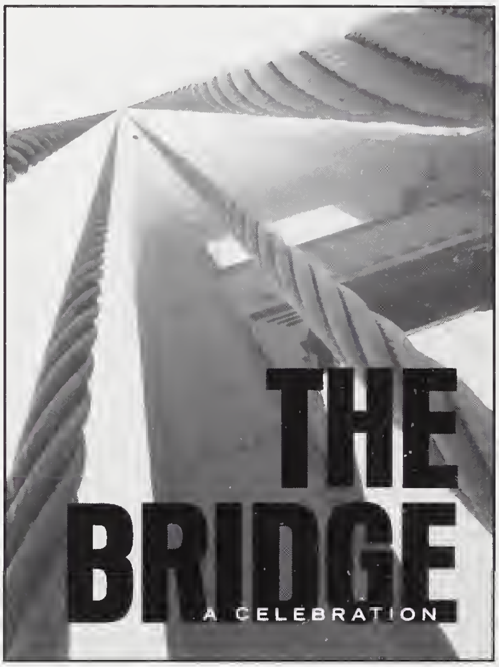
James W. Schock is an award-winning newsman, former bureau chief for ABC-TV News West Coast, and news director of a San Francisco television station. He has written several novels, including "The News Merchants", and a history of San Francisco, "A Time and a Place for Everything". He is presently completing work on "A Young Person's Guide to the Golden Gate Bridge".



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Lavender, David. *The Great Persuader: The Biography of Collis P. Huntington.* Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1999. $24.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-87081-476-1. Order from: University Press of Colorado; Post Office Box 849; Niwot, CO 80544.

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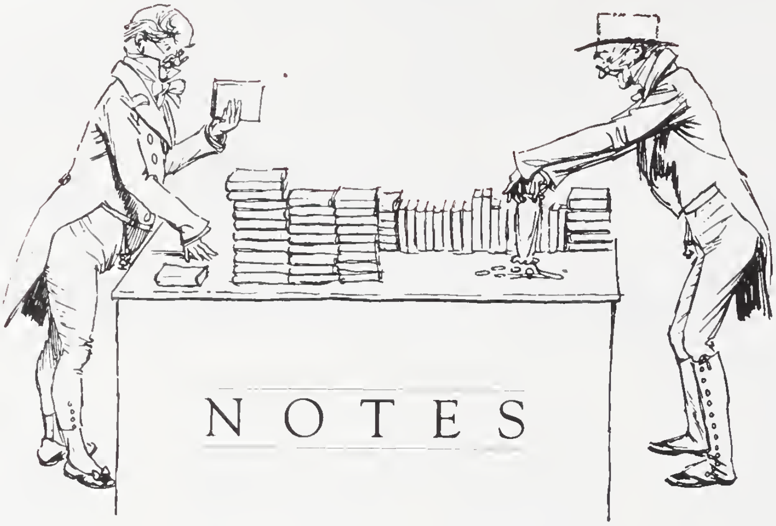

# NOTES

## Mornin, "Adelbert von Chamisso," pp. 2-13.

1. August C. Mahr, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), gives a good account of the Russians' political motives for the expedition. For Fort Ross and Spanish-Russian relations in California, see also Stephen Watrous and Kaye Tomlin, *Outpost of an Empire. Fort Ross: The Russian Colony in California* (Fort Ross: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 1993); Stephen Watrous, "Ivan Kuskov: In 'Steadfast Zeal for the Common Welfare,'" in *The Californians* 9 (March/April 1992): 8-18; and E. Breck Parkman, "Fort and Settlement," *California History LXXV* (Winter 1996/97): 354-69.
2. An entertaining, though not always serious or accurate, account of the discovery of the California poppy is to be found in Cameron Rogers, *Trodden Glory: The Story of the California Poppy, With a Description of some Russians* (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebberd, 1949).
3. There is no biography of Chamisso in English. The best in German is by Werner Feudel, *Adelbert von Chamisso: Leben und Werk* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1988). See also Peter Lahnstein, *Adelbert von Chamisso: Der Preusse aus Frankreich* (Munich: List, 1984).
4. The best and most complete edition of Chamisso's works in German today is his *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Jost Perfahl and Volker Hoffmann, 2 vols. (Munich: Winkler, 1975).
5. For Choris's illustrations of the expedition, see Louis Choris, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* . . . (Paris: F. Didot, 1822), and Louis Choris, *Vues et paysages des régions équinoxiales* . . . (Paris: P. Renouard, 1826).
6. Chamisso's scientific writings are documented (only in German, unfortunately) in Gunther Schmid, *Chamisso als Naturforscher* (Leipzig: Koehler, 1942), and Ruth Schneebeli-Graf, ed., *Adelbert von Chamisso. . . . und lassen gelten, was ich beobachtet habe: Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften mit Zeichnungen des Autors* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983).
7. A recent English translation is available: Adelbert von Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihl*, trans. J. Bowering (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1993).
8. The complete official record of the *Rurik* expedition (comprising contributions by Kotzebue, Choris, and Chamisso) appeared in 1821 and has been reprinted as Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits* . . ., 3 vols. (Amsterdam: N. Israels; New York: Da Capo, 1967). A new translation of Chamisso's record of the voyage, including both his *Remarks and Opinions* and his *Diary*, has become available also: Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Voyage around the World* . . ., trans. and ed. Henry Kratz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Kratz's introduction is mostly concerned with Chamisso in Hawaii and the South Seas. Interesting, shorter accounts of *Rurik's* activities in Alaska and the South Seas are to be found in Robert Fortuine, *The Alaska Diary of Adelbert von Chamisso, Naturalist on the Kotzebue Voyage, 1815-18* (Anchorage: Cook Inlet Historical Society, 1986), and Niklaus R. Schweizer, *A Poet among Explorers: Chamisso in the South Seas* (Bern and Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1973). A rare bibliophile book today is the folio edition of Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Sojourn at San Francisco Bay 1816* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1936); its preface by Oscar Lewis is fairly slight, however.
9. For a discussion of these poems, see Edward Mornin,"'Wie verzweifelnd die Indianer pflegen': American Indians in Chamisso's poetry," *Seminar. A Journal of Germanic Studies* 33 (1997): 213-27.
10. Adelbert von Chamisso, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 2: 111-12.
11. Ibid., 112-13.
12. Ibid., 114-15.
13. Ibid., 118-19.
14. Ibid., 117-18.
15. Ibid., 277-78.
16. Ibid., 278-81.
17. Ibid., 279.
18. Ibid., 121.

## Buckley, "Joseph Bixio," pp. 14-25.

1. Cited in Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* 3 vols. (New York: J. J. Little and Ives, 1938), 2:392–93.
2. Cornelius Michael Buckley, S. J., *Nicolas Point, S. J.: His Life and Northwest Chronicles* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1989), 423. John Bernard McGloin, *Jesuits by the Golden Gate: The Society of Jesus in San Francisco, 1849–1969* (San Francisco: University of San Francisco, 1972) 1–2.
3. Garragahn, *Jesuits in the Middle United States,* 2:401.
4. Ibid., 394.
5. Joseph W. Riordan, S. J., *The First Half Century* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker, 1905), 33–83.
6. Ibid., 78.
7. Luc Wetzel, *Alexandre Bixio* (Bescançon, France: Barbier, 1869). For a summary of his life and a bibliography, consult Alberto M. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 45 vols. (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), 10: 723–27; Amand Rastoul, *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 17 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1933–), 6: 537–38;

Jean-Chrétien-Ferdinand Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis le temps les plus reculés jusqu'à 1850–60 . . .*, 46 vols. (Copenhague: Rosenkilde et Bagger, 1963–), 6:148–50.

8. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 726–27. Rastoul, *Dictionnaire*, 10:538. Jacques Hillairet, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions de minuet, 1963), 1:198–99.
9. "Obituary of Father Joseph Bixio," *Woodstock Letters* 18 (1889), 246–47; Riordan, *First Half Century*, 76.
10. Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte, barone, *La Compagnia di Gesu nel territorio della Provincia Torinese*, 5 vols. (Chieri: M. Ghirardi, 1914–1920), 5: 181.
11. "Obituary, Joseph Bixio."
12. Joseph Bixio, Alexandria, Virginia, to Charles Stonestreet, July 18, 1854, Bixio correspondence, Maryland Province Archives, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
13. Giovanni Battista Ponte, Bastia, Corsica, to Pieter Beckx, August 12, 1860, Taur. 10–I, 17, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome, hereinafter abbreviated ARSJR.
14. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 10:725.
15. Sister Mary Teresa, Georgetown, D.C., to Ellen G. White, April 1861, Miscellaneous Letters: Bixio: 1:4A. A:L, Archives of Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana.
16. Louis-Hippolyte Gache, Camp Lee's Mill, Virginia, to Philippe de Carrière, January 16, 1862, cited in Cornelius Michael Buckley, S.J., *A Frenchman, A Chaplain, A Rebel: The War Letters of Père Louis-Hippolyte Gache, S. J.* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1981), 92.
17. [An English Combatant (lieutenant on the artillery on the field-staff)], *Battlefields of the South, from Bull Run to Fredericksburg, with Sketches of Confederate Commanders, and Gossip of the Camps*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1863), I:280, cited in Buckley, *A Frenchman*, 97.
18. Pierre Tissot, "Lettre d'un autre Père de la Compagnie de Jésus," *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* 35 (1863): 284.
19. Girolano Busetto, *Notizie del Generale Nino Bixio* (Fano: Lana, 1876). Nino Bixio is treated extensively in any biography of Garibaldi. See particularly, Guiseppe Garibaldi, *Autobiography*, Trans. A. Werner, 3 vols. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1971); George Trevelyan Macaulay, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910); Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi* (London: Constable, 1974), and Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi and His Enemies* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966). For a summary of Nino's life and career and a more extensive bibliography, see Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 727–34.
20. Rastoul, *Dictionnaire*, 10:733.
21. Alexandre Dumas, ed., *The Memoirs of Garibaldi*, trans. R.S. Garnett (London: E. Benn, 1931), 313.
22. James B. Sheehan, C.SS.R., *Confederate Chaplain: A War Journal*, ed. Joseph T. Durkin, S. J. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1960), 100–102; Buckley, *A Frenchman*, 98.
23. George Clark, *A Glance Backwards, or Some Events in the Past History of My Life* (Houston, Texas: Rein and Sons, 1920), 23–24. Buckley, *A Frenchman*, 98.
24. Sheehan, *Confederate Chaplain*, 160.
25. Benjamin Francis Musser, "The Lion of Winsted," *The Provincial Annals* (publication of the Franciscan Fathers of New York) 5 (1945–56): 264–65; "Recollections of Reverend Cherubino Viola, O.F.M," ms., Archives of the Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, N.Y.
26. Richard L. Carne, *A Brief Sketch of the History of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Virginia* (Alexandria: J. Merriot Hill, 1874), 17.
27. Riordan, *First Half Century*, 146.
28. Giovanni Baptista Ponti, San Francisco, to Pieter Beckx, November 1, 1869, Calif., 7, 18, ARSJR.
29. Riordan, *First Half Century*, 156, 158. For "Old Marcello" (ca. 1780–1875), see Arthur Dunning Spearman, *The Five Franciscan Churches of Mission Santa Clara, 1777–1825* (Palo Alto: National, 1963), 101.
30. "Diary of Joseph Dalton," August 7, September 30, 1878, Archives of the Australian Province of the Society of Jesus, Hawthorn, Victoria, Australia.
31. Riordan, *First Half Century*, 213, 240.
32. Obituary of Joseph Bixio, *San Francisco Monitor*, March 6, 1889, p. 5, col. 2.
33. Emilia Morelli, ed., *Epistolario di Nino Bixio*, 4 vols. (Roma: Vittoriano, 1949), 3:335–36.
34. The Bixio family continued to be prominent until recent times. A distant but curious connection to USF: Pippo's great-grandnephew (Nino's great grandson), Cesare Andrea Bixio (1896–1978), was a well-known composer and entrepreneur in France and Italy. Closely associated with the Folies-Bergère in Paris during the Golden Age of that theatre, he is also famous for his many classical Neopolitan love-songs and for his role in the development of Italian cinema. Ghisalberti, *Dizionario*, 34:451–53; *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, 9 vols. (Roma: Le Maschere, 1954–) 2:555–56.

### Goodyear, "Beneath the Shadow of Her Flag," pp. 26-39.

1. Douglas Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 13. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the population of blacks in San Francisco never exceeded two thousand people. At the same time the total population increased to more than 340,000 people by the turn of the century.
2. Daniels's *Pioneer Urbanites* provides a historical overview of the black community's relationship with the dominant culture in San Francisco. Rudoph Lapp's *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) investigates the political and cultural life of which blacks were a part during the gold-rush era. Charles Wollenberg's *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) is an important history of the campaign against school segregation in California. Philip Montesano's *Some Aspects of the Free Negro Question in San Francisco, 1849–1870* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1973) chronicles the lives of important leaders in San Francisco's black community during this period. J. William Snorgrass's articles on San Francisco's black press and Philip A. Bell represent the only work to focus specifically on these topics. In particular, see the following: J. William Snorgrass, "The Black Press in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1856–1900," *California History* 60 (Winter 1981–82): 306-17; Snorgrass, "The Philosophy of a Black Editor: Philip A. Bell

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(1808–1889)," *Negro History Bulletin* 44 (April-June 1981): 32–33.

3. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California,* 186. A small number of slaves accompanied their white masters to California during the first year of the Gold Rush; however, slavery was outlawed in California at the state's constitutional convention in November 1849. The early legislators passed this bill not necessarily because they held a moral conviction that slavery was wrong, but rather because they hoped to keep all blacks out of California. White officials feared the repercussions that might occur if blacks were brought to their state as "hired men" to work in the gold mines. They were so concerned about this situation that they even enacted their own Fugitive Slave Law in 1852. However, this legislation was overturned three years later.
4. Snorgrass, "The Black Press in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1856–1900," 306–307.
5. In his 1852 profile of Bell, Martin Delany described him as "an excellent business man, talented, shrewd, and full of tact." Martin Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1852), 102.
6. John Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers,* vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 316. It is also not known precisely when he emigrated to California. Although the most reliable secondary source says 1860, other secondary sources suggest that he may have arrived in San Francisco as early as 1857. Because no primary documents about Bell's life at this time exist, one can only speculate why and when he made such a trip.
7. The exact reasons that a feud broke out between these two men are unclear. One certain reason was Bell's refusal to support a black colonization plan that Anderson envisioned. Throughout his life, Bell adamantly opposed such plans. Another reason might be that Anderson, one of the first blacks to arrive in San Francisco and a long-time community leader, felt threatened by the newcomer Bell, who was ten years older and a figure of national renown. It might also have been a result of their own peculiar personalities. In his 1852 profile, Delany suggests that Bell was "highly sensitive, and very eccentric." Anderson was said to be very temperamental himself. Delany, *Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People,* 102.
8. Veritas, "For the Elevator," *The Elevator,* June 16, 1865:2.
9. James M. Bell, "Our Paper and its Purpose," *The Elevator*, April 7, 1865:1.
10. Philip A. Bell, "Our Name," *The Elevator,* April 7, 1865: 2.
11. Philip A. Bell, "Our Contemporaries," *The Elevator,* April 7, 1865:2.
12. Philip A. Bell, "Prospectus," *The Elevator,* April 7, 1865:2.
13. "Anti-Slavery Dictionary," *San Francisco Daily Examiner,* July 18, 1865:2.
14. "The Elective Franchise," *Sacramento Bee,* April 11, 1865:2.
15. "The Ballot," *San Francisco Daily Examiner,* June 14, 1865:2.
16. Philip A. Bell, "The Duties of the Nation," *The Elevator,* May 19, 1865:2.
17. John J. Moore, "Negro Suffrage," *The Elevator,* June 2, 1865:1.
18. Philip A. Bell, "Citizenship and Suffrage," *The Elevator,* December 22, 1865:2.
19. William Wiggins's *O Freedom! Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987) provides a historical and theoretical overview of these national rituals. August 1, 1833, was the day on which the British outlawed slavery in the United Kingdom. January 1, 1862, was the day that Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Both days were annually commemorated by San Francisco's black community; however, these celebrations were always confined to private spaces. Never did they prompt public parades or demonstrations.
20. Philip A. Bell, "The Day We Celebrate," *The Elevator,* June 30, 1865:2.
21. "Fourth of July Celebration," *San Francisco Daily Examiner,* July 3, 1865:2.
22. B. F. Washington, "The Teachings of Yesterday," *San Francisco Daily Examiner,* July 5, 1865:2.
23. See Mark Twain's letter to the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise,* entitled "Mark Twain on the Colored Man," for a satirical description on the events of that day. Reprinted in Edgar Branch and Robert Hirst, ed., *The Works of Mark Twain: Early Tales & Sketches, Volume 2, 1864–1865* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 248-49. In the pages of *The Elevator* there is no evidence to suggest what, if any, relationship Bell and Twain had.
24. Philip A. Bell, "The Day We Celebrate, and How We Celebrated It," *The Elevator,* July 7, 1865:2.
25. Quoted in Philip A. Bell, "Substance of the Presidential Conversation," *The Elevator,* February 9, 1866:3.
26. Philip A. Bell, "Reconstruction," *The Elevator,* September 15, 1865:2.
27. Philip A. Bell, "Citizenship and Suffrage," *The Elevator,* December 22, 1865:2.
28. Philip A. Bell, "Prospectus," *The Elevator,* April 7, 1865:2.
29. Paul Ong, "Chinese Labor in Early San Francisco: Racial Segmentation and Industrial Expansion," *Amerasia* 8 (1981):72.
30. See Alexander Saxton's *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) for a complete study of this topic.
31. Albert Broussard, *Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900–1954* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1993), 14.
32. Philip A. Bell, "Colored Laborers for the Pacific Coast," *The Elevator,* September 22, 1865:2.
33. Philip A. Bell, "Legislating on the Negro," *The Elevator,* December 15, 1865:2.
34. Philip A. Bell, "Black vs. Yellow," *The Elevator,* March 30, 1866:2.
35. Philip A. Bell, "Why We Support the Union Party," *The Elevator,* August 23, 1867:2. Philip A. Bell, "Democratic Logic," *The Elevator,* August 30, 1867:2. Despite such efforts, the Democrats swept the elections that fall.
36. Philip A. Bell, "The Constitutional Amendment," *The Elevator,* February 5, 1869:2. See also Philip A. Bell, "Need of Organization," *The Elevator,* April 16, 1869:2.
37. For much of the previous two years, *The Elevator* itself had existed on the brink of bankruptcy. Bell was constantly calling for charitable donations in the newspaper's columns. Readers who had not paid for their subscriptions were asked to come forward with their outstanding payments.

38. Philip A. Bell, "Pacific Railroad," *The Elevator,* May 14, 1869:2.
39. "The Effects of the Amendment," *San Francisco Daily Examiner,* December 16, 1869:2.
40. "Senator Casserly on Negroes and Chinamen," *The Elevator,* June 11, 1869:2.
41. "The Question of the Hour," *San Francisco Examiner,* July 19, 1869:2.
42. Philip A. Bell, "Progress of Liberty," *The Elevator,* February 11, 1870:2.
43. Although the Fifteenth Amendment was an important triumph for blacks, many of its chief supporters criticized its vague language. As Eric Foner has documented, it "did not forbid literacy, property, and educational tests that, while nonracial, might effectively exclude the majority of blacks from the polls." Soon adopted in California, these restrictions posed a whole new set of problems to black citizens. While many believed that the amendment's passage represented the final chapter in the struggle for enfranchisement, this was clearly not the case. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988), 446.
44. Upon Bell's retirement, James B. Wilson took over as *The Elevator*'s editor and ran the newspaper for another thirteen years. Because only a few issues still exist from the period after 1885, it is difficult to characterize the newspaper after Bell's retirement. It appears that Wilson published *The Elevator* until 1898. No copies of the newspaper exist after that date.
45. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites,* 115.
46. Clint Wilson, *Journalists in Paradox: Historical Perspectives and Current Dilemmas* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1991), 32. In his 1876 study of contemporary black culture, entitled *The Rising Son; or, the Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race,* William W. Brown first gave Bell this title. So well known was it that several newspapers used the title in their obituaries of Bell.

### Conlogue, "Farmers' Rhetoric of Defense," pp. 40-55.

1. Discussions of the shootout draw on May 12 news reports in the *Visalia Weekly Delta* and on testimony at the November 30-December 23, 1880, trial of settlers accused of conspiracy and obstruction of justice in connection with the incident. Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun: A History of the San Joaquin Valley—1772-1939* (Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1939), 271-79; "The Trial of Tulare Settlers," *Visalia Weekly Delta,* 10 December 1880. See also: Robert Maxwell Brown, *No Duty to Retreat: Violence and Values in American History and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 107-109; Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 231-33.
2. David J. Bederman, "The Imagery of Injustice at Mussel Slough: Railroad Land Grants, Corporation Law, and the 'Great Conglomerate West,'" *Western Legal History* 1 (Summer/Fall 1988): 237-69; Irving McKee, "Notable Memorials to Mussel Slough," *Pacific Historical Review* 17 (1948): 19-27; Brown, *No Duty to Retreat,* 123-24. Scholars who cite the pamphlet as a primary source include Bederman, "Imagery of Injustice," 239; Brown, *No Duty to Retreat;* William Deverell, *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 198n, 86; John Larrimore, "Legal Questions Arising from the Mussel Land Dispute," *Southern California Quarterly* 58 (1976): 75-94; Ward McAfee, *California's Railroad Era, 1850-1911* (San Marino: Golden West Books, 1973); McKee, "Notable Memorials," 19; Smith, *Garden of the Sun,* 210-11. The Southern Pacific was often referred to in anti-railroad propaganda as an "octopus" wrapping its tentacles around every aspect of California life. For examples of typical G. Frederick Keller cartoons that refer to Mussel Slough, see McAfee, *California's Railroad Era,* 172, 174. Frank Norris worked on *The Octopus* from May 1899 to December 1900. The novel was published by Doubleday, Page and Company in April 1901. Norris read numerous newspaper accounts of the shootings, most reprinted from the *Visalia Weekly Delta.* Donald Pizer, *The Novels of Frank Norris* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 121, 126. The other novels are: William Chambers Morrow, *Blood Money* (San Francisco: F.J. Walker, 1882); Charles Cyrel Post, *Driven from Sea to Sea, or just a Campin'* (Chicago, 1884); Josiah Royce, *The Feud at Oakfield Creek* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1887); May Merrill Miller, *First Blade* (New York, 1938).
3. I follow Aristotle's definition: "Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion." *The Rhetoric and the Poetics of Aristotle,* trans. W. Rhys Roberts and Ingram Bywater (New York: Random House, 1954), 24. Aspects of the rhetorical situation include exigence, writer, audience, subject, text, purpose, and context. For a key debate about the nature of the rhetorical situation, see Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1 (Winter 1968): 1-14; Scott Consigny, "Rhetoric and its Situations," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 7 (1974): 175-86; Richard E. Vatz, "The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 6 (1973): 154-61.
4. W.W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 151. In 1876 Mussel Slough settlers argued that the railroad did not build its 20-mile sections of road consecutively (a joint Congressional resolution in 1870 had changed the number of miles for the Southern Pacific land grant from 40 to 20). They argued that the railroad frequently built unconnected road sections to acquire land grants: "we find that instead of 500 miles of connected road there are on the true line from San Francisco three distinct and separate links of 140, 115 and 136 miles, respectively, or about 400 miles in all of the most costly part crossing three separate mountain ranges, remains to be completed for a through connection." (J. J. Doyle, *Memorial of the Settlers on Lands Claimed by the Southern Pacific Railroad: An Argument for the Settlers* [1876], 11). The Goshen-Huron branch, running through Mussel Slough, opened February 1, 1877 (Smith, *Garden of the Sun,* 209). In its 4 June 1880 issue, the *Visalia Weekly Delta* charged that the branch was "an afterthought...and its construction can only be accounted for as an attempt to obtain something for nothing from the government." The financial stakes in the Mussel Slough land trouble were high: at $20/acre the disputed 25,000 acres were worth $500,000 to the company;

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for the settler, at the same rate, an 80-acre lot would cost $1600; 160 acres, $3200; 320 acres, $6400 (Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 96).

5. Robinson, *Land in California*, 155. The Atlantic and Pacific never made it to California. The Texas Pacific Railroad took over its mission, but was outmaneuvered and outfinanced by the Southern Pacific, which crossed the Colorado River in May 1877, reached Tucson by 1880, Houston by 1881, and New Orleans by 1883, thus completing a southern transcontinental railroad. (McAfee, *California's Railroad Era*, 125-26). Both the Southern Pacific and the Central Pacific were controlled by the Big Four (Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, Collis P. Huntington, and Mark Hopkins), who extended the Southern Pacific's line south of San Jose only to the mountains at Tres Piños. After building the Central Pacific to Goshen, the Big Four continued construction down the valley toward Los Angeles under the Southern Pacific name "to retain their land grant." The road between Goshen and Huron, which passed through Mussel Slough and never connected to Tres Piños, became a branch line of the main road between San Francisco and Los Angeles (Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 218).
6. Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 208; William L. Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes: Land and Life in the Tulare Lake Basin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 137; Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 136, 132. For a discussion of irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley, see Donald J. Pisani, *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 191-249.
7. "Eighty Acres in Seven Months" *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 25 June 1880; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 222; "An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880. See also: Jerome Madden, *The Lands of the Southern Pacific Railroad of California* (San Francisco: Southern Pacific Company, 1880), 4, 6. In a letter to the *Pacific Rural Press* 12 April 1879, Madden, chief land agent for the railroad, argues that settlers in 1872 "realized now that they were in connection with the railroad system of the state and had a means of transporting produce to market...The understanding, as set forth in the pamphlets and circulars of the company, which were widely circulated and given gratis to settlers, was that the lands would not be graded or the price established until after the reception of the patent. The value would be estimated then from actual sales of even numbered sections in the vicinity. In making the estimate the individual improvements of settlers would not be taken into consideration. In other words, the settlers, from the sales among themselves, would fix the price of railroad land, which would be put from 19 to 20 percent less than their own values."
8. Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 227; "Dearly Bought Homes. Mussel Slough Settlers Pleading for Better Terms," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 June 1880, 4; Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 265.
9. Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 267. Parenthetical page citations refer to the pamphlet, *The Struggle of the Mussel Slough Settlers for their Homes! An Appeal to the People. History of the Land Troubles in Tulare and Fresno Counties. The Grasping Greed of the Railroad Monopoly. By the Settlers Committee* (Visalia, Calif.: Delta Printing Establishment, 1880).
10. Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 122-23. Preston notes that the Southern Pacific "could found a town in the middle of nowhere, build it, settle its hinterland, and nurture it until settlement gained momentum, at which point settlers would be called upon to repay their debt by paying high rates for rail service" *(Vanishing Landscapes*, 124). *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 24 September 1880; "The Mussel Slough Massacre—Further Accounts by Eye-Witnesses," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 21 May 1880.
11. "An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880.
12. Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 234-35; *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880, 28 May 1880.
13. C. H. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric*, trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), 31, 33.
14. Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes*, 125; Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 104, 102, 100, 99.
15. Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 117; Deverell, *Railroad Crossing*, 56-57; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, ch. 13; and Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 268.
16. John Opie, *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 136; *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 24 September 1880.
17. "The Mussel Slough Troubles," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 May 1880; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 May 1880; Oscar Lewis, *The Big Four* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 397; "The Corporation's Side," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 May 1880; "The Way of Success," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 21 May 1880; "A Correspondent's Views," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 21 May 1880.
18. Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 65, 101, 105-106, and 214n; "The Trial of Tulare Settlers," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 10 December 1880; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 222, 234-35; Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 265.
19. Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 279; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden*, 220-21, 233; Oscar Cargill, *Toward a Pluralistic Criticism* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1965), 122. Jerome Madden, too, charges that Doyle created the crisis (Jerome Madden, letter, Pacific Rural Press, 12 April 1879). William Deverell notes that "many of the settlers in the Mussel Slough region were opportunistic gamblers" (*Railroad Crossing*, 56). In the *Delta*, on May 7, 1880, McQuiddy, Patterson, and Doyle deny that Doyle instigated the conflict ("An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880). Doyle was on the board of directors of a proposed rival railroad, the Grangeville and Antioch (Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 266; "Grangeville and Antioch Railroad Meeting at Hanford," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 28 May 1880). For a photo of the convicted men, see Smith, *Garden of the Sun*, 285.
20. "The Settlers' Meeting," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 24 September 1880.
21. "An Appeal to the People," *Visalia Weekly Delta*, 7 May 1880; and McKee, "Notable Memorials," 20.
22. Brown, *No Duty to Retreat*, 102.
23. Bederman, "Imagery of Injustice," 257; *Southern Pacific v. Orton*. 32 F457 (C.C.D. California 1879); Howard Jay Graham, *Everyman's Constitution* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1968), 375; Irwin Unger, *These United States*, vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1982), 449. For a discussion of the corporation as person and the debate's connection to Frank Norris's *The Octopus* and Josiah Royce's *The Feud at*

*Oakfield Creek,* see Walter Benn Michaels, *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987), 181-213. Sawyer also presided at the settlers' November-December 1880 trial *(The Mussel Slough Case,* 5 F680 [C.C.D. California 1880]).

24. Deverell, *Railroad Crossing,* 44, 48.
25. The Southern Pacific's articles of association created a corporation "'for the purpose of constructing, owning, and maintaining a railroad from *some point on the bay of San Francisco,* in the state of California, and to pass through the counties of Santa Clara, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Tulare, Los Angeles, and San Diego, *to the town of San Diego,* in said state; thence eastward, *through the said county of San Diego,* to the eastern line of the state of California, there to connect with a contemplated railroad from the eastern line of the state of California to the Mississippi river'" (*Orton,* 460; see pamphlet, 4, not all italics reproduced in pamphlet). The Southern Pacific's actual line did not pass through San Luis Obispo County or come near San Diego. The company's charter was changed, however, in the late 1860s, before it built its line and the land troubles erupted. The company was also required to finish its line by July 4, 1878. That it did not is another reason settlers argue that it had no right to Mussel Slough land (see pamphlet, 11), although federal courts had long before decided in cases involving other railroads that failure of a company to complete a line did not negate land grants along the completed portions.
26. Ellen Liebman, *California Farmland: A History of Large Agricultural Landholdings* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 40; "The Tulare Settlers," *San Francisco Chronicle,* 29 May 1880. By September 1876, the road was completed to Los Angeles (Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes,* 123). That the railroad went only as far as Los Angeles before turning east was mostly the result of the extremely rugged, isolated, and thinly populated country south of that city and partly because of an inter-community dispute between Los Angeles and San Diego for the right to be chief city of southern California. San Diego worked with Tom Scott and his Texas & Pacific Railroad to establish a southern transcontinental route with its terminus at San Diego. This line might have cut into the traffic of the original transcontinental line (a southern line did not have to worry so much about snow and could be built and maintained at lower costs). Because of the T.P.R.R./San Diego deal, Los Angeles and the Southern Pacific collaborated on a line with Los Angeles as the terminus. The Southern Pacific's hurried construction through the San Joaquin Valley was, in part, an effort to beat Scott to the Colorado. If it made it, the Southern Pacific would own enough road and would have captured a crucial crossing of the river in order to be able to raise sufficient investment capital to complete its line to Atlantic tidewater, thus thwarting Scott's attempts to enter the transcontinental market. The Southern Pacific eventually won, building a road all the way to New Orleans. For a full discussion, see McAfee, *California's Railroad Era,* chapters 8-15. See Also Edna Monch Parker, "The Southern Pacific Railroad and Settlement in Southern California" *The Pacific Historical Review* 6 (1937): 103-19.
27. Doyle, *Memorial of the Settlers,* 12; *Orton,* 469-70; "Settlers' Answer to the S.P.R.R.," *Visalia Weekly Delta,* 20 August 1880.
28. *Orton,* 479-80. A letter from Attorney General Charles Devens makes the pamphlet's legal argument for the definition of a settler. Devens interprets Congress's meaning in the joint resolution: "The word 'settler' might mean only a *legal occupant* of the public lands under public land laws, but the use of the word *'actual'* by Congress, indicates that the class for whom it was legislating in this saving clause is *something different,* and consists of those persons *who had actually gone upon the land in the capacity of settlers...*actual settlers, in addition to those who were rightfully pre-emptors and homesteaders, should have their *equitable rights respected"* (10).

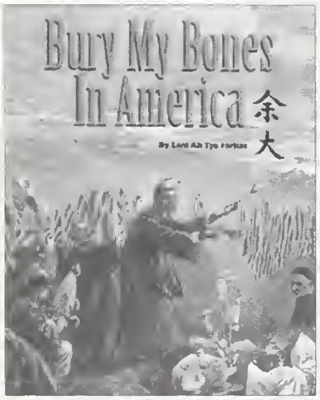
    Quoting Devens allows the pamphlet to use Devens's prestigious position to lend authority to its argument. That an attorney general agrees with them suggests that the settlers are law-abiding, peace-loving people. (For a discussion of prestige and bias in argumentation, see Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric,* 314-15).
29. Bederman, "Imagery of Injustice," 262n, 150; "The Settlers' Rights, *Visalia Weekly Delta,* 3 September 1880; Bederman, "Imagery of Justice," 240n, 14; Rice, et al., *Elusive Eden,* 235.
30. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric,* 161-62, 357.
31. Opie, *Law of the Land,* 24. Supporting the contention that irrigation was a "herculean task" (14) is a state engineer's 1880 report: "'It is but just and proper...to give merited praise to the energy and perseverance with which people of the Mussel Slough region, without experience in such matters, have grappled with the perplexing problem of irrigation'" (22). Actually, the engineer was "Somewhat aghast after a survey of Tulare Valley irrigation projects"(Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes,* 139). Preston argues that "construction of large-scale irrigation systems in the basin was not difficult. Because terrain was generally level, the costs of canal construction and field preparation were low, and when farmers most needed water—in the spring and early summer—the streams were full" (Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes,* 136). Though the pamphlet depicts an uninhabited wasteland before 1870, Tulare and Fresno county populations in 1860 were 4,638 and 4,605 respectively. Improved acres numbered 20,313 in Tulare, 3,770 in Fresno (Preston, *Vanishing Landscapes,* 87). Obviously, settlers did not all move into the Tulare Basin in the 1870s nor did they all move in because of railroad circulars or the advent of irrigation, as the pamphlet implies. See "Pioneers in Mussel Slough," *Visalia Weekly Delta,* 4 June 1880. Jerome Madden, land agent for the Southern Pacific, maintains that specifically Mussel Slough lands were unoccupied until the railroad arrived (letter, *Pacific Rural Press,* 12 April 1879).
32. Madden, *Lands of the Southern Pacific,* 15; Opie, *Law of the Land,* 24, 27-29; Paul Wallace Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 283. Richard Orsi demonstrates how the Southern Pacific understood its future in terms of its promotion of commercial and scientific agriculture in California; Orsi, "*The Octopus* Reconsidered: The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California,

1865-1915," *California Historical Quarterly* 54 (Fall 1975): 196-220.

33. Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War,* 341-43.

34. For a discussion of convergence in argumentation, see Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric,* 471-74. John Sutherland could not make it to the meeting "on account of high water, and the bridge on the Last Chance ditch being gone" (19).

35. Bederman, "Image of Injustice," 240. The reminders are: "...we claim the lands along the line of what is called the Goshen branch of the Southern Pacific Railroad, over which the contests arose that resulted in the lamentable occurrence of the 11th of May, when seven men lost their lives" (3); in introducing Chambers's narrative, "...the following letter, written to the Visalia *Delta* by a sister of poor murdered Archie McGregor, soon after the lamentable occurrence of the 11th of May" (15); within Chambers's narrative, "At their door lies this murder...The arms did not appear until after the slaughter" (17).



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THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

SUMMER 1999

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# *Milestones—*
## Retirement of Executive Director Michael McCone

photo courtesy, T. Rose

*On August 15, 1999, the California Historical Society passed another important milestone in its more than century-long journey. On that day, the Historical Society community said farewell to Mike McCone, its executive director for the past decade of challenge and building, certainly one of the most memorable periods of its history.*

*When Mike took the helm in the summer of 1990, the Historical Society, suffering serious financial difficulties, had had to cut back staff, to end almost all public programs, and to temporarily close its renowned library to the researching public. Under Mike's leadership, staff has grown from six persons in 1990, all in administration with no library or other professionals, to twenty persons, including library, photography, fine-arts curatorial, and educational and development professionals; exhibitions have increased from none to four major showings in 1999; the distinguished library has been reopened to research and other new programs have been instituted, including historical tours and authors' nights; the number of persons coming in the door to take part in activities has grown from none to 12,000 annually; the Society's endowment has expanded from essentially nothing to $5 million; and making it all possible, the annual budget has been transformed from nearly a million-dollar accumulated deficit to an operating surplus estimated at about $100,000 this year. Perhaps most important has been Mike's engineering of the move of the society's headquarters to the exciting South-of-Market (SOMA) neighborhood, a new center of San Francisco's diverse cultural activities, as well as new initiatives for a Historical Society presence in Sacramento and southern California. Along with its new bookstore, offering one of the finest collections of California titles, and new feature issues of the quarterly* California History *commemorating the state's Sesquicentennial and other important themes, the new headquarters signals that the California Historical Society has regained its preeminence among the state's historical organizations. Such stunning renewal has been also the victory of many contributors, including talented and hard-working staff, generous volunteers, donors, friends, and attentive board members, but certainly the prime mover has been Executive Director Michael McCone.*

*Over and above the telling physical details of the organization's reinvigoration, Mike McCone has brought a new warmth, a humanity, a personalism, an optimism, and a boundless humor to the Society's work. He has healed breaches, mended fences, built new and stronger bridges to other history and arts organizations, and renewed the credibility of CHS. At home with scholars, artists and writers, journalists, business and professional people, and civic leaders, Mike McCone has been a gracious and effective ambassador of the California Historical Society in the wider cultural community.*

*As it closes this crucial period of transition and takes up new opportunities and challenges ahead, the California Historical Society community thanks Executive Director Michael McCone for leadership well done and wishes him the best as he also moves on to new adventures.*

*RICHARD J. ORSI, EDITOR*
*California History*

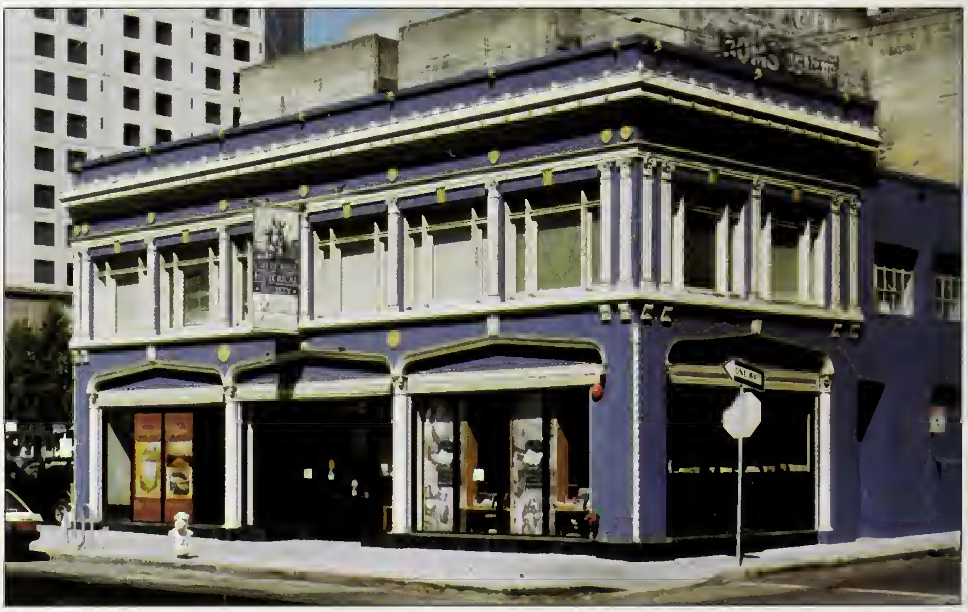

photo courtesy, Kathryn Kowalewski

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ON THE FRONT COVER: William Marple (1827-1910), *Mt. Tamalpais from Napa Slough*, 1869, oil on canvas, 20 x 32 in. *California Historical Society.* ON THE BACK COVER: Esther Hunt (1875-1951), *Chinese Temple Scene, San Francisco*, n.d., oil on canvas, 51/x 23/in.(s). *California Historical Society, gift of Mrs. Alfhild C. Wallen in memory of Arnold F. Wallen, Christopher Queen Galleries, Duncans Mills.*

THE MAGAZIN[illegible]A HI[illegible]AL SOCIETY

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXVIII No. 2

Summer 1999

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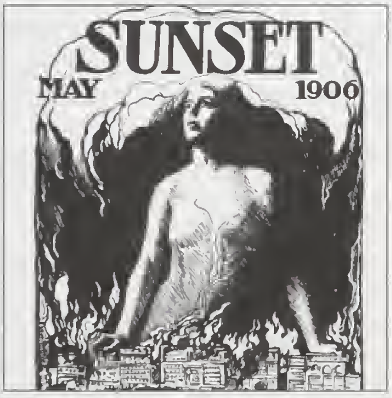

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# ANNUAL REPORT

## July 1998 - June 1999

With this report we mark the end of an era. We do not refer to the end of the decade nor the end of the millennium, which will take place more than a year from now, but to the end of Michael McCone's tenure as Executive Director of the California Historical Society which began in July 1990. California History editor, Dr. Richard J. Orsi, has provided an eloquent summary of the McCone years in the "Milestones," found on the inside front cover of this issue.

The accomplishments of the year documented in this report are characteristic of the steady progress the Society has enjoyed under Michael McCone's leadership. One of his favorite aphorisms is "constant dripping of water wears away stone." In this case, constant incremental progress builds a strong institution.

We bid Mike farewell, and wish him the very best in the enjoyment of his retirement.

### SERVING THE PUBLIC

#### EXHIBITIONS

The first exhibition mounted during FY 1999 was a happy collaboration that brought together friends and institutions to celebrate California's signature publication, *Sunset Magazine.* Underwritten by former *Sunset* publisher, Ambassador L. W. Lane, *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living, 1898-1998* was a joint effort between the Hoover Institution at Stanford University (where the exhibition was first presented from May 12 to August 15, 1998), the Stanford University Libraries, and the California Historical Society. Co-curated by Cissie Dore Hill of Stanford, and Katherine Church Holland, who for many years was CHS's fine arts consultant, the exhibition covered the development of this important regional magazine from its first days as a promotional vehicle for the Southern Pacific Railroad. Seeking to promote travel to California, the maga-

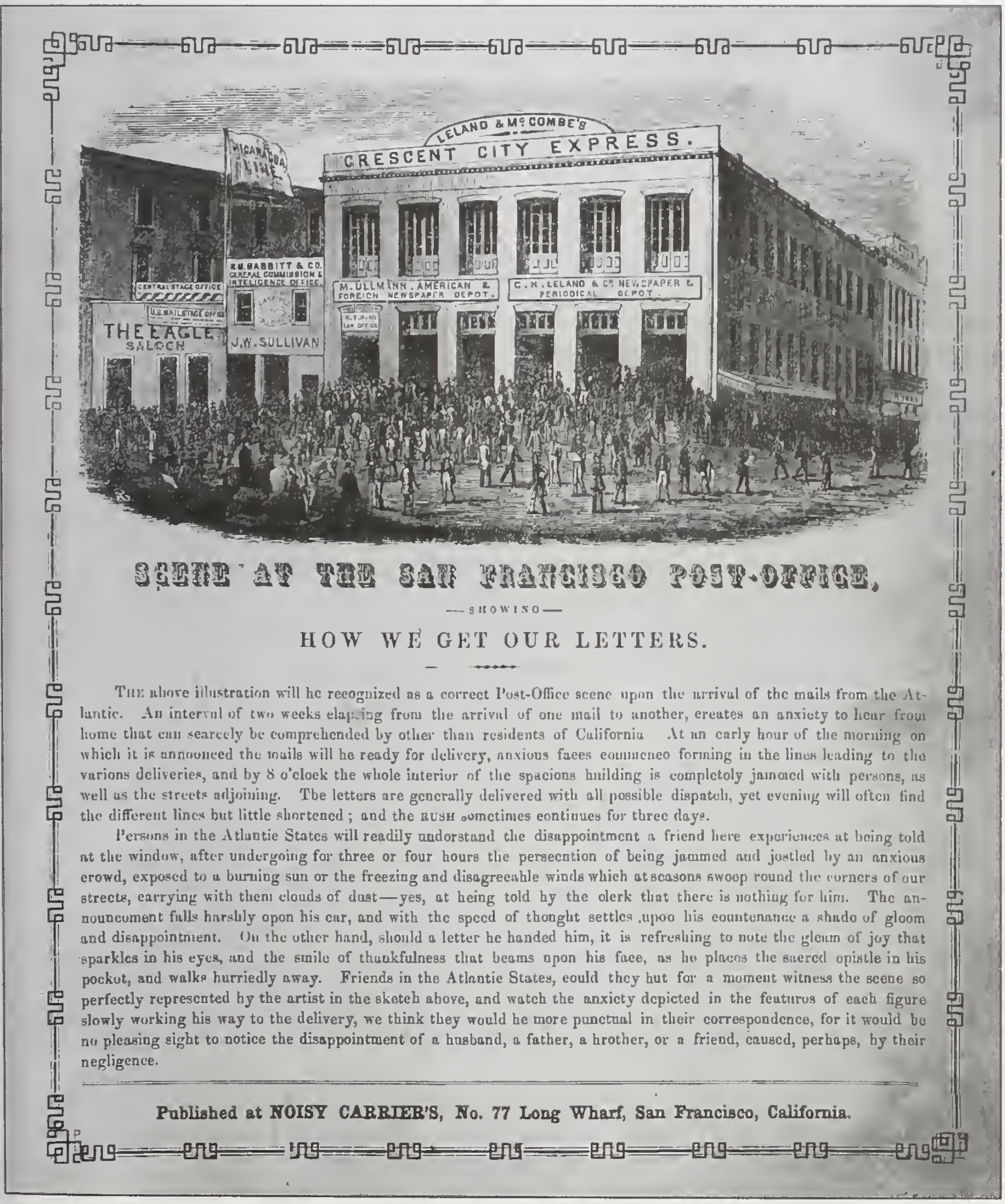
After their tour of *Sunset Magazine: 100 Years of Western Living*, students were busy creating animal masks from a 1970s edition of *Sunset Magazine.*

zine was named for the train that made its way to the Pacific, the *Sunset Limited*.

The text of the exhibition brochure and all subsequent exhibitions described in this section are provided on pages 94-113 following the annual report.

The exhibition was on view at CHS from September 10, 1998 through January 2, 1999. To complement the exhibition, a series of three lectures by *Sunset*'s Senior Editors Daniel Gregory, Jerry Anne Di Vecchio, and Katherine Norris Brenzel traced the development of *Sunset's* coverage of home design, food, and gardening. The exhibition has been given further life by the California Council on the Humanities, which is sponsoring a traveling version now being seen in different communities around the state.

On January 21, 1999, CHS opened two concurrent exhibitions: *Stay East Young Man: California Gold Rush Letter Sheets*, which remained on view through May 22, 1999, and *Alma Lavenson: Mother Lode Photographs*. Both exhibitions were based upon materials in the CHS collections. *Stay East Young Man*, curated by CHS Curator of Fine Arts Scott Shields, drew upon the Society's significant collection of illustrated writing paper (letter sheets). These sheets were popular in the 1850s and 60s and provided a picture of Gold Rush California. As Shields observed, these documents are the real art of the Gold Rush, because the illustrations that appear on the letter sheets were made at that time, rather than being works created much later that were more nostalgic. The letter sheets exhibition has also gone "on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SCENE AT THE SAN FRANCISCO POST-OFFICE,

—SHOWING—

HOW WE GET OUR LETTERS.

The above illustration will be recognized as a correct Post-Office scene upon the arrival of the mails from the Atlantic. An interval of two weeks elapsing from the arrival of one mail to another, creates an anxiety to hear from home that can scarcely be comprehended by other than residents of California At an early hour of the morning on which it is announced the mails will be ready for delivery, anxious faces commence forming in the lines leading to the various deliveries, and by 8 o'clock the whole interior of the spacious building is completely jammed with persons, as well as the streets adjoining. The letters are generally delivered with all possible dispatch, yet evening will often find the different lines but little shortened; and the RUSH sometimes continues for three days.

Persons in the Atlantic States will readily understand the disappointment a friend here experiences at being told at the window, after undergoing for three or four hours the persecution of being jammed and jostled by an anxious crowd, exposed to a burning sun or the freezing and disagreeable winds which at seasons sweep round the corners of our streets, carrying with them clouds of dust—yes, at being told by the clerk that there is nothing for him. The announcement falls harshly upon his ear, and with the speed of thought settles upon his countenance a shade of gloom and disappointment. On the other hand, should a letter be handed him, it is refreshing to note the gleam of joy that sparkles in his eyes, and the smile of thankfulness that beams upon his face, as he places the sacred epistle in his pocket, and walks hurriedly away. Friends in the Atlantic States, could they but for a moment witness the scene so perfectly represented by the artist in the sketch above, and watch the anxiety depicted in the features of each figure slowly working his way to the delivery, we think they would be more punctual in their correspondence, for it would be no pleasing sight to notice the disappointment of a husband, a father, a brother, or a friend, caused, perhaps, by their negligence.

**Published at NOISY CARRIER'S, No. 77 Long Wharf, San Francisco, California.**

"Scene at the San Francisco Post-Office, Showing How We Get Our Letters," 1852, wood engraving published by Noisy Carrier's, San Francisco, *California Historical Society.*

the road," presented by the Santa Barbara Historical Museum (July 1-September 15, 1999).

The exhibition of Alma Lavenson's photographs was curated by CHS Curator of Photography Emily Wolff. With its photographs of places in the Mother Lode taken during the 1930s to the 50s, it provided an interesting contrast to views of Gold Rush territory depicted in the letter sheets of one century earlier. CHS is fortunate to have the Lavenson materials in its collections, and is grateful to the artist's sons, Paul Wahrhaftig and Albert Wahrhaftig for their gifts to the Society as well as loans from the family collection for this exhibition. A lecture by Lavenson authority Susan Ehrens was presented prior to the conclusion of the exhibit, which closed February 27, 1999.

This was followed, from March 18 through May 22, by *Carriage Days: California Costumes from the CHS Collection*, presented in association with the Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising, where the costumes are stored and maintained. We are indebted to Maggie Pexton Murray, FIDM's director, and her staff for their help in mounting this exhibition. We also wish to thank William Eddelman, Associate Professor of Theater History and Design at Stanford University, for helping us obtain the loan of a Worth gown that belonged to Mrs. Stanford for inclusion in this exhibition. He also presented a lecture about the changes in the design of women's clothes at the turn of the century. Lastly, a Victorian fashion show and tea was presented at CHS in association with the Greater Bay Area Costumer's Guild, whose members modeled a fascinating selection of garments. Both events attracted capacity crowds.

Jeni S. Smith, of the Greater Bay Area's Costumers Guild, modeled a Victorian outfit at the fashion show and tea presented during the *Carriage Days* exhibition.

The final exhibition of the year (June 10-October 2, 1999) was created to illustrate how history can be interpreted through objects as diverse as paintings, texts, commercial illustrations, photographs and diaries, and to give viewers a sense of the scope of the Society's collections. *Interpreting California: The Art of History* was designed in three sections: California's first inhabitants and early settlers, the Gold Rush and early commerce, and the state's changing landscape. The first two sections have been created as semi-permanent installations at the CHS museum so that in the future visitors will always find something that will illustrate California's historic beginnings.

Attendance at CHS exhibitions increased significantly (45%) compared to the prior fiscal year. A greater number of school groups as well as higher general admissions contributed to this growth. A total of 7,398 people saw the exhibitions, compared to 5,063 the year before.

The Society's exhibition program has been made possible by generous donors. In addition to the gift of Ambassador and Mrs. L. W. Lane in support of the *Sunset* exhibition, we gratefully acknowledge the support of Dr. A. Jess Shenson, the Louise M. Davies Foundation, the Osher Foundation, the L. J. and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, and Grants for the Arts/San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund.

### EDUCATION AND OUTREACH

Preparing the CHS Education Gallery with activities specific to our current exhibitions, creating school group materials, booking tours from schools and other organizations, recruiting and training docents to lead tours, organizing activities for "Family Day" and collaborating with other organizations were among the primary activities of the CHS Education Department.

The Education Department's outreach efforts have increased dramatically thanks to the work of our new Education and Outreach Coordinator, Larisa Somsel. Since her arrival in September, several new organizations, senior centers, youth and college groups have visited our galleries for the first time. This new influx of visitors has also kept our Docents very busy. Because of their dedication and hard work, we are now able to offer two school group tours a day, Tuesday through Friday. If you are interested in becoming a Docent, please call the Education Department for more information.

In an effort to expand CHS's educational programming and community outreach, the Education Department worked with high school students from the Urban School of San Francisco and elders from neighboring TODCO senior residences in a seven-week intergenerational oral history program, *Listening to Our History*. This program, created by John F. Kennedy University intern Leah Schroder, was a great success. We look forward to offering more collaborations and intergenerational programs in the future.

With a generous grant from the California Council for the Humanities, a "History Alive! Chautauqua" featuring John Sutter was presented free to the public. Performed by actor/scholar David Fenimore, this program was designed to engage audiences in the adventure of history. The Chautauqua was very well received by an enthusiastic and inquisitive audience.

The Education Department is striving to make educational programming and services interesting and available to visitors and members of all ages throughout the state. The Society is indebted to the William Randolph Hearst Foundation for its significant support that launched the department in Fiscal Year 1998. Questions and ideas about the programs should be directed to Janelle Wise Graves, Director of Education, at (415) 357-1848, ext. 22 (janelle@calhist.org) or Larisa Somsel, Education and Outreach Coordinator, at (415) 357-1848, ext. 24 (larisa@calhist.org).

Visiting school groups pose on the grand staircase after a tour of the *Letter Sheets* exhibit.

Participants in the *Listening to Our History* program, Urban School of San Francisco students: (l-r) Nike Steadman, Anfisa Luopajarvi, Sarah Carvill, Leah Schroder (Project Coordinator), Gabe Perez, Ariana Getz, Jay Hannum, David Kuchinsky (not shown: Marianne Morgan).

Sunset
MAGAZINE
CHS Docent Ted Jorgensen (left) spent the afternoon leading a tour of the *Sunset Magazine* exhibition for the Whistlestoppers.

### Programs and lectures

Lectures continued to be presented in the main museum gallery on Thursday evenings, except when the gallery was closed for the installation of a new exhibition. Visiting scholar Annick Foucrier, Associate Professor at the University of Paris, spoke about the French in Gold Rush California while the exhibition about Gold Rush letter sheets was installed. In addition to other speakers invited to present talks that related to the exhibition on view (they are mentioned in the description of each exhibition, given above), many authors of new books about California history were given an opportunity to speak. There was even a presentation by the creator of a CD-ROM that contains a social history of San Francisco from a neighborhood perspective.

The history walkabouts with Gary Holloway were offered for a second year, taking members to many locations in the San Francisco Bay Area to learn about their history. In southern California, bus tours to historic sites were offered (San Simeon, Redlands), and the association with the Neighborhood Place Project continued, giving members the chance to take walking tours of neighborhoods in the greater Los Angeles area.

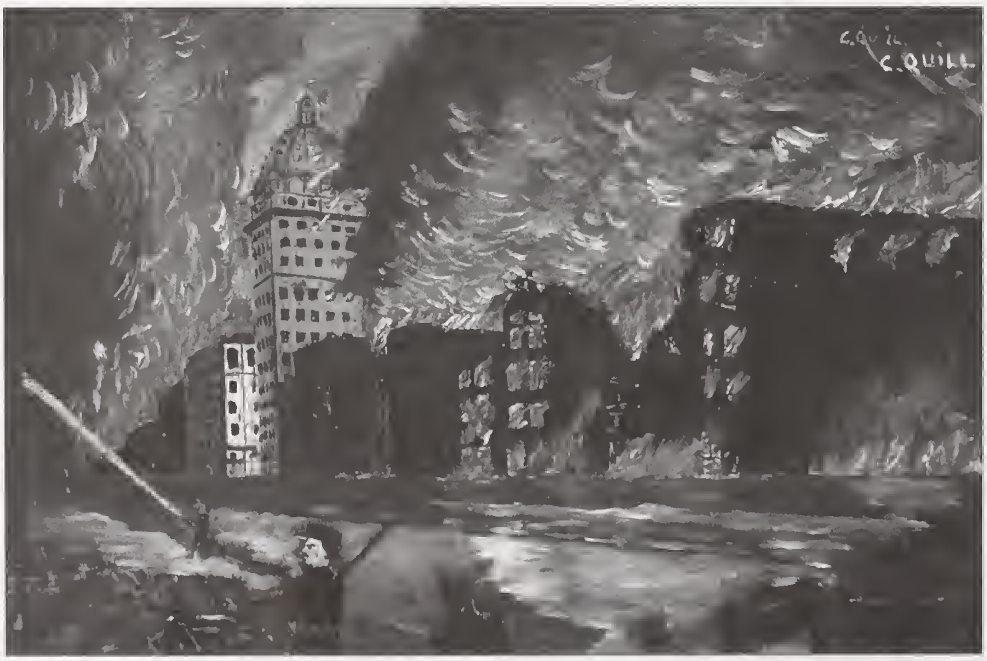
## THE CHS COLLECTIONS

The foundation upon which the Society fulfills its mission as the repository and interpreter of the state's history is the CHS collections. Thanks to many generous individuals, the collections continue to grow, expanding the Society's resources that help tell the history of California. In addition to serving the needs of scholars and other members of the public with its collections, the Society actively collaborates with other institutions, loaning materials for exhibitions and allowing reproductions in publications.

### Fine Arts Collection

In the past year, the fine arts collection has grown significantly because of the generosity of some twenty individuals and families who collectively donated over sixty objects to the collection. These donations helped to strengthen nearly every area in the Society's existing fine-art holdings, including oil paintings, works on paper, decorative arts, artifacts, and costumes. Because of these gifts, the fine arts department has partially realized three of its major goals: to include the work of more California women artists, to add more twentieth-century objects to the Society's holdings, and to create a more diverse collection in terms of ethnicity, subject matter, and style.

Paintings by six women artists were given to the collection in the past year. Highlights include a miniature painting depicting a Pomo child by the well-known California artist Grace Carpenter Hudson, a painting of California Muscat grapes by Hannah Millard Coffin, and a large painting by Esther Hunt depicting figures in a Chinese temple. Eighteen twentieth-century paintings in both oil and watercolor were also added to the collection. These paintings include works by William Barr, Clarkson



C. Quill, *San Francisco Earthquake and Fire*, 1906, oil on canvas. *California Historical Society, gift of the John Lee Murphy Family.*

Dye, John Giuliani, and the well-known watercolorist George Post. Other twentieth-century objects include woodcuts, lithographs, decorative arts, and costumes. Finally, objects created by, and representing, California's diverse ethnic groups entered the collection—of particular importance is a group of California Indian baskets that were part of a bequest to the Society. Also, the work of untrained or "outsider" artists broadened fine art holdings. A folk painting of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire is a unique and wonderful addition to the collection, as is an 1854 watercolor depicting the Knickerbocker Ranch, a genre scene of California life during the years of the Gold Rush. Other historically significant donations include a rare portrait of Charles Christian Nahl by his brother Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl, and a Gorham tea service that was given to Rev. George Burrowes by the teachers and students of the City College of San Francisco.

These new acquisitions will figure prominently in the Society's ongoing exhibition schedule and will be available to researchers for viewing. Many of the objects will also be available as loans to exhibitions at other institutions. In the past year, the Fine Arts Department has loaned not only oil paintings, but also works on paper, decorative arts, and artifacts. We have lent to numerous venues including the Carmel Art Association, the Grace Hudson Museum in Ukiah, the Nevada Museum of Art in Reno, and San Francisco's City Hall. The Society was also a major lender to the Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University, loaning numerous objects to both *Pacific Arcadia: Images of California, 1600-1915*, and *The World of Theodore Wores*. The Society also loaned its exhibitions. In the past year, *Stay East Young Man: California Gold Rush Letter Sheets* was hosted by the Santa Barbara Historical Museum, and *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living 1898-1998* traveled to four venues: the Lompoc Museum, the Hi-Desert Museum in Yucca Valley, The Museum of History & Art in Ontario, and the Turtle Bay Museums and Arboretum on the River in Redding.

### PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTION

The CHS photography collection continues to serve as a resource for a wide spectrum of people interested California's history and the history of photography. Researchers from our own communities as well as across the country and abroad have relied on the collection to pursue ideas about the past and give it relevance in the present. In books, journals, documentaries, and displays, photographs from the collection have enriched and enlivened California's past for diverse audiences. In our on-going effort to improve access we have created finding aids for the stereo views, photograph albums, manuscript photos, and collections of works by significant photographers. The purchase of a collections database system, part of the new computer network installed at CHS, will allow us to improve cataloging and begin to integrate records of the photography, fine arts, and library materials.

Gifts to the photography collection have strengthened our holdings of both nineteenth and twentieth century imagery. In conjunction with the exhibition *Alma Lavenson: Mother Lode Photographs*, the artist's sons, Paul Wahrhaftig and Albert Wahrhaftig, generously donated fourteen of Lavenson's photographs of California's gold country from the 1930s-50s. The Friends of Photography made a gift of eleven autochromes by Genevieve Rix, complimenting and expanding our holdings of early color photography. The postcard collection continues to grow through the generous contributions of Bob Conrich. Leland Rice contributed four portraits, two by Edward Curtis, one by the studio of Bradley and Rulofson and one from Arnold Genthe's dance series. We are grateful to these donors and all the others who have supported the photography collection this year.

Images from the collection have been on view in the CHS gallery in the exhibitions *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living, 1898-1998; Stay East Young Man: California Gold Rush Letter Sheets; Alma Lavenson: Mother Lode Photographs; Interpreting California: The Art of History*. The Society's photographs have also been displayed in exhibitions at a variety of institutions including the Whitney Museum of American Art and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

### NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY COLLECTIONS

The use of the collections has increased by about 40% over the prior year. While the number of visitors to the library has increased, there has been a substantial increase in email requests. There are many weeks when researchers are granted appointments every day of the week. Researchers come from all around the globe interested in such subject areas as history, architecture, environment, geneaology, literature, and engineering.

The following are some of the publications that have resulted from research done at the library. *Forty-Niners 'Round the Horn*, by Charles R. Schultz, University of Carolina Press—Schultz used many of our diaries and manuscripts to research life aboard ship on the trip around Cape Horn from the East Coast to San Francisco. "Origins of San Francisco Fine Printing Traditions," by Robert D. Harlan, published in *Printing History: The Journal of the American Printing History Association*, utilized resources in our Kemble Collections on Western Printing and Publishing. A *California Social Studies Program*, published by McGraw-Hill, utilized images from the library collection to illustrate California history for elementary-level children across the country. *San Francisco Chronicle* writer Carl Nolte, using a diary from the manuscript collection, did preliminary research for a series of articles about the history of the state that appeared in that newspaper.

The collections also are used to plan exhibitions. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the New York Public Library, for example, plan to include CHS materials in future exhibitions. Many items were loaned for exhibition at other institutions, such as the Arnold Genthe exhibition at San Francisco's De Young Museum, in addition to being used in nearly all of CHS's own exhibitions.

Thanks to funding from the Ralph M. Parsons Foundation, the CHS poster collection is being cataloged. Approximately one-half of the project has been completed by cataloger Brenda Baldwin. These catalog records are available in RLIN, the Research Libraries Information Network, which is accessible to other libraries. CHS is also participating in the Online Archive of California project initiated by the University of California at Berkeley. Finding aids to important portions of the CHS manuscript collection have been submitted, converted electronically by optical character recognition, and added to a website (www.cdl.library.berkeley.edu) used by researchers internationally. Staff, interns, and volunteers have all contributed to this project.

The library continues to reorganize and rehouse the newspaper and periodical collections, and catalog and preserve the playbill collection (completed by intern Irina Moschov). A database of our large collection of maps, which in the future will be searchable via our website, has been set up by intern Sarah Hoskins.

Among the noteworthy manuscript donations have been: A Journal and Scrapbook, ca. 1915 (donor: Heather Warner - details a train trip from St. Louis, Missouri to San Francisco, California, and back in 1915); Alfred Lorenzo Stiles Diary, c.1949 (donor: Lois Somers - recounts a trip around Cape Horn from Boston, Massachusetts, to San Francisco by a thirteen-year-old boy with his father); J. P. Goddard Diary, 1862-63 (donor: Stephen L. Taber, Esq. - a small leather-bound diary kept by a butcher in Contra Costa County describes raising and butchering cattle, ranching, and vivid descriptions of the areas around what is now Alamo, Walnut Creek, and Danville).

Using funds from the Book of Remembrance, the library purchased a few items to enrich its Kemble Collections on Western Printing and Publishing as well as its manuscript collections. The Library now owns *Pantographia*, by Edmund Fry, M.D., Letter-founder, published in London by Cooper and Wilson in 1799, (the book is a type specimen book "...Containing copies of all the known alphabets in the world"); *Paper-Folding Machinery* (Philadelphia: c.1890); *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing by Joseph Moxon* (London: 1958); *Printing Geographic Maps with Movable Types* (New York: 1925); and *The Corrector of the Press in the Early Days of Printing* (Greenwich, Ct: 1922), as well as two small pieces of printing equipment, a manual slug cutter and an antique mitering machine, made by Golding & Co., both in working order.

The library also purchased a manuscript collection written by Provost Brown, comprised of 38 letters spanning the period of 1849 to 1894 describing his departure from the East Coast and settling on a ranch in El Dorado County. The letters are long, insightful, legible, and give descriptive accounts of life, prices, transportation, and the society of the Gold Rush.

## PUBLICATIONS

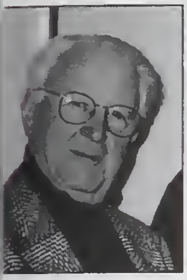
The second volume of the Society's California Gold Rush Sesquicentennial series, *California History* quarterly Vol. 77, No. 4, Winter 1998/99, *A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California*, was the major publication of the year. Editor Richard J. Orsi, Ph.D., and Consulting Editor James J. Rawls, Ph.D., created a volume of thirteen essays (one with color illustrations) that examined the financial, business, and technological consequences of the Gold Rush. The volume was published simultaneously as a book in association with the University of California Press, which is a partner in this four-volume Sesquicentennial series. The third volume, about the peoples and cultures that came to California during the Gold Rush, will appear in FY 2000.

## AWARDS

The most important award the Society gives every year is the Heilbron Award, named in honor of CHS President Emeritus Louis H. Heilbron. It is the most prestigious award given by the Society to a junior or senior high school student for an outstanding historical research paper on California history. The award is given in conjunction with the Constitutional Rights Foundation's History Day in California program. This year's award went to Lauren Pollini, a student at the Home Street School in Bishop, who received $200 to help defray her costs of attending the National History Day program.

Her subject was "Technology in the Eastern Sierra: The Influence of Hydroelectric Power on California from 1892–1910."

## VOLUNTEERS AND INTERNS


Donn Schroeder

Helen Friedman

The Society is very grateful for the help provided by volunteers and interns who assist in a variety of ways and make it possible for CHS to offer more to the public. They help with research and projects that make the Society's collections more accessible; they assist at the reception desk, giving information to visitors; they serve as docents, giving tours to student and adult groups; they help with mailings and in numerous other ways.

The annual volunteer appreciation luncheon was held on March 15, 1999. The portraits on this page are of the volunteers who attended that luncheon. The following individuals and companies donated gifts to help us honor these special people: Plant'It Earth, Entros "The Power of Fun", Sunset Sauna, Ristorante Fior d'Italia, Richard Marino, Capp's Corner, The Stinking Rose, and See's Candies.

Administration & Reception: Fareed Ali, Shawn Anderson, Ruth Ann Dorsey, Helene Frakes, Ana Howes, Margot Klopp, Cynthia Lin, Loren Lin, Marty Maricle, Barbara Marre, Anne G. Politeo, Elizabeth Riccomi, Jennifer Townend, Lilly C. Vallee, Kennon Webber, and Tyler White

Education: Intern: Leah Schroder. Docents: Jayme Burton, Stephanie DeLancey, Elaine Danforth, Helen Friedman, Harlan Hirschfeld, Alison Howard, Ted Jorgensen, Don Nelson, Grayce Regen, Hanna Regev, Amy St. John, Lilly Vallee, Judy Vaughn

Fine Arts: Catherine Adams, Amy Mustain, Amy St. John, Svetlana Tretyakova

Library: Interns: Christine Freeman, Sarah Hoskins, Keith Long, Irina Moschov

Ralph Berger, Alastair Johnston, Yakov Kagan, Joan Mittendorf, Irene Moran, Donn Schroder, Dennis Smith, Peggy Zeigler

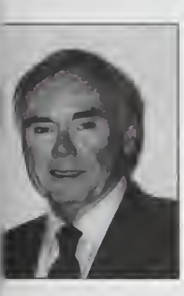
Newsletter: Mike Mollett, Paige Monestime, Ophelia Mose, Chris Vogel

Photography: Rupert Jenkins, Margaret Martin, Nancy Melley, Wendy Welker

Website: Loren Basham

Ana Howes

Alastair Johnston

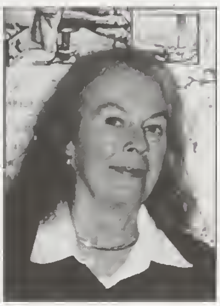

Dennis Smith

Hanna Regev

Harlan Hirschfeld

Elizabeth Riccomi

Barbara Marre


Ruth Ann Dorsey

Helene Frakes

Margot Klopp

Marty Maricle

CHS Trustees and guests at a reception honoring Executive Director Michael McCone held in the main exhibition gallery.

## MANAGEMENT & GOVERNANCE OF CHS

The California Historical Society is governed by a Board of Trustees that sets policies and oversees the actions of the organization, as carried out under the direction of its Executive Director. Maribelle B. Leavitt, now serving her second three-year term as a trustee, was elected Board President. In FY 1999 there were 22 trustees serving duly elected terms and two trustees appointed mid-term (the Board may have up to 35 members). At the Board's last meeting of the year, June 24, 1999, President Leavitt announced the appointment of several honorary Board positions. The designation President Emeritus was conferred on David Hudnut and on Edith Piness for their prior leadership of CHS. Stephen L. Taber, who had completed eight years of service as a trustee the year before, was named Trustee Emeritus. A complete list of trustees can be found on the last page of this publication.

Throughout the fiscal year, the trustees, guided by President Leavitt and Vice President Donn R. Schoenmann, continued the long-range planning work that had been initiated at the close of the prior year. Each department of CHS prepared position papers about needs and future growth that were the subject of discussion at Board meetings. An equally significant task undertaken by the Board was the selection of a new Executive Director. Executive Director Michael McCone announced in July 1998 his intention to retire at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1999. A special search committee of seven trustees, chaired by Peter J. Musto, undertook a nation-wide search to find McCone's replacement. Some 150 applications were received by the closing date of March 1, and the search committee's recommendation was ratified at a special Board meeting held June 11, 1999. Michael W. Duty was named the new Executive Director effective August 16, 1999.

Helping CHS meet its financial objectives, development committee chair Toby Rose was able to raise trustee giving to a new high for CHS and also secure funding for the entire exhibition program. Trustee Patti Warner was the guiding force behind the Society's most successful fund-raising event in memory, three evenings that included a buffet dinner followed by a production of the musical *The Most Happy Fella*. Two evenings were held in San Francisco at the Golden Gate Club and one was held in Napa (the setting of the musical) at the Veterans Home Lincoln Theatre and resulted in net proceeds in excess of $90,000 to support CHS activities. The Society's Activities Council, a fund-raising auxiliary, produced its annual *Hats Off!* luncheon on November

11, 1998, at San Francisco's Palace Hotel under the chairmanship of Mrs. Michael A. O'Hanlon. Vintner Robert Mondavi was honored for his contributions to the state's history, with CHS Trustee (and Librarian of the State of California) Kevin Starr giving the keynote address. The event was attended by nearly 300 people and netted almost $33,000 in support of CHS programs.

The California Historical Foundation, whose sole purpose is to provide oversight of the CHS Endowment, is governed by a group of people appointed by CHS Trustees. The group of fourteen was chaired by former CHS President George Basye; investment counsel was provided by U. S. Trust of California. The Foundation trustees had approved a policy of providing CHS with a 5% annual return, based upon an average of the prior twelve quarters' performance of the endowment assets. This was the first year that the policy was put into effect, yielding $212,000 for CHS, compared to the fixed amount of $180,000 provided the year prior. At its April 1999 meeting the group elected new officers for the following fiscal year. David Hudnut was elected President and George Link was elected to the new post of Vice President; the positions of Treasurer and Secretary continued to be filled by David Clark and Francis Rigney, respectively. During the fiscal year the endowment portfolio was increased by $410,119. A list of the foundation trustees can be found on the last page of this publication.

## ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY AND STAFFING

Generous grants from three foundations (the S. H. Cowell Foundation, the James Irvine Foundation, the William G. Irwin Charity Foundation) provided major support that enabled CHS to plan, purchase, and install a complete, new computer network including all necessary hardware and software. Additional support from the Eva Benson Buck Trust D and the Arata Brothers Fund augmented features of the new network. Every staff member now has up-to-date equipment with individual and network files and access to email and the Web. Specialized software programs for collections management, accounting, membership, and graphic design are part of the new network, as are new, high-speed printers. The new network has increased the staff's work capabilities, has streamlined internal and external communications, and has made it possible for CHS to provide better public service.

There were few changes in the CHS staff during the year. Cristina Magpantay joined the staff as Accounting Manager, replacing Gail Miller who resigned to take another post. Larisa Somsel joined the education department in a part-time position as the Education and Outreach Coordinator. In the North Baker Research Library, Brenda Baldwin was hired to catalog the CHS poster collection and other special items under a generous grant from the Parsons Foundation. Assistant Librarian Jennifer Schaffer resigned at the end of the year to accept a position at UCLA's Clark Library. And CHS also was able to hire the part-time services of Ethel Manheimer and Ruth Dorsey, who handled the reception desk for the busiest periods. Each of these women possessed outstanding qualifications for their positions and handled their assignments skillfully. Membership services manager and library assistant, Holly Hurd-Forsyth, resigned to return to her native Maine, and was replaced by Ray Rengo, who has assumed a full-time position as Development and Membership Associate.

## BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE

The Society has a tradition called *The Book of Remembrance* that began in 1948 with a donation from the friends of Mr. William Cavalier. Knowing Mr. Cavalier's great love for the history of California, and aware of his efforts to inspire the same devotion in others, his friends sent donations to the Society to be used as a memorial to him. Since then the Society has received hundreds of donations in the name of friends of the Society.

The Book of Remembrance fund is an appropriate way to remember friends, especially those who enjoyed history and the Society. Members and nonmembers alike can send a donation with a note giving the name of the honoree and the family's name and address, if the gift is to be acknowledged. Some members have stipulated in their will that donations in their memory may be made to The Book of Remembrance.

The names of people so memorialized are inscribed in the book for posterity. The book is on view in the North Baker Research Library, with names listed according to year of contribution. The funds are used exclusively for the library's purchase of books and manuscripts. Names added through June 30, 1998, are: Margaret (Polly) Ghirardelli Lawrence, Albert James Beaver, Morris Doyle, Robert Truman Emmons, Laura Applegarth Cresap, Walter Bryde, Audrey Janisen, Albert Shumate, M.D., David Williams, Gwen Cheesewright, Rose Nichols, and Richard Miles Rowe.

## DONATIONS TO THE COLLECTIONS

The following individuals, institutions, and publishers have donated many valuable items to the

Society's collections over the past year. The library and photography donors are listed in order received.

FINE ARTS

Mrs. Dorothy Beatty, Merielle Flood, Elvin Fowler and Shelley Post Gardner, Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth D. Gardner, Jr., John Giuliani, Robert Hampton, Charlene Harvey, Edan Milton Hughes, Marilyn Kew, Bequest of Mildred D. Mendia, Geraldine Murphy/John Lee Murphy Family, Donald Nelson, William Snider, Jane S. Tucker, Nancy Vold Walker, Alfhild C. Wallen, Thomas Wright, Mrs. Jacqueline Yeager

PURCHASES AND TRANSFERS:

Artist unknown. *Knickerbocker Ranch*, 1854. Watercolor on paper. California Historical Society purchase. With thirty-eight letters, mostly written by Provost Brown, the owner of the ranch.

Paul James Gunn. *William W. Crocker*, 1963. Oil on canvas. Wells Fargo Bank Transfer.

NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY

DONORS OF EQUIPMENT, FUNDS, AND SPECIAL ITEMS:

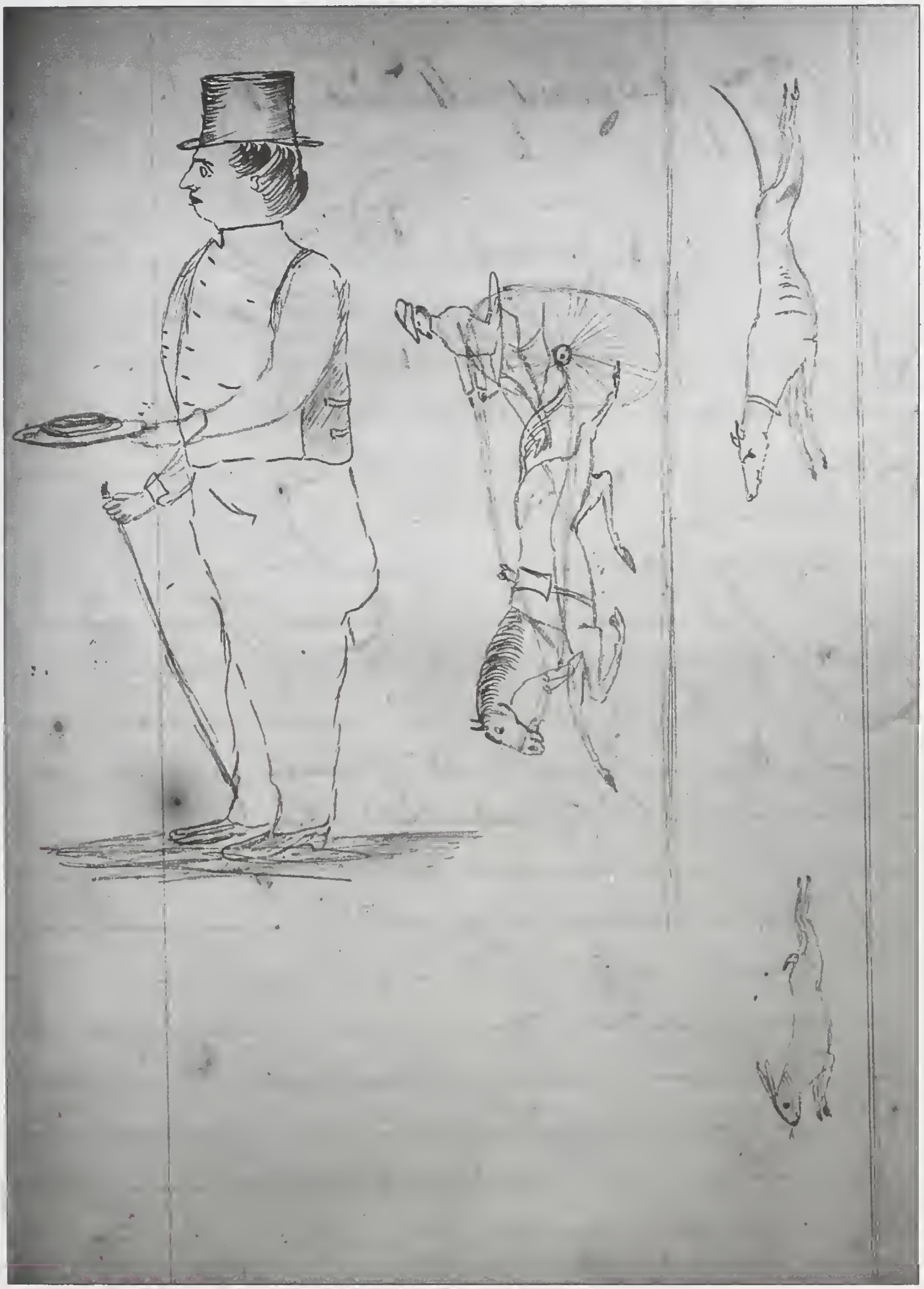
Ursula and Steve Bleeg, Harry R. Goff, Ernest P. Mayorga, Nan Tucker McEvoy, David C. Weber, Kaspar J. Werstein

DONORS OF LIBRARY MATERIALS:

M. Jensen; Dumont Press; California State University, Fresno, Special Collections Library; David C. Weber; R. Phillips; Geraldine M. Flood; Malcom E. Barker; Fred Holabird Americana; University of Illinois Press; Texas A& M University Press; Sonoma Valley Historical Society; Stanford University Press; Oxford University Press; Johns Hopkins University Press; Associated University Presses; Harry S. Exline; David A. White; Chico Museum Association; National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs & Polish American Historical Association; Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; Friends of El Dorado County Library; Brother William Bolts, S.M.; Ted Meriam; University Press of America; Arthur H. Clark Co.; University of California Press; Mountain Empire Historical Society; University of Nevada Press; Rosemary Rivas; Polish Arts & Culture Foundation; Hope Publishing House; Wayne T. Kennedy, Dolores Heights Properties; John F. Bergman; University of Washington Press; Catherine C. Demeter Foundation, Cranford Press; Amador Mountaineers; Lafayettte Historical Society; Margaret P. Champlain; Senta Moore, Trinity County Historical Society; Alaska Dept. of Education; Diane S. Ballard, Napa County Historical Society; Sam Camhi; General Atlantic Development Corporation; Federal Judiciary History Office; Charles Stewart; University of Arizona Press; Nancy Hayes; Margaret Guilford-Kardell; Elizabeth Bauer; Bert Katz; Marin Historical Society; Brian L. Witherell; Cardinell-Vincent Co.; Dr. A. Jess Shenson; William P. Clark; Santa Paula Historical Society; National Park Service Golden Gate National Recreation Area; Alta Mira Press; Dr. Albert Shumate; William J. Grier; Judy Crichton; Michael Keller; Barb Sheng and Brad Santos; Elizabeth Worley and Kelley Bauer; Mr. & Mrs. Charles E. Sharp; First Bison Books; Tamarack Books, Inc.; Yale University Press; Craig Harmon; Troy Preovolos; Western Archeological & Conservation Center, U.S. Dept of the Interior; KERA TV, Dallas; M. E. Sharpe, Inc.; Michael McCone; El Dorado County Retired Teacher's Association; David Lyon, Public Policy Institute of California; Richard M. Davis; Rosemarie Marshall Green; Michael Cox; Carolrhoda Books, Inc.; Loren Basham; Mrs Robert McCown; Wyoming Dept. of Commerce Archives; Bohemian Club through James Earl Jewell; Michael Friedman Publishing Group; Peter Arioli; Elizabeth Lyman Potter; Illuminations Press; University of Nebraska Press; University Press of Kansas; Smithsonian Institution Press; Fort Ross Interpretive Association; University of North Carolina Press; Coldstream Press; Southern Trails Publishing; Metro Books; University Press of Colorado; Mildred Mendia; Oregon Historical Society; Chronicle Books; University of Oklahoma Press; Greenwood Press; University of New Mexico Press; MacFarland & Company; Heyday Books; University of Illinois Press; Fithian Press; Wine Ventures Publishing; Book Club of California; Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; University of Tennessee Press; Granville W. & N.C. Hough; Lawrence W. Harris, Jr.; Gil Richards; Bechtel Group; Donald C. Whitton; Jane Tucker; Windgate Press; Alastair Johnston; Stephen D. Bechtel; Mrs. E. Keith McCollom; Fern Tripp; Tom Coulter; Beverly S. Balanis; Stannous Flouride; Wyoming Division of Cultural Resources; Pacific Union Club; Blaise Domino; Marilyn Kew; San Francisco Theological Seminary; First Presbyterian Church; Toby Rose; Presidio Trust; Yucca Tree Press; Volcano Press; Rosemary Green; Michael F. Cox; Alvin Berstein; Mrs C.W. Cechei; Tim Keefe; Oregon Trails Association; Penn State University Press; Columbia University Press; Joan Gallagher; Linda Romander; Ellen Kip; R. Ayad from L. C. B. McCullough Trust; Mark Luca; Ernest P. Peninou; New Asian Art Museum Project, Jim Killoran, Project Director

MANUSCRIPT DONORS:

Anonymous, Margaret Champlain, Kristi Carlile, Dr. Albert Shumate, Rosemarie Green, Richard Herlihy, Howard Young, Harry Exline, Mike Martin, John H. Stutesman, Manuel Chorro, Lois Somers,



Alfred Lorenzo Stiles, Drawing from his diary, 1849.
*California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library. Gift of Ms. Lois Somers.* [MS 4014]

Heather J. Warner, Cleo Fitzgerald, Walter A. Poor, Stephen L. Taber, Esq.

PHOTOGRAPHY

Anonymous, Paul Wahrhaftig and Albert Wahrhaftig, Leland Rice, Joyce G. Temby, Louis Sloss, Jr., Jean S. Farrar, South Dakota State University, Mrs. Robert Squires, Robert S. Conrich, Neil Harvey, Friends of Photography, Stuart and Beverly Denenberg, James McClatchy, Mrs. Paul. V. Bearce, Stephen A. Garin, Plourde, Mary Etta Segerstrom, Diane Lynch Merrill

# SUNSET

## A Century of Western Living
## 1898 – 1998

Hoover Institution, Stanford University, May 12 - August 15, 1998
California Historical Society, San Francisco. September 10, 1998 - January 2, 1999

Artists and writers who traveled west during the 19th century rhapsodized over its grandeur and beauty. They painted and wrote of the glory of the Sierra and the majesty of the stately redwoods, defining the West as a veritable Garden of Eden. The works of Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Hill, William Keith, Joaquin Miller, and John Muir became the lenses through which the western landscape became known to the rest of the country.

This Garden of Eden lured gold seekers, adventurers, entrepreneurs, and ordinary families wanting to create a new life. After 1869 they came via the transcontinental railroad and the myriad of connecting lines that made traveling cross country less difficult although initially not much more comfortable than for the earlier generation of 49ers that came for California gold. These railroad lines were operated by a company eventually called the Southern Pacific Company, which was incorporated in Kentucky in 1884 under its president, Leland Stanford. It owned the majority of the western lines, continually acquiring any that were not already part of its system.

As a developed West was a financial boon to the railroad's passenger and freight services, the Passenger Department of the Southern Pacific, located in San Francisco, began the publication of a small magazine in May 1898. It was named *Sunset* for the most elegant train of the company, the Sunset Limited. The image of the bridgeless Golden Gate which graced the magazine's original covers suggested that through these portals lay the wonders of the West. *Sunset,* however, was never just a travel magazine. It encouraged settlement, extolling the commercial and agricultural promise of the West. It promoted not only rail transportation, but also the automobile and even the airplane.

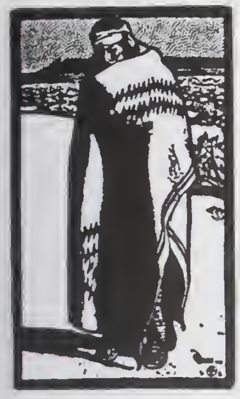
From the beginning *Sunset* was more than a promotional arm of the railroad. Paul Shoup of the Southern Pacific's General Passenger Agent Office was said to have initiated *Sunset*. He not only wrote himself, but socialized with the cadre of San Francisco writers who made up the lively literary scene at the turn of the century. Shoup's byline was often seen during *Sunset's* early years.

Two other frequent contributors were Herbert Hoover of Stanford University's pioneer class and Stanford's founding president, David Starr Jordan. Hoover authored articles on World War I food relief and international politics and was the subject of others, including a serialized biography written by Rose Wilder Lane, daughter of Laura Ingalls Wilder of *Little House on the Prairie* fame. Articles by Jordan spanned many topics: the political situation in Mexico, the Kings Canyon sequoias, Japanese politics, and later, the issues of post-war peace and the League of Nations, demonstrated Jordan's and *Sunset's* diverse subject matter.

In 1902 Charles Sedgwick Aiken assumed the editor-ship of *Sunset* and claimed that he would make the magazine a combination of *Atlantic Monthly, Outing,* and *McClures.* He bought art and articles, fiction and poetry, about the West, attracting many outstanding writers and artists. Among them was Jack London, who wrote both fiction and news articles for the young *Sunset.*

London's first story, "The Faith of a Man," appeared in 1903. Later he contributed articles on the Far East political situation. His voyage to the South Pacific on board his boat the *Snark* was covered in detail by *Sunset*, which also ran a serialized biography of his life.

The artist Maynard Dixon, known particularly for his dramatic landscapes of the Southwest and his intimate portraits of the Native Americans of that area, began a thirty-two-year association with *Sunset* in 1902. In June of that year he illustrated a poem called "Battle Mountain Belle" by John Vance Cheney. For the February cover in 1903 Dixon painted from life a full-length Navajo man, wrapped in a traditional blanket. This image was reproduced as a poster, creating sold-out *Sunsets* wherever it was displayed, and

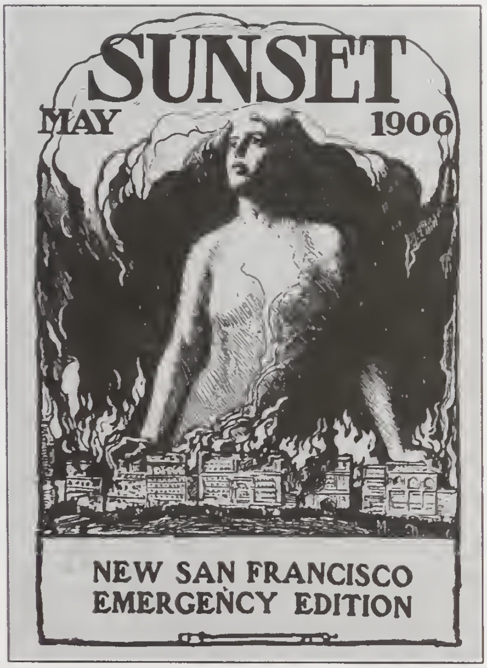


Maynard Dixon (1875-1946, *Navajo Indian from Life,* 1903. Cover of *Sunset* (detail), February 1903. *California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library. Photo: CHS.*

became the logo of the magazine, appearing on the masthead and stationery letterhead.

The May 1906 issue, focusing on Portland, Oregon, was on the presses when the San Francisco earthquake struck. The subsequent fire destroyed the presses as well as the office and most of the records, art, and manuscripts of the magazine. Dixon was asked to create a special cover for a substitute May issue of eight pages. With pen and ink he drew *The Spirit of the City* in which a young woman representing San Francisco rises out of the flaming buildings.

The contents of this abbreviated magazine included a greeting from the editor, Aiken, and a letter from E. H. Harriman, president of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, both focusing on the positive future of San Francisco, with hardly a mention of the great losses. " . . . ere long the imperishable spirit of San Francisco, clothed anew, will invite you within the gates of the new and greater metropolis of the Pacific." On the back cover, a poem by Charles K. Field, illustrated by Dixon, also spoke of the rebirth of the city.



Maynard Dixon (1875-1946), *The Spirit of the City,* 06. Cover of *Sunset, New San Francisco Emergency Edition,* May 1906 from original pen and ink drawing, 1906). *California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library. Photo: CHS.*

In 1912 *Sunset* bought out *The Pacific Monthly,* a western magazine also founded in 1898 and published by the Pacific Monthly Company of Portland, Oregon. *Sunset* added the words *The Pacific Monthly* to its name on subsequent magazine covers. Gradually the words became less prominent but are still used today.

Southern Pacific, unwilling to continue bearing the burden of the magazine's growing financial losses, sold *Sunset* in 1914 to Woodhead, Field, and Company, a consortium of the staff and contributors.

William Woodhead had been business manager since July 1906 and Charles K. Field associate editor since 1908 and editor since 1911. The magazine expanded, adding a strong editorial department, entitled "The Pulse of the Pacific," and the "best fiction that money could buy," but continued its basic mission to describe the West to the world. The Sunset Service Bureau answered agricultural questions and mailed travel information on request.

In 1928 Laurence W. Lane, a thirty-eight-year-old advertising executive from Meredith Publications in Des Moines, Iowa, publisher of *Better Homes and Gardens* and *Successful Farming,* bought *Sunset.* Lane's vision in founding the Lane Publishing Company was to produce a magazine enabling westerners to take advantage of their unique landscape and climate. Editorial policy shifted from writing *about* the West to writing *for* the West. The magazine was marketed to westerners only, both men and women, as "every household that can be called a successful home has a husband and a wife working together at the job of homemaking," according to a 1929 editorial.

Bringing in Lou Richardson and Genevieve Callahan from *Better Homes and Gardens* as co-editors, Larry Lane developed a staff-written regional magazine with articles covering home, garden, food and travel, each teaching the reader "how to do it." His sons, Bill and Mel, sold *Sunset* door-to-door during the Depression, then graduated from Stanford and served in the U.S. Navy before joining the family business full-time in 1946. Throughout their careers at *Sunset* the two sons worked closely together in all aspects of the magazine with Bill eventually becoming its publisher and Mel, the publisher of Sunset Books.

Readers learned how they could take advantage of the mild western climate by eating *al fresco.* As early as 1931 *Sunset* demonstrated how to build the barbecue, then published *Sunset's Barbecue Book* in 1938, complete with plans and recipes. Steak kabobs began with the instructions, "Secure bay tree sticks from the hills. (Any green sticks may be used but the bay sticks add aroma and flavor.) Wash and whittle them to a point at the smaller end." Barbecuing, once part of the area's Hispanic heritage, became a staple of the 20th century western experience.

Emphasizing quality and creativity, Larry Lane cultivated a market he knew to be open to fresh ideas. These ideas often came from Japan and other Pacific Rim countries. Articles on architecture highlighted Japanese elements such as shoji screens, and articles and books on travel took readers throughout the countries bordering the Pacific. Recipes featured Asian dishes and ingredients, accompanied by articles such as "How to Shop in a Chinese Grocery Store." The Mexican and Native American heritages of the West and Southwest were featured with adobe home construction, recipes for tacos—"a Mexican version of the salad sandwich"—and chili rellenos, the latter even barbecued. The Pacific Northwest provided additional inspiration for the magazine of western living.

In order to be even more responsive to the needs of western readers, *Sunset* began three separate editions of the magazine in 1931. The editions represented three distinct sub-regions of *Sunset* country: the Northwest, including Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and later Montana and Wyoming; the Central West, including northern California, Nevada, Utah, and later Colorado; and the Southwest with southern California and Arizona, later separating into a southern California-Hawaii edition and a Desert edition, covering Arizona, New Mexico and adjacent parts of Nevada and California. Each *Sunset* had features common to all regions with added local material covering travel destinations, garden climates, building requirements, and locally-available foods.

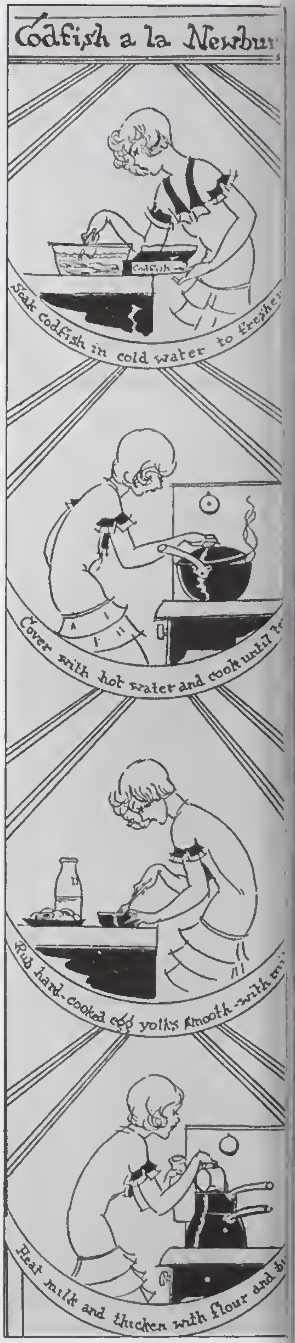
The art covers of the early years gave way to color photography by the late 1930s, but the interior of the magazine remained organized in the same way. Certain regular features became household staples: "The Kitchen Cabinet," a series of recipes submitted by readers with "how to do it" drawings graced each issue, the recipes originally tested by Mrs. Ruth Lane in her own kitchen; "Chefs of the West, the Art of Cooking . . . by men . . . for men" featured recipes and stories sent in by male readers until the 1990s when "Chefs of the West" began printing submissions from women. Recipes reflected the multicultural aspects of western cooking long before the term "California Cuisine" became part of the vernacular.

Articles on the western home and its many aspects predated the Lane years, but became a signature part of the magazine after 1928, with information on the innovations in home construction and household technology. As early as 1939 readers were given information about alternative building materials and were encouraged to visit an exhibit of a steel-framed home at the Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay. *Sunset* began documenting the evolution of solar energy during the 1970s with examples from throughout *Sunset* country, from a solar adobe in the Southwest to John Denver's solar home in the Colorado Rockies.

The California ranch house as defined by Cliff May, a southern California designer, became the style of choice for westerners and *Sunset*. Its rambling single story, punctuated by patio and pool, harked back to the vaquero days when ranch homes dotted the large land grants. When deciding to move its headquarters to Menlo Park, California, *Sunset* hired Cliff May to design the ranch-style complex, which opened in 1951. It is still in use today although extensively remodeled, a process long advocated by *Sunset*.

From 1957 to the present a joint collaboration with the western division of the American Institute of Architects and *Sunset* created a biennial architectural awards program that highlighted outstanding homes and their architects in the West. "Breaking open the box" and "bringing the outside inside" became the bywords as western architecture took on the special character that came from its ranch house heritage and western climate. Winners, however, were never limited to high-end mansions, but also included mass-produced builder homes such as those of Joseph Eichler and later, condominium developments.

Part and parcel of the *Sun-*


Codfish a la Newbur
Codfish
Soak codfish in cold water to freshe
Cover with hot water and cook until te
Rub hard-cooked egg yolks smooth with
Heat milk and thicken with flour and b

Ruth Taylor White, "Codfis
a la Newburg," 1931, fro
*Kitchen Cabinet Recipes, V*
1, 1944. Originally publishe
in "The Kitchen Cabinet
*Sunset*, February 1931. M
*Lane. Photo: VAS.*

*This book contains recipes fro*
*readers published between 192*
*and 1933. "The Kitchen Cab*
*net" is the longest running co*
*umn in* Sunset, beginnin
with the first Lane issue.

*set* house was always its relationship with the garden. Whether it be the landscaping of a hillside, the newest technology and plantings for drought management, or the development of boutique vegetables, *Sunset* led the way. At its headquarters in Menlo Park, the public may tour the model gardens, originally planned by famed landscape designer Thomas Church. The *Sunset Western Garden Book* defines the multitudes of microclimates throughout the West. Over 4.5 million copies have sold since it was first published in 1954. It has become the basic resource for generations of gardeners and is currently in its fortieth edition.

In its earliest days under the auspices of the Southern Pacific, *Sunset* began a love affair with the automobile. The subject of numerous covers and articles, the automobile enabled the beauties of the landscape to become universally accessible. *Sunset* gave motorists the map, motoring tips, and the ingredients for the required picnic at hundreds of the West's spectacular destinations such as Yosemite, featured frequently from the very first issue of May, 1898.

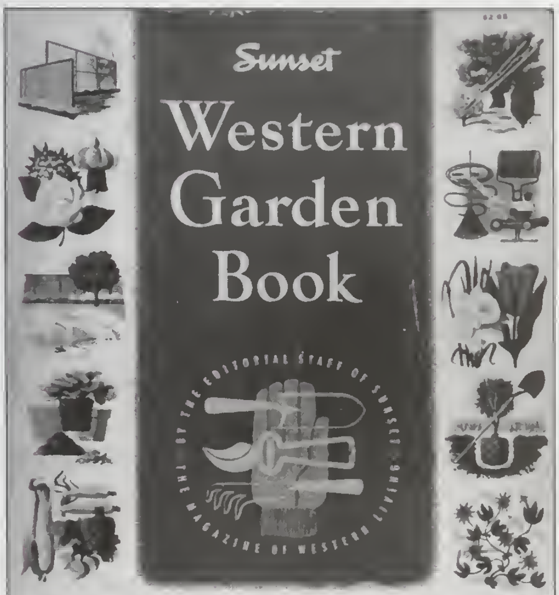
The growing fragility of wilderness areas prompted *Sunset* to go beyond the description of hiking trails, campsites, and saddle trips.

Conservation became part of the story. In his "Letter from *Sunset*" monthly editorial (May 1990), publisher Bill Lane discussed the effects of private development, logging, mineral and energy development, and air pollution on national parks in general, with information on how readers could take action. In another "Letter" (November 1989) he wrote, "At *Sunset* we have finely tuned a very distinctive approach to environmental issues . . . our goal is to get Westerners personally involved . . . " In their private lives both Bill and Mel were actively involved in contemporary environmental issues.

In 1990, after fifty-two years of publishing, Bill and Mel Lane sold *Sunset* to Time Warner Publications Inc., a giant in the field with *Time*, *People*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *Southern Living* among its widely-read magazines. Gradually a few changes have occurred since the first issue of August 1990, although the basic format maintains the Lane structure of travel, garden, home and food. Recipes today include the analysis of fats and carbohydrates that readers expect in these health-conscious times with an emphasis on light, lowfat cooking. A new awards program judging interior decoration has created a partnership between the American Society of Interior Designers and *Sunset*.

In this centennial year celebrations are afoot. A rose has been named *Sunset Celebration* and a new direction has appeared in *Sunset* promotion: "Live the West . . . no matter where you live." As in *Sunset's* earliest days when a piece of the western dream could be had for the price of a magazine, non-westerners are again invited to subscribe. Although no longer the magazine "for westerners and for westerners only," as Larry Lane once wrote in 1954, *Sunset* maintains its position as the pre-eminent magazine of the West.

CISSIE DORE HILL
Hoover Institution Archives


Sunset
Western Garden Book
BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF SUNSET
THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN LIVING

*Sunset Western Garden Book*, Lane Publishing Co., 1954. *California Historical Society, North Baker Research Library. Photo: CHS.*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We sincerely appreciate the enthusiastic involvement of Elena Danielson, Archivist, Hoover Institution Archives; Michael Keller, Librarian, Stanford University Libraries; Michael McCone, Executive Director, and members of his staff at the California Historical Society; Charles Palm, Deputy Director, Hoover Institution; John Raisian, Director, Hoover Institution, and Steve Seabolt, President and CEO, and other members of his staff at Sunset Publication Corporation. Special thanks also go to Frances Baer, Chuck Byrne, and Andrew Herkovic.

Inspiration for this centennial exhibition came from the Honorable L.W. "Bill" Lane, Jr., whose detailed knowledge of Sunset and the West informed the entire process of research, writing, and installation.

Co-curators: Cissie Dore Hill, Katherine Church Holland.

# *Stay East Young Man: California Gold Rush Letter Sheets*

California Historical Society, San Francisco, January 21 - May 22, 1999
Santa Barbara Historical Museum, July 1 - September 15, 1999

In the early 1850s, while thousands of miners were in the gold fields attempting to strike it rich, California artists, printers, publishers, and booksellers were instead striking prints—usually lithographs or wood engravings—on sheets of letter paper. What they produced was the pictorial "letter sheet." A letter sheet is an elaborately illustrated piece of stationery that usually consists of a large single sheet of paper, folded in half, with one page for illustration and three blank pages for letter writing. Letter sheets were popular among gold miners and other settlers in California. They allowed the sender to communicate visually with people at home, and served a function similar to the modern picture postcard.[1]

The illustrations used on letter sheets were numerous and diverse, although they shared a common focus on California subject matter. While many illustrations depict different versions of the same theme or are previously-used illustrations that had been reworked, over 350 different images can be counted among extant sheets. Image themes include depictions of mining life, bird's-eye city views, the topography of the state, the activities of the Committees of Vigilance, local disasters in the form of fires and floods, California's diverse populations, and the role of women. A significant number—among the most creative of the images—are those that satirize the California experience or poke fun at the plight of the miner.

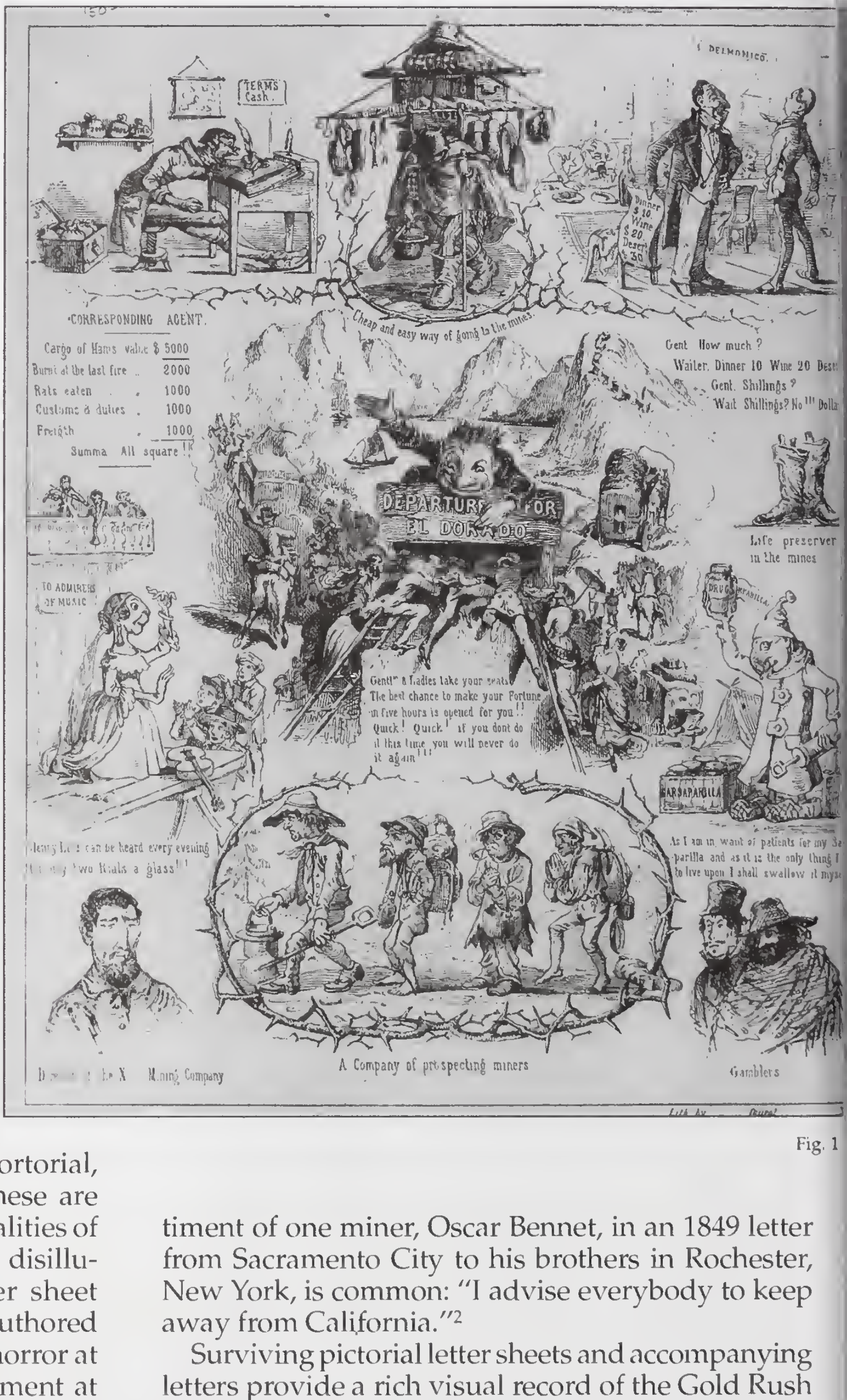

TERMS Cash.
DELMONICO
CORRESPONDING AGENT.
Cargo of Hams value $ 5000
Burnt at the last fire .. 2000
Rats eaten . 1000
Customs & duties . 1000
Freigth . 1000
Summa All square!!
Cheap and easy way of going to the mines.
Dinner $ 10 Wine $ 20 Desert $ 30
Gent How much ?
Waiter. Dinner 10 Wine 20 Dese
Gent. Shillings ?
Wait Shillings? No!!! Dolla
DEPARTURE FOR EL DORADO
Life preserver in the mines
TO ADMIRERS OF MUSIC
DRUG
Gentl'n & Ladies take your seats The best chance to make your Fortune in five hours is opened for you!! Quick! Quick! if you dont do it this time you will never do it again!!!
SARSAPARILLA
can be heard every evening two Rials a glass!!!
As I am in want of patients for my Sa parilla and as it is the only thing I to live upon I shall swallow it myse
Mining Company
A Company of prospecting miners
Gamblers

Fig. 1

The majority of letter sheet images are reportorial, recording places, events, and daily life. These are unflinching in their depiction of the harsh realities of life and mining in California. The sense of disillusionment so frequently expressed in letter sheet images is often restated in extant letters. Authored mostly by young men, these letters express horror at the population's lack of civility, disappointment at their lack of success in the gold fields, and a deeply-felt longing for their loved ones and home. The sentiment of one miner, Oscar Bennet, in an 1849 letter from Sacramento City to his brothers in Rochester, New York, is common: "I advise everybody to keep away from California."[2]

Surviving pictorial letter sheets and accompanying letters provide a rich visual record of the Gold Rush era and the period of the 1850s and 1860s. Artists created images that presented what was most "Californian" about their surroundings, depicting stereotypical scenes of unkempt miners working their claims, menacing grizzly bears, and mammoth trees. Other sheets give a reportorial account of current events that the purchaser had participated in, or seen first hand. Illustrations kept pace with changing times, presenting the latest activities of the Committees of Vigilance, local disasters and celebrations, and developing urban areas. Still others presented the mythical "elephant" which stood for the gold-mining experience. Sheets depicting the animal, such as *A View of the [Elephant]* (ca. 1850) [Fig. 2], helped letter writers report that they had, indeed, "seen the elephant," tail and all.

Pictorial letter sheets, especially in California in the 1850s, were very popular, more so than in any other region of the country or in any other time period. While there are examples of pictorial papers from other sections of the United States, and even from Europe, their development in California was unparalleled.[3] The term "letter sheet" was well known. It was used in advertising, and was occasionally printed on the sheets themselves. Newspaper advertisements refer to collections of thousands of letter sheets. E. B. Davidson in Sacramento routinely advertised in Sacramento newspapers, such as the *Sacramento Mercury* and *Phoenix*, that he had, in stock, "10,000 assorted California LETTER SHEETS." Their popularity in California was fueled by the abundance of new experiences and a need to communicate with loved ones back home. It is not surprising that the years of greatest popularity for the letter sheet were between 1850 and 1856, coinciding with and chronicling the years of the Gold Rush.

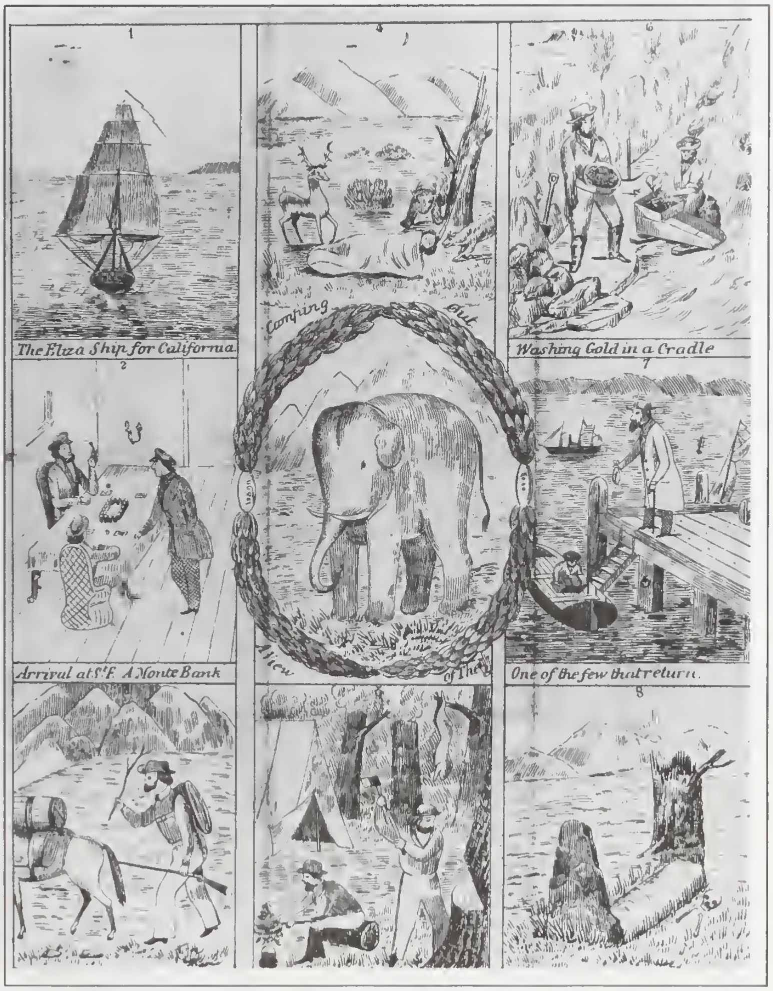

1
The Eliza Ship for California
2
Arrival at S.F. A Monte Bank
4
Camping Out
A View of The
6
Washing Gold in a Cradle
7
One of the few that return.
8

Fig. 2

Letter sheet illustrations could depict the California experience more vividly than the average miner was capable of communicating in prose. It is clear that the pictorial images made the task of letter writing easier for the miner. A letter on a pictorial sheet in the California State Library suggests the advantages of writing letters on pictorial paper. The author states:

> Rather a singular looking sheet this to write letters on. But perhaps it will give you a better idea of Cal. life looking at those pictures than I could possibly do with the pen. You see this is the method much resorted to by Californians as it helps to fill out the sheet & thereby save the trouble of writing long letters which by many is considered a great task.[4]

Compared to photography, which was still in its infancy, letter sheets were relatively inexpensive and ranged in price from about ten to fifty cents.[5] Because they could be printed in multiples, whereas a daguerreotype or painting could not, and because they were widely sold in bookstores, letter sheets were within both the physical and financial reach of the average miner. However, it is important to note that the great majority of extant letters written in the 1850s and 1860s were on non-pictorial paper, suggesting that letter sheets were used in more exceptional instances, and were, perhaps, considered too great an extravagance for routine letter writing. In addition, a large percentage of letter sheets were not used for their intended purpose. Some were sent but not written on, and others were not sent and apparently saved as keepsakes. Indeed, the bulk of extant pictorial sheets are blank. Many of these sheets have survived because they were leftovers from inventories in both print shops and bookstores, whereas many of those sent through the mail have long since been lost.

Letter sheet images can also be found pasted in diaries and scrapbooks, and trimmed to the illustration, suggesting a decorative, and perhaps framable, function. A few have even been hand-colored, probably by the buyer or later owner, not the seller or publisher. Very few examples were actually printed in color, although there are examples of printings with gold ink, such as *A View of the [Elephant]*, or with one or two additional colors. The paper used for printing is most often white or a light periwinkle blue, but gray or soft green can also be found. Both laid and wove papers were used, many of which were produced in Europe. The majority of the paper used in the creation of letter sheets was of thin, lightweight stock. After the letter sheet was written on, the paper was frequently given additional folds by the author to create a compact package that was sealed with wax and addressed. Postal rates at the time were based on the half ounce, and the tissue-like paper, even with a wax seal, insured that the letter could be sent for the minimum charge.[6]

San Francisco produced and sold more letter sheets than any other California city. This is not surprising considering the large number of artists, printers, stationers, and booksellers working there, and because much of the miner's leisure time, especially during the rainy season, was spent in the city.[7] The publishing of pictorial letter sheets was frequently a sideline for stationers, bookstores, and newspapers, and was an adjunct to publishing and printing firms. Occasionally, sheets were copyrighted and published by the artists themselves. It is often difficult to identify or make distinctions between artist, printer, publisher, and bookseller on a given sheet. There were numerous realignments between individuals and firms, and addresses changed frequently. There are well over eighty publishers listed in letter sheet legends, and numerous sheets with no listed publisher. Some of the best known and most prolific publishers and printers associated with the production of letter sheets include Barber & Baker; Britton & Rey; Cooke & LeCount; Justh, Quirot & Co.; Noisy Carrier's; Wide West Office; James M. Hutchings; and Hutchings in association with Rosenfield. Numerous other publishers produced only a sheet or two—exceptions to their regular productions—and many of these were produced in smaller mining towns.

Of all the letter sheet publishers, James M. Hutchings is perhaps the best known. His sheets set standards for the genre and frequently share a recognizable style. Much of the credit for the high quality of his productions can be attributed to his hiring of the best illustrators in the state and his close friendship with the famed California artist Charles Christian Nahl, who illustrated many of the letter sheets he produced. Hutchings lived in Placerville before moving to San Francisco and became known for authoring the most popular of all the letter sheets—*The Miners' Ten Commandments*. It was the first of many that Hutchings published, and its basic format of including multiple vignettes on one page was used on several sheets. He wrote the commandments in the late spring of 1853. At the time, it was common in Placerville, as in other mining towns, for miners to conduct business and work on Sundays. Many individuals were lobbying for stricter observance of the Sabbath. Hutchings, inspired by these discussions, began writing *The Miners' Ten Commandments*. He published the commandments in the *Placerville Herald*, anonymously signing them "Forty-Nine." The commandments created a sensation and were soon reprinted. Their popularity was so great that they began to be plagiarized, leading Hutchings to acknowledge his authorship. Hutchings then hired Harrison Eastman, a close friend of the Nahl brothers, to produce illustrations for the commandments and had Anthony and Baker engrave them. He also wisely secured a copyright. In a little more than a year, Hutchings claimed to have sold over 97,000 copies of this sheet.

Mining life was one of the primary letter sheet themes, and mining subjects were sold into the late 1850s. Images included scenes of the miner's daily life, mining techniques, the hardships encountered in day-to-day activities, as well as maps of the gold fields. In a sheet titled *The Miners* (1851-1852) [Fig. 3], figures are in the process of raising and lowering buckets with windlasses, hauling up "pay dirt" so that it can be washed in a rocker or sluice. Others stand facing the viewer, almost as if they were posing for a photograph—which in fact they probably were. The faces and costumes of the miners are specific, and it is likely that this letter sheet was drawn from a contemporary daguerreotype, although the source is not acknowledged. Several letter sheets were based on photographs—mostly daguerreotypes—and a few do acknowledge their photographic source in the legend.

Other sheets take a less didactic approach to mining subjects, appealing to the purchaser's sense of humor. The difficulties of life in California were frequently lampooned in humorous and satirical letter sheets. Politics, entertainment, homesickness, and the naiveté of miners were all subjects of illustration. Huge expectations and subsequent disappointment were themes worthy of satire.[8] For the miners who expected to make their fortunes and did not, sheets like *Departure for El Dorado* (1851-1853) [Fig. 1] would have seemed very appropriate. Like the many letters bemoaning the California experience, the confusion, corruption, and high prices illustrated in this sheet would have offered much sympathetic amusement.

A few letter sheet illustrations depict women as the primary subject. However, with the exception of sheets representing various women's seminaries

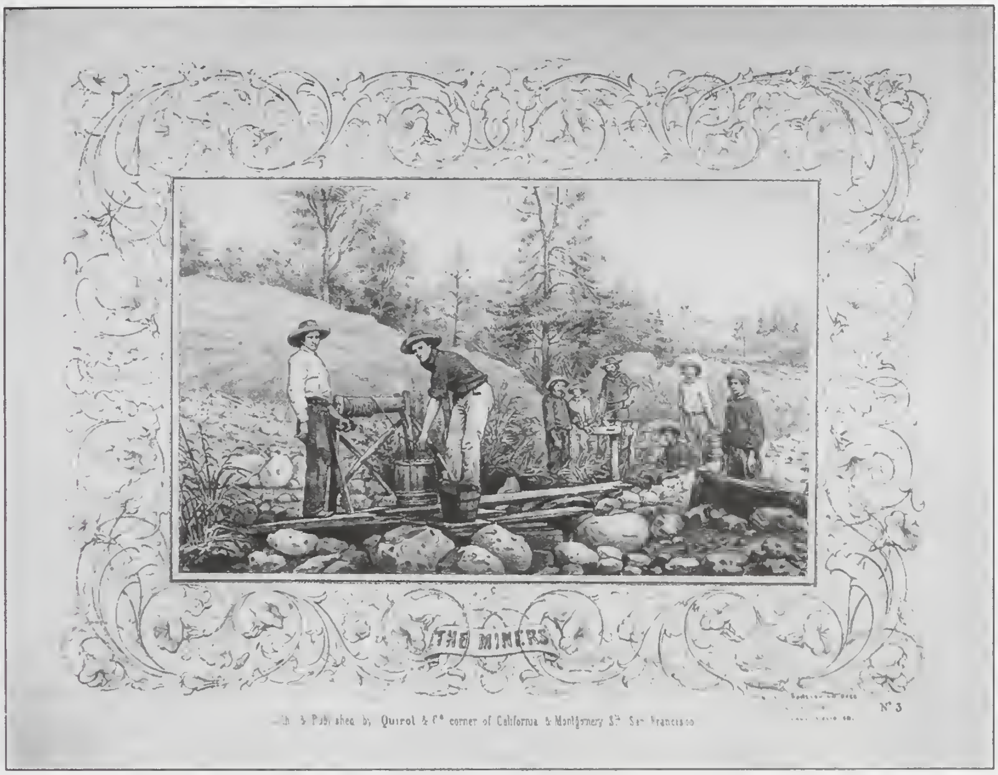

THE MINERS
Lith & Published by Quirot & Co corner of California & Montgomery Sts San Francisco
No 3

Fig. 3

(teaching institutions designed to insure "high mental culture" and develop "moral qualities"[9]), these too were meant to appeal to a male audience. A Hutchings sheet capitalizing on the success of *The Miners' Ten Commandments* was the *Commandments to California Wives.* It was, however, clearly meant to benefit men. Because there were far fewer females in California than males, women enjoyed a more privileged position than in other parts of the country. Divorces were common due to California's permissive divorce law, and women did leave their husbands to remarry. Many also found they could make a good living on their own by cooking, offering laundry services, or taking in boarders. Furthermore, because women could keep their own property in a divorce, separation was economically viable.[10] These factors obviously threatened husbands, and the commandments were designed to keep women in check.

Other letter sheets record the native and minority populations that eastern and foreign travelers experienced in California. Letter sheet artists presented the Native American, Chinese, Spanish, and Mexican populations with the same wonder as giant trees and grizzly bears. These cultural "curiosities" were described both in letter sheet images and text. Four small illustrations by Nahl on a Hutchings sheet, for instance, show Native American and Chinese populations under the title *Way-Side Scenes in California.* The first line of the text states: "The stranger, as he ascends the mountains towards the mining towns, or passes from one mining district to another, notices the contrast in the scenes around him to anything he ever saw before."[11] The text then goes on to chronicle the various races that one could potentially encounter on the way to the diggings.

Another large body of letter sheet images concerns the activities of the Committees of Vigilance. There are illustrations depicting both the 1851 and 1856 committees, and when the first wave of letter sheet publishing began to subside in the mid-1850s, the second committee offered new material for illustration. The committees arose in California during the Gold Rush to help establish law and order. The first of the two committees was organized in 1851. The committee had an initial membership of 103, which quickly rose to more than 600 before it ended its activities three months later. This short-lived committee started as part of a legal trial against the Sydney Ducks, a group of convicts from Australia who came to California during the Gold Rush and committed crimes of both robbery and arson. A letter sheet illustration, attributed to John Prendergast, and published by Justh Quirot & Co., depicts the hanging of James Stuart on Market Street Wharf. Stuart was a notorious criminal from Australia—one of the Sydney Ducks. He was apprehended by the Vigilance Committee for a minor offense, but under questioning confessed to a series of crimes.

The second committee became much larger than the first, eventually numbering over 6,000 members. They considered the city government corrupt, and even went so far as to seize arms from the state militia. Headquartered at "Fort Gunnybags" on Sacramento Street, nicknamed for its sandbag defenses, the second Committee of Vigilance was established in 1856 after the murders of General William H. Richardson by Charles Cora, and James King of William by James Casey. Casey and Cora were jointly executed. Several letter sheet illustrations depict the May 22nd, 1856 hanging that took place before an estimated 20,000 spectators and 3,000 armed committee guards.

One of the primary reasons for the initial formation of the first Committee of Vigilance was the prevalence of arson. Many early city conflagrations started because fires were deliberately set, thus enabling thieves to loot buildings. Like letter sheets that depicted the activities of the Committees of Vigilance, those depicting fires or other disasters were published soon after the events. City fires, ship accidents, floods, and earthquakes all served as subjects of illustrations. Authors of extant letters were frequently participants in, or witnesses of, the events depicted.

There were also many tranquil, bird's-eye city views depicting numerous settlements and towns. Coloma, Downieville, Goodyears Bar, Jamestown, Placerville, San Jose, Shasta City, Sonora, and even Timbuctoo were all illustrated on letter sheet paper. San Francisco was represented on more sheets than any other city, however, and it is possible to trace it's evolution and development year by year. An early San Francisco view was published by J. P. Bogardus in 1850. A letter accompanying this sheet dated February 16, 1850 discusses the accuracy of the illustration:

> I thought it would gratify you to see a print of San Francisco & you here have it. It presents a view of the principal part of it as seen from one of the hills in the rear and includes the shipping in the harbor. It gives you after all but a very imperfect idea of the appearance of the place as seen from the harbor & does not include one half of the houses & other habitations which ocupy [sic] the spot which constitutes the town.

By 1870, the golden era of letter sheet illustration had passed. The impetus and enthusiasm for these unique productions declined as the world became more familiar with California. Books, periodicals, and newspapers quickly filled the void with information and images, tempering the newness and wonder that had once made the letter sheet popular. In addition, the advances in photography and the greater availability of photographs made artist-rendered illustrations seem less immediate, denying the letter sheet's documentary and reportorial function.

Today, pictorial letter sheets provide a salient pictorial record of a unique time and place. Images are concerned with the Gold Rush, with daily life, and with a rapidly-changing California. Letter sheets were local productions with local subjects, but they were, and are, universal in their appeal.

SCOTT A. SHIELDS,
Curator of Fine Arts

## NOTES

1. Most recently by Gary F. Kurutz, "Images of El Dorado: The California Pictorial Letter Sheet," Introduction to *California Pictorial Letter Sheets: Catalogue of the Collection of Henry H. Clifford* (Austin: Dorothy Sloan-Rare Books, Inc., 1994), p. vii. Also similarly described by Elliot A. P. Evans, *Annual Publication* 1956 (San Francisco: The Society of California Pioneers, 1956), p. 25; and by Harry T. Peters, *California on Stone* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1935), p. 7.
2. Bennet Letter, 15 July 1849, Oscar Bennet Papers (MS 143), North Baker Research Library, California Historical Society, San Francisco.
3. Joseph Armstrong Baird, *California Pictorial Letter Sheets* (San Francisco: David Magee, 1967), p. 17.
4. Quoted in Baird, p. 26.
5. Baird, p. 12.
6. Evans and Baird both claim that postal rates were based on the number of sheets to be mailed and thought that no matter how large, or how folded, letter sheets qualified for the one-sheet rate. Kurutz, however, correctly notes that it was the letter sheet's light weight, attributable to the thin paper, that made it possible to mail them for the then-minimum charge of forty cents. The forty-cent rate, however, lasted only until July 1, 1851. At this time, Congress lowered the half-ounce postal rate from forty cents to six cents for letters traveling more than 3,000 miles. My gratitude to Robert J. Chandler, Assistant Vice President of Historical Services at the Wells Fargo Bank, for helping to clarify these postal costs and regulations.
7. Kurutz, p. viii.
8. Kurutz, p. ix.
9. Letter sheet, *Young Ladies' Seminary*, M Street, Between Fifth and Sixth, Sacramento (Sacramento: Young Ladies' Seminary, 1855 or 1856).
10. Jo Ann Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), pp.186-190.
11. Letter sheet, *Way-Side Scenes in California* (San Francisco: Published by James M. Hutchings, ca. 1855).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

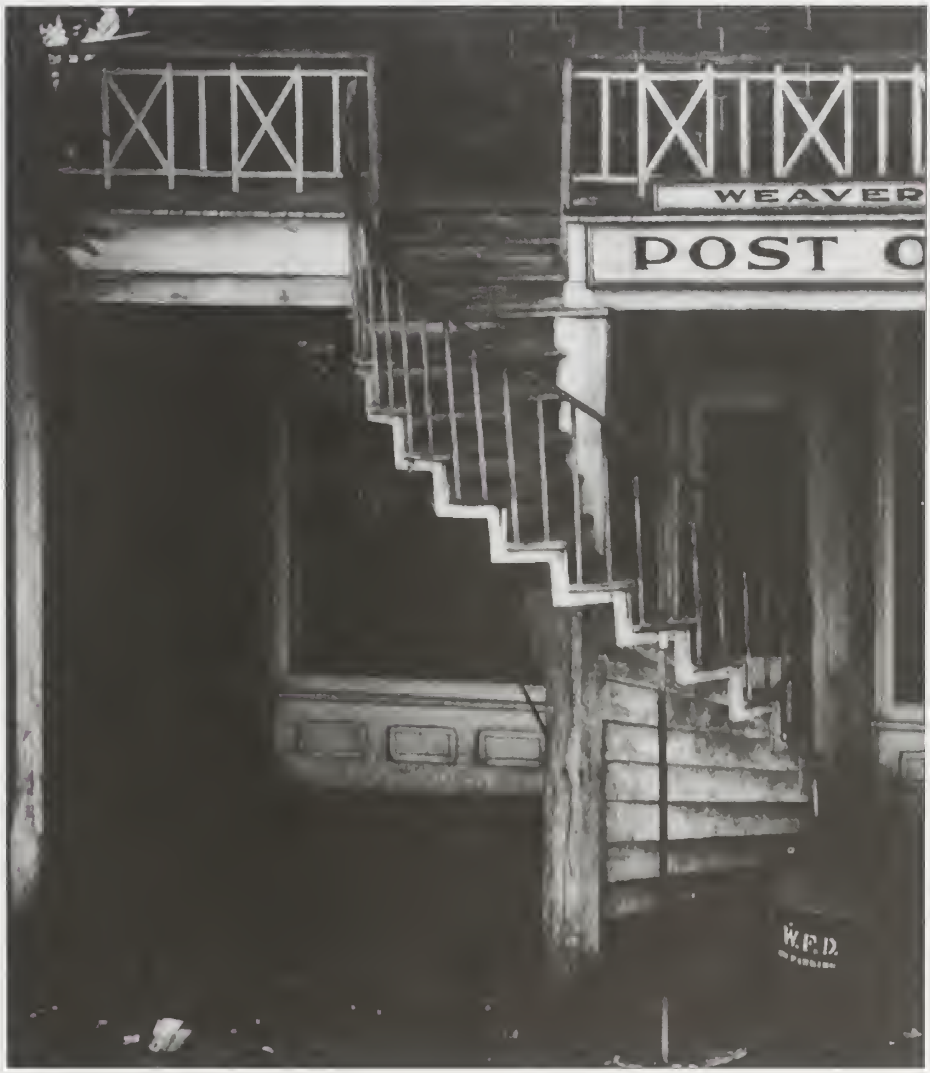
The California Historical Society is grateful to many institutions and individuals for bringing this exhibition to fruition. The Society of California Pioneers and the Columbia State Historic Park were both generous in lending objects. Robert J. Chandler of the Wells Fargo Bank, Susan Haas of the Society of California Pioneers, Patricia Junker of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, and Dorothy Sloan of Dorothy Sloan Rare Books, as well as many others, all generously contributed their time and expertise. And, as always, each member of the staff of the California Historical Society contributed to the success of the project.

The financial contributions of Mrs. Morris Doyle in honor of Dr. Albert Shumate, as well as The Bernard Osher Foundation, made the exhibition possible. For this we offer our sincerest thanks.

# ALMA LAVENSON

## Mother Lode Photographs

January 21 – February 27, 1999

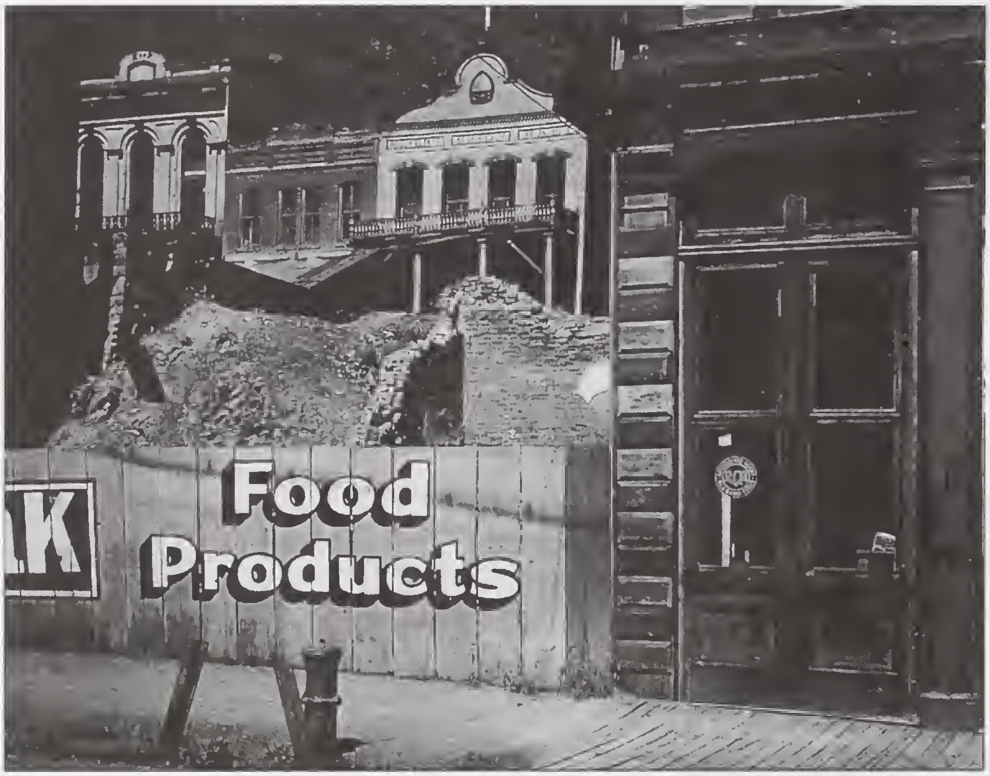


*Spiral Staircase,* Weaverville, 1938. *Alma Lavenson Family Collection.*

In 1849, California's Gold Rush brought thousands of people to the region of the Sierra foothills that would become known as the Mother Lode. Some eighty years later, during the 1930s, Alma Lavenson (1897-1989) began to photograph there. In towns with names like Rough and Ready and Whiskey Slide, Lavenson captured the remnants of the Gold Rush era with a modernist's eye for light, form, and texture.

Born in San Francisco in 1897, Lavenson moved with her family to Oakland in the aftermath of the 1906 earthquake. After graduating from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1919 with a degree in psychology, she began taking pictures with a small Kodak camera. Lavenson taught herself to develop film and make prints with a basic lesson at a local drugstore and the technical information she found in popular magazines such as *The Camera* and *Camera Craft*. Studying these publications, she also became familiar with the pictorialist imagery that they promoted. She traded her Kodak for a $3^1/4 \times 4^1/4$ Ensign reflex camera and fitted it with an inexpensive, uncorrected lens to achieve the soft-focus, romantic quality of pictorialism. On weekend outings with friends to the Oakland Estuary and Marin County, Lavenson explored natural and industrial landscapes, and sharpened her sense of composition and light. Her images from this period reveal an intuitive sense of visual organization and an interest in architectural and industrial subjects that would be consistent throughout her life. In 1927, for the first time, she submitted photographs to be considered for publication. Titled *The Light Beyond,* the atmospheric view of Zion Canyon was praised by the editors at *Photo-Era* magazine and reproduced on its cover. Over the next several years, Lavenson's work was published regularly in national photography magazines and exhibited in salons in the United States and abroad.

In 1930, Lavenson became acquainted with a circle of photographers who would have a profound effect on her work. Family friend and well-known patron of the arts, Alfred Bender, provided her with letters of introduction to Edward Weston, Imogen Cunningham, and Consuela Kanaga. These photographers had rejected pictorialism's painterly manip-

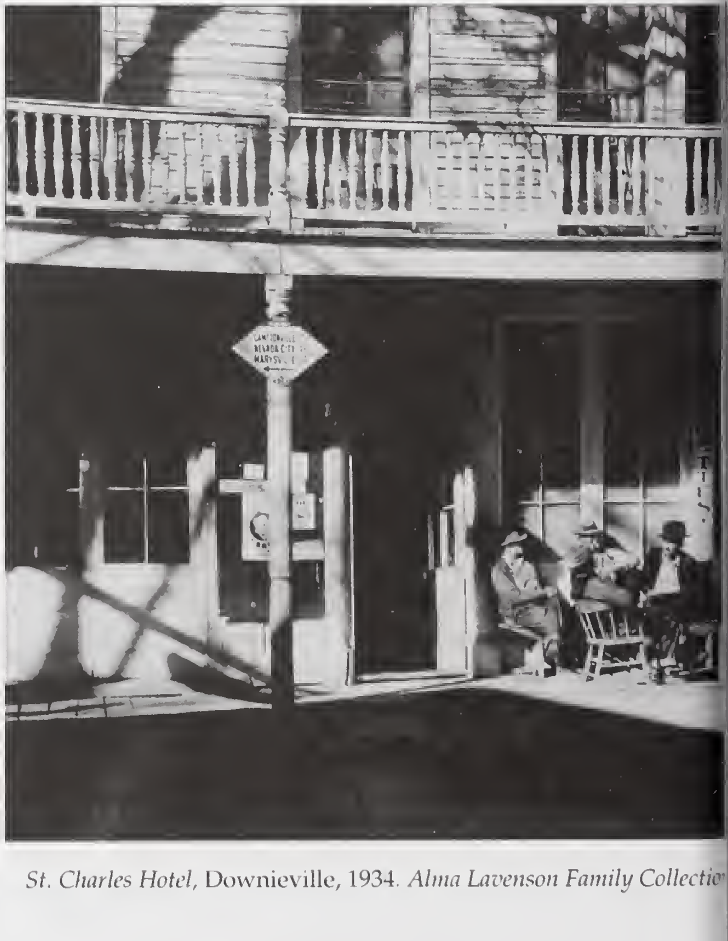


*Food Products,* Virgina City, 1939. *Private Collection.*

ulations in order to explore the medium's capacity for clarity, precision, and abstraction. Together with others artists, including Ansel Adams, Willard Van Dyke, and Sonya Noskowiak, they formed Group f/64, a loose association of photographers named for the camera aperture setting that produces deep sharp focus. While Lavenson never considered herself a formal member of Group f/64, her work was included in their landmark exhibition at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in 1932 and in many significant shows of related work thereafter. Within this group of West Coast modernists, Lavenson's significance stems in part from her concentration on industrial and architectural subjects. The application of her strong visual sensibility to themes not usually addressed by women marks her unique contribution.

It was also during the early 1930s that Lavenson began to explore the Mother Lode and nearby Virginia City, Nevada. Initially drawn to North San Juan, where her mother was born, she was fascinated by the echoes of the past in Gold Rush towns, and drawn to the landscape and quality of light in the foothills. Tourists were just beginning to discover the quiet towns and historical sites as Lavenson searched for subjects that for her resonated with a sense of place. In a 1940 article in *U.S. Camera* Magazine she wrote:

> I have tried to record only those bits which still pre-



*St. Charles Hotel,* Downieville, 1934. *Alma Lavenson Family Collectio*

> serve a feeling of the past. I have consciously overlooked many buildings of historic importance because I felt that their outward appearance now belies their colorful past. In other words, I have skipped "the first Masonic Hall" or "the oldest two-story building" if it has an obviously restored front or stucco embellishments, in favor of a shack of unknown origin from which still seems to emanate a feeling of the past. This practice may not be good historically, but it satisfies me photographically.

In 1933, Lavenson married Matt Wahrhaftig and the two began to travel to the Mother Lode together. They planned to produce a book of Lavenson's photographs with text by Wahrhaftig. Driving the small roads and highways of the region they came to know its history.

The Mother Lode was the geographic center of California's Gold Rush, stretching roughly from Downieville and Sierra City in the north to Mariposa in the south. Hundreds of mining camps and towns sprang into being between 1849 and 1860 as eager argonauts poured into the area. Their names—You Bet, Red Dog, Fiddletown, Drytown, Chili Gulch, Copperopolis—suggest an early population steeped in risk and restlessness. As prospecting grew less viable, the region's population dwindled, leaving behind a string of settlements and structures. While some continued to prosper as towns, many others were abandoned as ghost towns or ruins.

Lavenson's project in the Mother Lode was not to create a comprehensive historical document but rather to aesthetically explore a place of historical character. Matt Wahrhaftig wrote in a foreword for a book they planned together:

> This is not a history of the Gold Rush, nor is it a complete photographic record of it. It is an attempt to reconstruct through the medium of the camera the spirit of the period rather than a literal record of it.

Lavenson pursued this goal using the tools she had developed as an artist, and in doing so interpreted the past with a contemporary vision. Emphasizing composition and light, her images present historical elements in modernist terms, evoking a vanished past by representing traces of it with visual clarity and precision. Formal investigations of weathered wood, faded signs, and hanging laundry use objects, form, and texture to mark the passage of time and layers of human activity. Through the medium of photography, Lavenson draws together the details of a place in imagery that is both formal and intimate.

Today, this body of work has also become a part of the historical record of the region. In these images we discover not only the unique interpretation of Gold Rush-era ruins but also the towns and countryside of the gold country during the 1930s, 40s, and 50s. As change has come to the Mother Lode both in the form of restoration and destruction of historical elements, Lavenson's images reveal an era that has itself become a chapter in the region's evolution.

*Self-portrait,* 1932. *Private Collection.*

EMILY WOLFF,
Curator of Photography

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CHS thanks Alma Lavenson's sons Albert Wahrhaftig and Paul Wahrhaftig for their support. Special thanks to Susan Ehrens. This exhibition was made possible with funding from The Bernard Osher Foundation.

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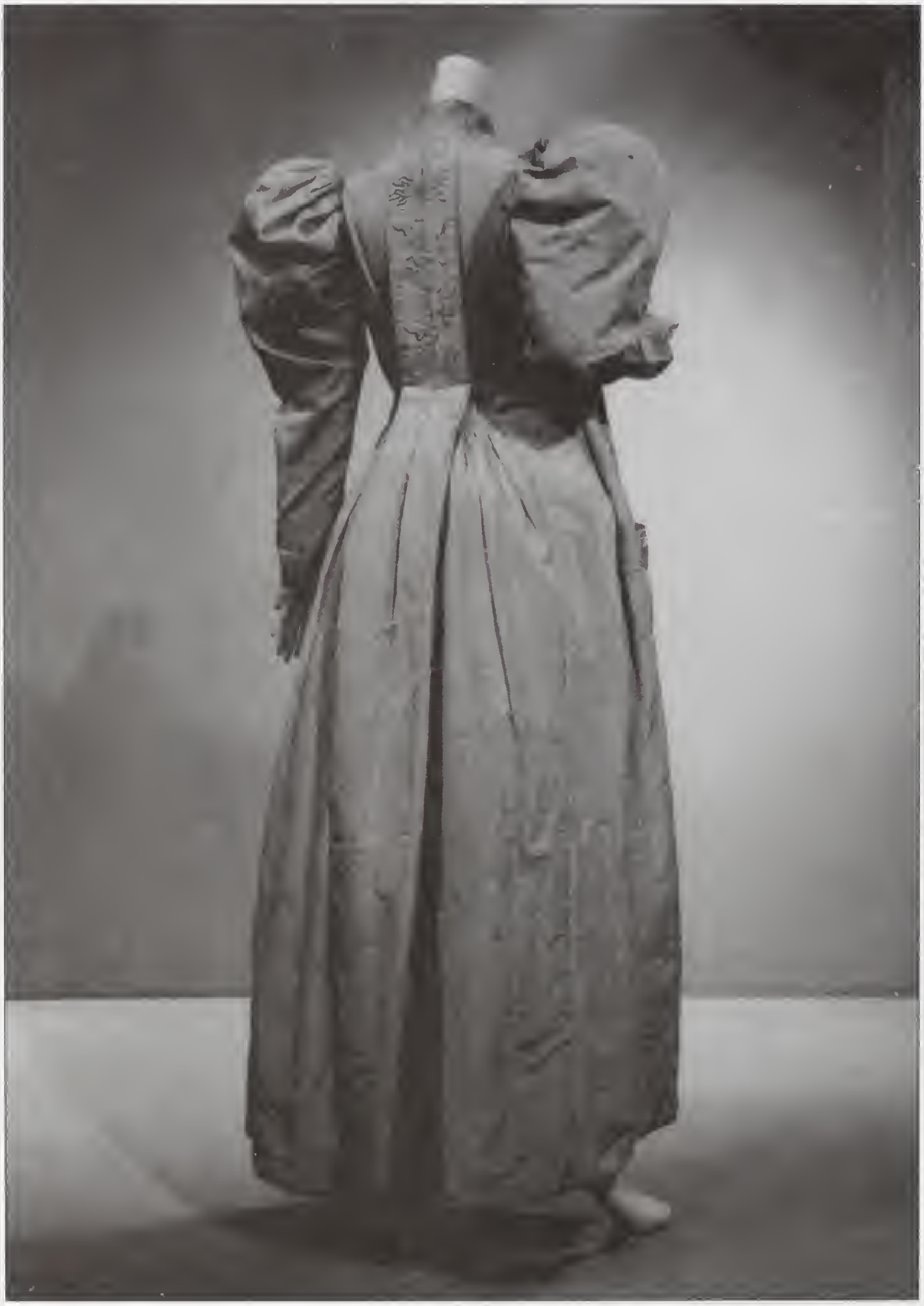


Teagown, ca. 1895. Pale pink silk, silk floss embroidery, lace panel inset.
*California Historical Society, gift of Mrs. Phillip C. Huth.*

# CARRIAGE DAYS:

## California Costumes From the CHS Collection

The California Historical Society is fortunate to have a rich collection of costumes in its permanent collection. These costumes are housed, maintained, and used for teaching purposes at the Museum of the Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising in Los Angeles—a branch of which is located in San Francisco. This exhibition contains a selection of these costumes, and represents both the strength and diversity of the collection.

The Society began collecting costumes in the early part of the twentieth century and continues to add to the collection. Members of prominent San Franciscan families wore most of the garments, and all of the pieces displayed here were worn by Californians.

### THE 1880S

Although the bustle had been popular in the early 1870s, it gave way in the second half of the decade to a straighter style of dress. In the mid-1880s, the bustle came back into fashion but had a more angular, shelf-like appearance than the earlier version. This projecting bustle was combined with a tightly corseted torso and waist. The skirt increased in volume and the bodice became simpler and more streamlined, giving the silhouette of the 1880s a triangular appearance. This look was combined with peaked hairstyles, hats, and bonnets that contributed to the overall pyramidal form. Heavy fabrics and elaborate ornamentation in the form of beads, fringes, braids, and fur were common. Summer dresses were made of lighter material, but were equally layered.

### THE 1890S

The hourglass silhouette associated with the 1890s evolved over several years. As the bustle receded, more emphasis was placed on sleeves and shoulders. At first, sleeves rose moderately at the shoulders, but soon became so large that they had to be supported by linings of stiffened muslin or taffeta. These balloon-like sleeves reached their greatest width around 1894. They were combined with a skirt that was fitted at the hips and flared at the hem, which helped make a tightly corseted waist look even smaller. Collars were usually high, except in evening when low necklines were frequently worn.

The separate skirt and shirtwaist also became popular in the 1890s, and was available ready-made. These were especially popular with the increasing numbers of young women entering the workforce, because combining skirts and blouses could create many different outfits. By the late 1890s, the tailored look was in vogue and was popularized by the illustrations of Charles Dana Gibson whose Gibson Girls usually wore shirtwaists and plain skirts.

### EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

After the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, the Edwardian era brought a new romanticism to female fashions. This period, lasting until the outbreak of World War I, was commonly referred to as *"La Belle Epoque"*—the beautiful era. Costumes of this era were frequently adorned with abundant lace and ribbons. The hourglass figure was still favored, but it was now combined with a greater emphasis on the bust, commonly referred to in this period as the "mono-bosom." Collars were very high, and skirts were fitted at the hips, falling in full graceful folds at the foot. These skirts were usually quite simple, but even walking skirts had small trains. As in the 1890s, women continued to wear separate blouses and skirts, although dresses were still prevalent.

# *Interpreting California*

## The Art of History

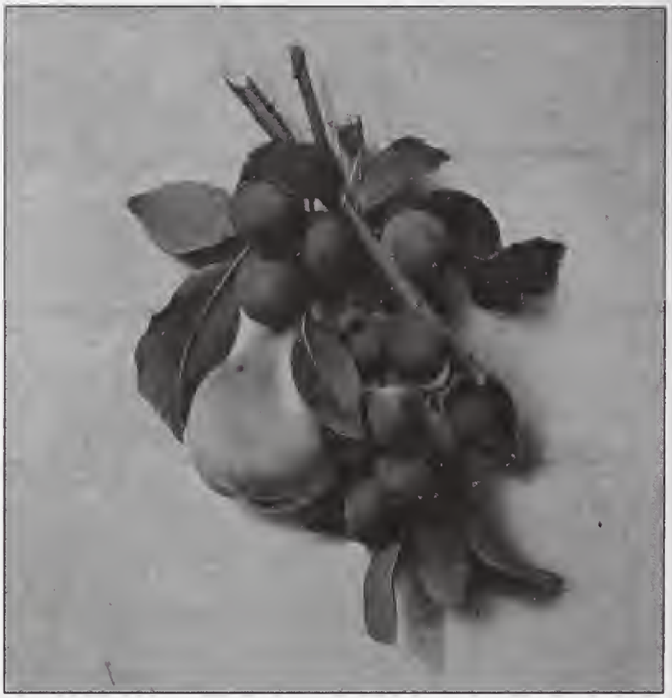
June 10 – October 2, 1999

California's history, topography, and people can be studied through an abundance of visual and written material. They can be interpreted through visual art, revealed by photographs, read about in books and manuscripts, and discovered in artifacts. The California Historical Society preserves significant collections in each of these areas that together illuminate not only California's rich history, but also the state's distinctiveness and diversity. These collections ensure that the history of California will be kept alive and accessible as the process of interpretation continues to evolve with each new generation.

While this exhibition aims to provide an overview of California's nineteenth-century history, it is also meant to offer a survey of the California Historical Society's holdings. The three major components of the California Historical Society's permanent collection consist of photography, fine arts, and library collections. These collections include photographs, paintings, and texts by nationally recognized individuals, as well as the snapshots, commercial illustrations, and diaries created and written by ordinary Californians. When considered together, the history that these objects convey may be either contradictory or mutually reinforcing. We use them collectively to tell the story of a remarkable place.

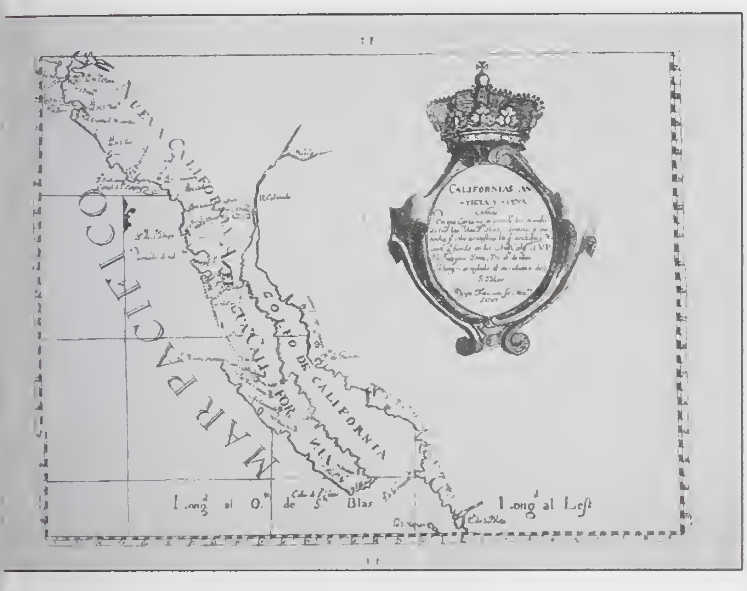
### THE SETTING

California's physical setting is varied and spectacular. The state boasts more than 1,200 miles of breathtaking coastline, vast fertile valleys, and large expanses of desert. There are two major mountain ranges in California—the Coast Ranges and the Sierra Nevada—and several other smaller ranges. The state's highest point is Mount Whitney, which at 14,495 feet is the tallest mountain in the continental United States. California's lowest point is Death Valley, which plunges 282 feet below sea level and is the lowest spot in the United States. California also has abundant natural plant and animal life and supports numerous agricultural crops.



Samuel Marsden Brookes (1816-1892), *Plums and a Pear,* 1872. Oil on canvas, 18 x 15 in. *Fine arts collection, gift of Colonel Harry Innes Thornton Creswell.*

Much of the collection of the California Historical Society, both written and visual, is related in some way to the topography of the state. The Society holds an extensive collection of landscape paintings, a broad selection of maps and atlases, and a diverse collection of landscape photography representing nearly every region of California. These resources provide a permanent record of the changing California landscape, from its virgin wilderness to the modern cityscape.



Diego Francoso, Sc., “Californias: Antigua y Nueva,” 1787. From Francisco Palou (1723-1789), *Relacion historica de la vida y apostolicas tareas del venerable padre fray Junipero Serra: y de las misiones que fundó en la California Septemtrional, y nuevos establecimientos de Monterey* (Mexico: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1787). 11¾ x 16 ½ in. *Library Collection.*

This map accompanies text by Francisco Palou and illustrates “the path taken and the missions founded by the V.P. [venerable padre] Junipero Serra.” Most maps from this era show only Baja California, but this map includes northern Califronia up to Pd. Rey (Point Reyes), north of San Francisco. The mapmaker, Diego Francoso, notes that no rivers or islands are shown, but he indicates where each mission was located through a small building with a cross and adjacent tower. The author of the text, Francisco Palou, was a student under Father Junípero Serra. He wrote this text as a historical memoir of the founding of the missions.

## Native Californians

Although it is not certain when the first people reached the area that is now California, it is likely that the earliest residents lived here perhaps 15,000 years before the arrival of European explorers in the sixteenth century. While estimates vary, most scholars agree that the population of Native Californians was at least 300,000, a larger per capita population than found in other states and territories. Before European settlement, most Native Californians lived by hunting, gathering, and carefully managing the resources provided by nature, and made dwellings from natural materials.

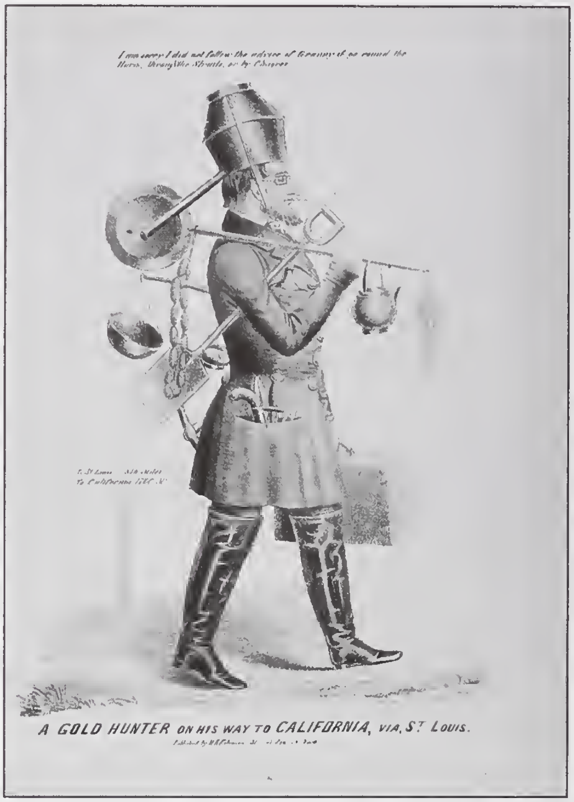
Native Californians were culturally and geographically diverse. Physically isolated by mountains, rivers, and deserts, there were some 500 village communities throughout the state. The peoples of these communities were relatively autonomous and spoke as many as 100 distinct languages. Styles of housing and dress varied according to region, as did religious beliefs and practices.

### Representing Native Cultures

The native peoples of California have often been the subjects of works of art, literature, and photography. One of the first Europeans to extensively depict Native Californians was the Russian artist Louis Choris, who in 1816 created a series of watercolors that were reproduced in a book on his travels, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde.* Many later artists, especially toward the end of the nineteenth century, also chose Native Americans as subjects; some artists even specialized in such depictions. While Grace Carpenter Hudson is perhaps the best known California artist to paint Native Americans, Henry Raschen was one of the first to devote a significant portion of his works to depictions of California's native people.

The California Historical Society's collection focuses primarily on Native Americans who lived during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because many of the artifacts produced by Native Americans before this time have not survived—with the exception of objects made of durable materials such as stone—the Society's collections consists largely of later examples. Furthermore, because photography was not extensively utilized until the second half of the nineteenth century, and because artists in California did not frequently depict native subjects until the latter part of the nineteenth century, the pictorial record before 1850 is limited.

Although Native Californians left no written records, there are many remaining firsthand accounts left by explorers and settlers. Although these books and manuscripts often reflect a specific perspective—military, religious, or lay—they help illustrate how Native Californians were perceived in the nineteenth century.


I am sorry I did not follow the advice of Granny to go round the Horn, through the Straits, or by Chagres
A GOLD HUNTER ON HIS WAY TO CALIFORNIA, VIA, ST LOUIS.

*A Gold Hunter on His Way to California, via, St. Louis,* ca. 1849. Published by Henry R. Robinson, New York. Hand-colored lithograph, 17 x 13 in. *Fine arts collection.*

This lithograph shows a dapper man making the trek westward in search of gold. He had chosen to make the trip to California by land and, according to the sign, has some 1,700 miles to go before he reaches his destination. This print is meant to be a spoof on the journey to California. The would-be miner is well groomed and elegantly dressed, and thus the image ignores the reality that the trek to California was very arduous. The overland route typically took between three to six months and entailed crossing hazardous terrain. Many travelers died long before they made it to California.

## THE MISSIONS

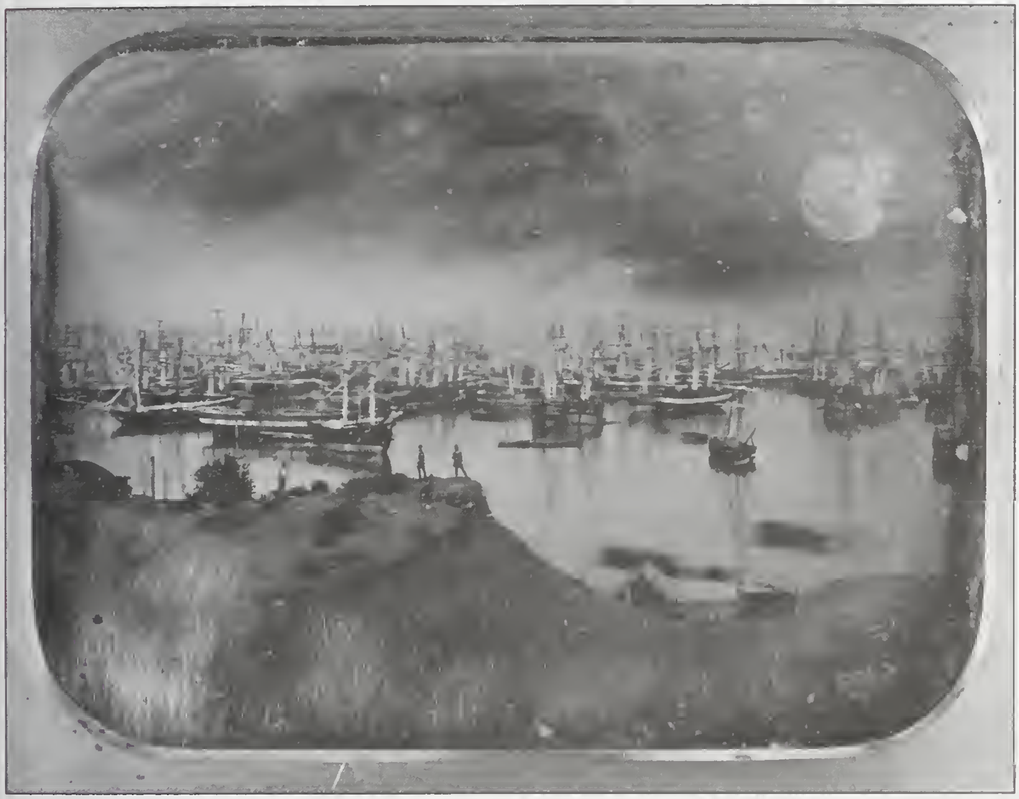
California's missions were established to extend and maintain Spanish colonial control and to convert Native Americans to Roman Catholicism. In all, twenty-one Franciscan missions were built in California. The first mission was founded in 1769 in San Diego and the last was founded in Sonoma in 1823. The missions controlled vast estates encompassing hundreds of thousands of acres. They were established near sufficient water supplies, fertile soil, and, most importantly, Native American population centers.

The primary purpose of the missionaries was to convert Native Americans to Christianity. Missionaries believed that the process of conversion could not be separated from the larger process of acculturation. Converted Natives Americans thus surrendered not only their religion, but were forced to give up much of their previous way of life and culture. Conversion of the members of the tribes began slowly, but by the time of secularization nearly 54,000 baptisms had been recorded. Unfortunately, because of diseases, changes in diet, and the imposition of a foreign way of life, the indigenous population of California declined from more than 300,000 to about 100,000 between 1769 and 1846.

## MEXICO AND THE SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS

Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, making California a northern province of the nation of Mexico. A significant consequence of Mexican independence was the secularization of the missions. Secularization entailed converting the missions into parish churches and replacing the friars with parish priests, releasing converted Native Americans from mission jurisdiction, and transferring mission property to private ownership. On August 4, 1834, the Mexican governor of California, José Figueroa, issued a proclamation ordering ten missions to be secularized. The remaining missions were secularized over the next two years. Because of secularization, the missions lost their land and most of their power. The bulk of mission lands ended up in the hands of a few prominent Californio families who controlled huge cattle ranches called ranchos.

California's Spanish and Mexican heritage is represented through period artifacts, books, maps, manuscripts, and letters. Many photographs and paintings in the Society's collection, although produced after the fact, also record this heritage. They depict the evolution of the missions from their state of decay following secularization, to the repair of some of the buildings in the late nineteenth century, to the reconstruction of the missions in the early twentieth century.



Maker unknown, *San Francisco,* 1851. Plate five of seven whole plate daguerreotypes. *Photography Collection.*

Photography came to California with the Gold Rush, and much of the state's development has been captured through the camera. This view of the San Francisco harbor is part of a larger panoramic view of the city. It is one of a handful of very early panoramas that was created using the daguerreotype process, the first widely used form of photography. The Society holds more that 150 daguerreotypes, a unique store of visual evidence of life in California during the 1850s.

### STATEHOOD AND THE RUSH FOR GOLD

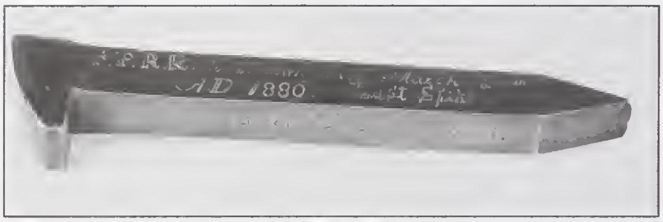
The war between the United States and Mexico ended in February 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty set the Rio Grande as the new boundary of the United States in a territory that included the present states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado. In September 1849, a convention of forty-eight prominent Californians met in Colton Hall in Monterey to draft a constitution for California. The following year, on September 9, 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed a bill admitting California as a state.

The Mexican War had not officially ended when, on January 24, 1848, carpenter James Marshall discovered gold while working at Sutter's Mill on the south fork of the American River. The first published accounts of the gold discovery appeared in San Francisco's two weekly newspapers, the *Californian* and *The California Star,* in March 1848. At first, the news generated little excitement, and it was not until May that the stampede began. Sam Brannan, having cornered the market in mining supplies, executed a brilliant marketing maneuver that helped trigger the rush: he stood on the streets of San Francisco, waving a bottle of gold dust above his head and shouting "Gold! Gold! Gold from the American River!" Within weeks, San Francisco and the surrounding towns had emptied as residents left to pursue the quest for gold. Eventually, hundreds of thousands of gold seekers came to California from across the country and around the world.

The California Historical Society has extensive holdings of Gold Rush materials, including letters, miners' diaries, maps, artifacts, daguerreotypes, and paintings. The Society also preserves an important collection of early lithographs and letter sheets, many of which are devoted to Gold Rush towns and themes.

### THE RAILROAD

The transcontinental railroad was one of the most significant forces in California's history, as it linked California to the rest of the country economically, socially, and politically. The construction of the railroad began on January 8, 1863. Theodore Judah was the person most responsible for launching this ambitious project. He tirelessly pursued financial backers to fund the endeavor and found them in four enterprising Sacramento merchants now known as the Big Four. These men—Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker—were the directors of the Central Pacific and later the South-



Maker unknown, *Railroad Spike*, 1850. Silver. *Fine Arts Collection.*

This spike was made to commemorate the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad to Tucson. It is inscribed "Made from the first bullion produced by the Toughnut Mine & presented by the Johnston M & M Co. in Commemoration of the Completion of the S.P.R.R. to Tucson A.T. [Arizona Territory] March 20th A.D. 1880."

ern Pacific lines. They became the wealthiest and most powerful figures of their generation.

Theodore Judah also secured federal aid to help pay the costs of building the railroad. In 1862 and 1864, Congress passed the Pacific Railroad Acts. Signed into law by President Lincoln, these acts provided gifts of land and low-interest loans to the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads. In California, the railroad was granted 11,588,000 acres of land, making it the largest private landowner in the state.

The greatest challenge in building the railroad came in laying rails through the heart of the Sierra Nevada. Most of the construction on the western portion of the line was performed by thousands of Chinese laborers who worked under dangerous conditions for low wages. On May 10, 1869, after six years of Herculean efforts, the railroad was completed at Promontory Point, Utah.

## AGRICULTURE

Although some Native Americans in California practiced limited agriculture, most lived by hunting and gathering. The cultivation of crops became a necessity during the Spanish mission period. The missions controlled vast estates, encompassing hundreds of thousands of acres, which were largely supported by Native American labor. Through this labor, the mission fathers were able to grow a variety of crops including wheat, corn, legumes, grapes and other fruit, and nuts.

During the Gold Rush, agriculture expanded enormously in response to the burgeoning population. Cattle and sheep ranching increased dramatically, orchards (mostly apples) were planted, and vineyards were expanded and improved. After the Gold Rush, large farms were established, particularly in California's fertile Central Valley. Settlement of this valley increased with the establishment of vast wheat farms.

The arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad triggered further agricultural development, helping California farmers and other producers transport their products to distant markets. Fruit growers especially benefited from the development of the refrigerated railroad car that helped to preserve fruit during shipment across the country. The growing of citrus fruits, most notably oranges and lemons, spread throughout the southern part of the state. By 1876, California farmers began cultivating summer-ripening Valencia oranges and marketing them year-round. Soon thereafter, southern California was producing two-thirds of the nation's oranges and more that ninety-percent of its lemons.

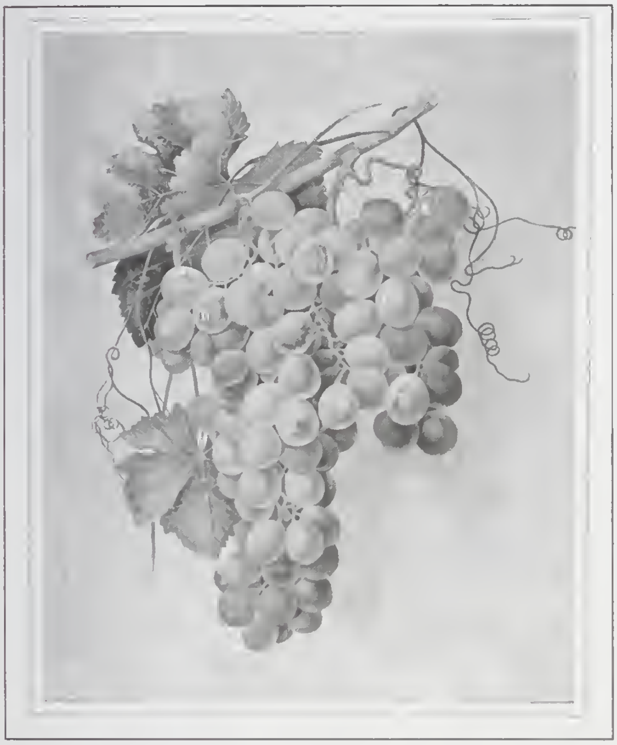
The California Historical Society's collections include materials relating to nearly every aspect of agriculture. There are paintings, photographs, and prints depicting the cultivation of crops, the produce itself, and images of the various means of transport used to take the produce to market. The Society also preserves examples of agricultural artifacts and implements, a wide variety of seed catalogs, books and instructional manuals on ways to increase agricultural production, and original labels that once decorated and identified the contents of fruit and vegetable crates.

## YOSEMITE

On June 30, 1864, President Lincoln signed an act granting the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree grove to the state of California to "be held for public use, resort, and recreation for all time." It was the first federal authorization to preserve scenic and scientific areas for public benefit. Yosemite thus became a state park, and the concept served as the basis for other state and national parks. In 1890, due to the efforts of conservationist John Muir, the area around the valley became a national park. In 1905, California ceded the valley and the Mariposa Grove back to the federal government, making the entire area a national park.

## SETTLEMENTS AND CITIES

In northern California, cities developed largely as a result of the Gold Rush. As thousands of gold seekers flocked to California from around the world, the populations of existing northern cities burgeoned



Hannah Millard Coffin (1827-1900, *California Muscat*, 1883. Watercolor, 17 x 14 in. *Fine arts collection, gift of William L. Snider.*

Hannah Millard Coffin specialized in paintings of grapes. Commissioned by the State Vinicultural Society to ilustrate the varieties of grapes grown in California, she produced ten highly detailed paintings of grapes that were used to illustrate the book *Grapes and Grape Vines of California* (1877). These illustrations were later reprinted to promote the Italian Swiss Colony at Asti, California, near the Russian River.

and hundreds of new mining towns appeared within a few short years. Sacramento and Stockton were the largest towns in the interior of California, but San Francisco, serving as the port of entry for gold seekers and supplies coming by sea, became the state's primary, and most populous, city. San Francisco's population jumped from less than 1,000 residents in 1848 to more than 20,000 by the end of 1849. By 1860, San Francisco boasted over 50,000 residents.

Unlike Gold Rush cities to the north, southern California cities grew slowly until the coming of the railroads. A southern California rail connection was established with San Francisco and, by extension, the eastern United States in 1876. In the mid-1880s the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad reached Los Angeles and began a rate war with the Southern Pacific. Passenger fares from the Midwest to southern California dropped dramatically, attracting many new settlers. By the end of the century, Los Angeles had more than 100,000 residents. San Francisco's population had grown to nearly 350,000.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have been instrumental in making *Interpreting California* a reality. First, the prior research and texts of James J. Rawls have been a major source of the information included in this brochure. Secondly, interns Catherine Adams, Amy Mustain, and Amy St. John donated their time and research, and, as always, the entire staff of the California Historical Society has been involved in this endeavor.

This project would not have been possible without the generosity of donors and foundations. Dr. A. Jess Shenson is a continuing source of support and encouragement for all of the Society's projects. The Louise M. Davies Foundation, the L.J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, and The Bernard Osher Foundation contributed to the exhibition and brochure. Finally, Grants for the Arts/San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund help support the Society's ongoing exhibition schedule.

# Financial Highlights

## Fiscal Year 1999

Combined Statements of Financial Position
California Historical Society and California Historical Foundation

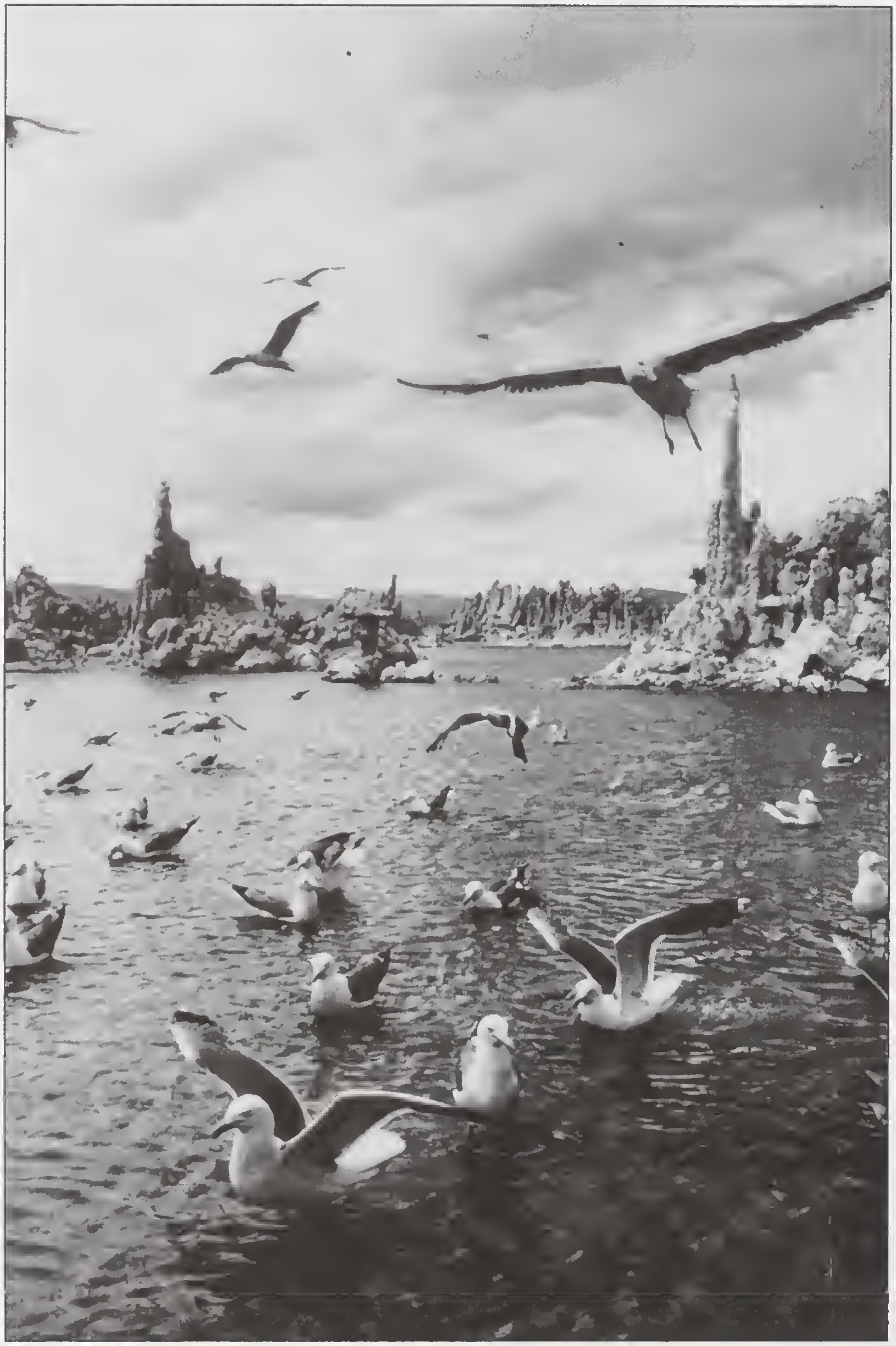
| BALANCE SHEET | AS OF | |
|---|---|---|
| | June 30, 1999 | June 30, 1998 |
| ASSETS | | |
| Current assets: | | |
| Cash | $ 67,037 | $ 64,560 |
| Accounts receivable (net) | 14,291 | 8,327 |
| Grants and pledges receivable | — | 52,000 |
| Interest receivable | 24,691 | 15,405 |
| Prepaid expenses and other assets | 29,333 | 49,530 |
| Total current assets | 135,352 | 189,822 |
| Non-current assets: | | |
| Investments | 5,662,940 | 5,252,821 |
| Property and equipment (net) | 4,004,252 | 4,033,758 |
| Total non-current assets | 9,667,192 | 9,286,579 |
| Total Assets | $ 9,802,544 | $ 9,476,401 |
| LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS | | |
| Current liabilities: | | |
| Accounts payable and accrued liabilities | $ 71,311 | $ 105,269 |
| Line of credit | — | 25,000 |
| Deferred revenue | 36,350 | 0 |
| Total current liabilities | 107,661 | 130,269 |
| Net assets: | | |
| Unrestricted | 4,251,105 | 4,055,833 |
| Temporarily restricted | 308,368 | 424,401 |
| Permanently restricted | 5,135,410 | 4,865,898 |
| Total net assets | 9,694,883 | 9,346,132 |
| Total liabilities and net assets | $ 9,802,544 | $ 9,476,401 |

Complete audited financial statements are available from CHS upon request.

## Combined Statements of Activities and Changes in Net Assets
## California Historical Society and California Historical Foundation

| STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES | YEAR ENDED | |
|---|---|---|
| | June 30, 1999 | June 30, 1998 |
| Revenue and support: | | |
| Memberships | $ 360,998 | $ 362,229 |
| Programs, activities and special events | 312,293 | 112,530 |
| Contributions, grants and bequests | 299,201 | 195,854 |
| Net investment income | 5,126 | 2,978 |
| Sales and other revenue | 65,692 | 62,413 |
| Total unrestricted revenue | 1,043,310 | 736,004 |
| Net assets released from restrictions | 696,146 | 491,354 |
| Total revenue and support | 1,739,456 | 1,227,358 |
| Expenses: | | |
| Program services | 888,164 | 925,480 |
| Supporting services* | 651,894 | 518,043 |
| Total expenses | 1,540,058 | 1,443,523 |
| Increase (decrease) in unrestricted net assets | 199,398 | (216,165) |
| *Changes in temporarily restricted net assets*: | | |
| Grants and contributions | 351,376 | 272,602 |
| Investment income | 15,206 | 17,032 |
| Net assets released from restrictions | (463,015) | (290,031) |
| Increase (decrease) in temporarily restricted net assets | (96,433) | (397) |
| *Changes in permanently restricted net assets:* | | |
| Investment income | 175,441 | 176,299 |
| Unrealized gains on investments | (738,389) | 147,654 |
| Reinvested capital gain on sale | 1,035,138 | 103,704 |
| Grants and contributions | 30,453 | 5,541 |
| Net assets released from restrictions | (233,131) | (201,323) |
| Increase in permanently restricted net assets | 269,512 | 231,875 |
| Increase in net assets | 372,477 | 15,313 |
| Net assets at beginning of year | 9,322,406 | 9,330,819 |
| Net assets at end of year | $ 9,694,883 | $ 9,346,132 |

*A non-cash depreciation expense ($155,936 in FY99, $149,709 in FY 98) is included in supporting services and is reflected in these figures.



Mono Lake, located east of Yosemite, is so alkaline only brine shrimp live in its waters. "The lake is two hundred feet deep, and its sluggish waters are so strong with alkali that if you dip the most hopelessly soiled garment into them once or twice, and wring it out, it will be found as clean as if it had been through the ablest of washerwomen's hands," noted Mark Twain in *Roughing It* in 1872 (excerpted in Carolyn Merchant's *Green Versus Gold*). Millions of migrating birds and waterfowl—including more than 90 percent of all California gulls—take refuge at Mono Lake each year. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power began diverting water from Mono Lake's watershed in the 1940s, eventually lowering the lake by almost fifty feet and sparking a storm of protest from environmentalists. In 1983, the state Supreme Court ruled in the environmentalists' favor, slowing Los Angeles's drainage and establishing the legal precedent of "source protection." *Courtesy Mono Lake Committee, Lee Vining, Calif.*

# REVIEWS

*Edited by James J. Rawls*

## *Green Versus Gold: Sources in California's Environmental History.*

Edited by Carolyn Merchant. (Washington, D.C., and Covelo, California: Island Press, 1998, xxii, 416 pp., photos, maps, index, $45.00 cloth, $25.00 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Raymond F. Dasmann, *professor of ecology, emeritus, University of California, Santa Cruz, and author of* The Destruction of California.

*Green versus Gold* brings together writings from much of the available literature on changes in California's environments over time. As a source book it stands as an obvious starting point for anyone writing about or simply trying to understand California's changing environment. The references listed at the end of each chapter include many from relatively obscure sources, as well as interesting selections from many of the better known publications. Carolyn Merchant has chosen well to produce a fascinating book that is worth reading from cover to cover.

The book is arranged both sequentially from "Indian times" to the present, and by environmental topics. Starting with first views of California by visitors and settlers from the United States, it proceeds to consider Native American viewpoints and ways of life. It then moves through Spanish and Russian influences to the Gold Rush, where there is a detailed consideration of mining impacts. Forests, rangelands, water, farming, national parks, energy, and cities follow. Finally, there are views of the future from eco-feminists, African Americans, Hispanics, ecotopians, deep ecologists, and bio-regionalists, with Mike Davis reminding Californians that they must learn to live with earthquakes, droughts, fires, and floods, or consider living elsewhere. In his words, "Megacities like Los Angeles will never simply collapse and disappear. Rather, we will simply stagger on with higher body counts through a chain of more frequent and destructive disasters."

In the concluding chapter, Carolyn Merchant considers the changes in our ethical perceptions from egocentric ethics through homocentric or anthropocentric ethics, to ecocentric ethics. She notes the conflicts that are prevalent today, resulting from these differing views of how life should be lived. To keep California both green and golden, she proposes a new partnership ethics that combines both the human-oriented and nature-oriented views. One hopes for its widespread acceptance, since the alternative is one of continuing conflict at the cost of losing what is left of California's natural endowment. I can only agree with reviewer Richard Orsi, who writes elsewhere that "*Green versus Gold* instantly emerges as the major book in the field of California environmental history."

## *The Census of 1790: A Demographic History of Colonial California.*

By William Marvin Mason. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 45. (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1998, vi, 133 pp., $29.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* W. Michael Mathes, *director de biblioteca, El Colegio de Jalisco, and author of various books and articles on Spanish California.*

With restoration of the missions and the development of a romantic mythology of Spanish California, primarily by non-Hispanic, recent immigrants to the state, a carefully constructed, but generally fallacious, "genealogy" of descendants of the early settlers in Alta California also appeared. "Pure Spaniards," dressed in Andalusian costume, resplendent with guitars, castanets, and handsome, spirited horses, symbolized these pioneers, disguising the fact that most of the antecedents of eighteenth-century Hispanic residents of the Californias were natives of northwestern New Spain (Mexico) and of mixed (European, Amerindian, and African) origin. Of course, such ethnic reality was repugnant to most descendants of Alta California settlers, for they had not only intermarried with Caucasians, but had also achieved a special social status in the state. William Mason, long an active researcher in early California genealogy and demography, presents a concise view of the ethnic realities of settlement in Spanish California in this slim volume, which will probably not be well-received by the foregoing group.

An historical introductory overview treats the nature of population in New Spain, the northward advance to the Californias from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries via Nayarit, Sinaloa, Sonora, Baja California, and migration into Alta California. A census of Monterey, San Antonio, San Luis Obispo, San Diego, and San Gabriel taken on January 1, 1775, by Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, providing names but no other data except occupations of some settlers and other information supplied by the author is included, as is a list of settlers recruited at Tubac by Juan Bautista de Anza in September 1775, with names, dates of recruitment, and ages. A similar list of recruits and settlers in the Fernando de Rivera y Moncada expedition of 1781 is also provided, although it is of little demographic use, since most of the men on it were massacred by Yuman Indians in July of that year. There are no citations as to the location of the originals of these documents.

This survey is followed by a well–developed statistical analy-

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

sis of the census of 1790 and an essay on the nature of the caste system as employed in New Spain and subsequently eliminated by Mexican independence. An analysis of the census on the basis of origin, occupation, age, and marital status follows, demonstrating that the overwhelming majority of the 969 persons were natives of Sinaloa and Baja California, most of the men were military personnel, 51 percent were below fifteen years of age, and over half of the adult men were unmarried.

The census of Alta California is then presented in an annotated form with names and places supplied by the author from uncited sources. Covering the Hispanic military and civilian settlers by families in San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Bárbara, Monterey, San José, San Francisco, and eight missions, names, ages, caste, and place of origin are reflective of settlement patterns between 1769 and 1790. The original document is in the Bancroft Library with no further citation provided. (Possibly it is M-M 1716-18.) Nine well-drawn maps demonstrate demographic distributions and origins, and eleven appropriate and well-reproduced illustrations of examples of race mixture enhance the volume, as do general and name indices. However, a very sparse, inaccurate, and at times irrelevant bibliography, with a total lack of citations to sources, requires the reader to accept this book on faith alone. Fortunately, William Mason has a high reputation for accuracy; unfortunately, as do too many genealogists, he has no concern over providing sources for his information.

Naturalist, writer, and activist John Muir, on a Sierra Club outing in 1905. California's most famous environmentalist, Muir is one of forty authors collected in *Natural State. Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

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## *Natural State: A Literary Anthology of California Nature Writing.*

Selected and edited by Steven Gilbar with a foreword by David Brower. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, xii, 377 pp., $45.00 cloth, $15.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Allan A. Schoenherr, *professor of ecology at Fullerton College and author of* A Natural History of California.

This volume is a treasury of well-written entries about wild California. For those who love California, and are seeking clues to its wealth, this anthology is an idea-book for travel. Pick up the book, thumb to any page, and start reading. In minutes you'll be transported to some wondrous location, viewing it through the eyes of a fellow admirer.

Forty-one authors, from famous to infamous, have contributed to this volume. Classic works written by Mark Twain, John Muir, and Joseph LeConte are meshed with those of contemporary writers such as Gary Snyder, John McPhee, and Ann Zwinger. Some entries, such as the excerpt from John Steinbeck's "Flight," are works of fiction; others, such as Wallace Stegner's "Remnants," are descriptions of places or creatures in time. Most of the selections, like James Houston's *Continental Drift*, are narratives about interesting people or experiences in California. All of them are literary in the sense that they are written in a personalized, free-flowing style.

California's diversity is legendary. There is more climatic and topographic variation in California than in any other region of comparable size in the United States. The book is thus divided into sections on the mountains, hills and valleys, deserts, and coast. Meteorological events—i.e., "the elements," according to editor Gilbar—are celebrated in a section entitled "Earth, Wind, Rain, and Fire." Appropriately, "The Creation" begins the volume with two myths about origins authored by California Native Americans.

David Brower's "Foreword" and Gary Snyder's "Afterword" establish a mood that ties it all together. Brower, well-known for his environmentalism and association with the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth, states, "This book is a feast and requires a celebration." He also summarizes the nature of the selections by alluding to the authors' ability to create vivid images as if they were taken by a camera. He declares that the book "can be enjoyed indoors or out; in natural light, unencumbered by power surges; survive splashes of coffee, rain, or chardonnay; comfortably endure thermal changes on a shelf or in a knapsack, never asking to be pointed or clicked."

In the "Afterword," Gary Snyder (California's "nature poet"), using pure prose, describes California's diversity, and challenges us as land-managers, ranchers, farmers, retired fly-fishermen, forest-dwelling new settlers, and erstwhile environmentalists to band together and work to protect our wonderful land. As he sees it, "Only a grass-roots engagement with long-term issues can provide the political and social stability it will take to keep the biological richness of California's regions intact."

After scanning the contributors I was eager to begin reading. First, I read authors who were familiar to me: Mark Twain, Jack Kerouac, Jack London, Ann Zwinger, Ed Abbey, and David Rains Wallace. My very first choice was John Steinbeck's "Flight." I eagerly relived the poignant tale of Pepe's futile attempt to claw through chaparral and evade a pursuing posse. And I reread with admiration John Muir's "A Wind-storm in the Forest," a well-known account of riding out a wind storm in the top of a huge big-cone Douglas fir (he called it a Douglas spruce).

If I had to pick a favorite, it would be Gary Nabhan's "The Palms in Our Hands." I was familiar with his work as a biologist, but I don't think of him as a professional writer in the Ann Zwinger tradition. I therefore expected more of an academic presentation, but I was delighted with his first-person conversational style as he discussed the ancient history, ethnic associations, and aesthetic significance of palm oases in the Colorado Desert. After lamenting that humans have altered palm oases by excluding Native Americans and fire, in his concluding paragraph he describes the feeling of visiting Guadalupe Canyon, one of the premier palm oases in the Sierra Juarez of Baja California. In the last rays of light he makes a wonderful discovery in the heart of a palm stand. "There, in the ashes of a fire-tumbled giant, were palm seedlings. They were growing in the protection of their elders, where the earth gave freely of its waters. They would offer to future generations the chance to see an oasis as it should be, where it should be."

If I have a criticism of this book, it's probably the same as many other readers. It seems to have skipped some of my favorite places. It seems that most of the book is about central and northern California. It is of course impossible to satisfy everyone, and as acknowledged by Gilbar in his introduction, "The constraints of space have regrettably forced the omission of much worthwhile writing." Nevertheless, I wish there had been more about cismontane southern California. Although the region has been severely altered by urban sprawl, several classic works come to mind that could be sources of good material that describe the area as it used to be, and as it still is if you know where to look. For possible alternatives, there are Robert Glass Cleland's *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, or Jim Sleeper's *Santa Ana Mountains*, or Theodore Payne's *Life on the Modjeska Ranch in the Gay Nineties*, or even John Jake's magnificent tome, *California Gold*.

But, no matter. *Natural State* has something for everyone. It is a wonderful compendium of literary writing that celebrates the wonders of California. Anyone who loves wild nature in the Far West should savor this volume.

## *Juan Alvarado, Governor of California, 1836-1842.*

By Robert Ryal Miller. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, xiii, 216 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Alan Rosenus, *author of* General M. G. Vallejo and the Advent of the Americans *and contributor to* The United States and Mexico at War *and* Fifty Western Writers.

Robert Ryal Miller's plain-spoken biography of Juan B. Alvarado portrays a gifted *californio* who, in his later years, lacked productive focus for his energies—a man entertaining dubious schemes while dodging creditors—quite a change from the politically agile Alvarado of the 1830s, who took office at age twenty-seven. During his six years as governor, he attempted to curtail the practice of "renting out" Indians to rancheros by mission administrators, was a friend to education, and redistributed more secularized mission lands than any Mexican governor before or after. That his tongue could be an instructive weapon was demonstrated when he told church officials they were both stupid and prudish for condemning the waltz. Some evidence suggest that Alvarado may have been a bi-polar personality, but we know for sure that his alcoholism caused him to miss several of the most crucial events of his life, including his inauguration and wedding. (At the latter event, his half brother stood in for him as proxy.)

Brevity can be a gauge of wit, but here it becomes something of a drawback. About the same length as Miller's excellent monograph, *Captain Richardson: Mariner, Ranchero, and Founder of San Francisco*, the present biography cannot possibly cover the ground encompassed by Alvarado's long career. Miller may have been trying to skirt subjects already covered by standard historical sources, but issues of telling importance such as the politically sensitive relationship between Alvarado and Sutter, Alvarado's bitter exchanges with American military leaders during the U.S.–Mexican War, and even his unparalleled successes as an intriguer against more than four Mexican governors are hardly touched upon. The reader doesn't know why.

The book's most interesting chapter deals with Alvarado's being called before the U.S. Board of Land Commissioners some 137 times as a paid witness to help decide the validity of land claims. Unfortunately for the *californios*, appearances before the commission often required long stays at San Francisco's costly hotels, necessitating expenditures that consumed their few remaining assets not already depleted by attorneys, squatters, and cattle rustlers.

During the twilight of his life, Alvarado and his wife were engaged in tedious court battles over her Rancho San Pablo. Miller says the celebrated case eventually employed every lawyer then practicing in San Francisco! Hardly a happy note on which to end one's days.

Miller's invaluable bibliography indicates that he might have given us a more ample look at this highly civilized yet confrontational *jefe político*, Governor Juan B. Alvarado.

# REVIEWS

## *Culture y Cultura: Consequences of the U.S.–Mexican War.*

By Iris H. W. Engstrand and Richard Griswold del Castillo. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998, xi, 160 pp., $30.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Robert Ryal Miller, *professor emeritus of history at California State University, Hayward, whose latest books are:* An Immigrant Soldier in the Mexican War, *by* Frederick Zeh *(co-edited with William J. Orr, 1995) and* Juan Alvarado: Governor of California, 1836–1842 *(1998).*

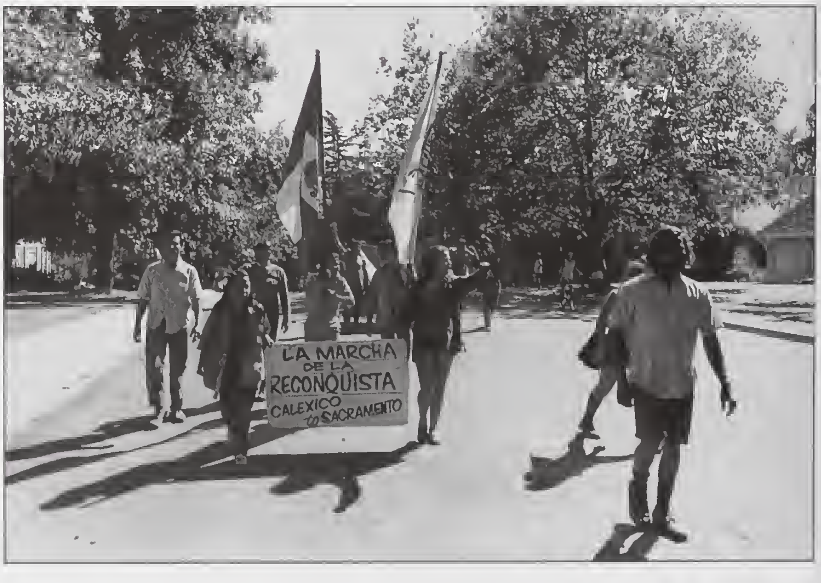
During the sesquicentennial of the U.S.–Mexican War, the Autry Museum of Western Heritage mounted an exhibition and published the bilingual book under review. Composed of three essays and the text of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the war, the book is enhanced by twenty-nine color plates and thirteen black and white illustrations.

Following an evocative poem and a brief introduction, the book opens with Professor Iris H. W. Engstrand's essay, "The Impact of the U.S.–Mexican War on the Spanish Southwest." The first half traces historical highlights between 1821 and 1846; the second summarizes the U.S. military conquest of California and New Mexico and describes the traumatic effect of the war and its consequences on Mexican residents of the ceded territories. Although guaranteed title to their land, many Hispanic families spent years in the courts to obtain clear title; meanwhile, they lost their land, having mortgaged it to cover legal expenses. Clearly the Spanish-Mexican heritage, initiated hundreds of years ago and reinforced with continued immigration, is evident today in the culture of the American Southwest.

In his essay on contemporary implications of the war of 1846–48, Professor Richard Griswold del Castillo points out its importance to Mexican Americans. Over the years, this growing minority group within the U.S. has protested discrimination and unequal treatment in public facilities, often basing their complaints on rights granted by Articles VIII and IX of the peace treaty. To facilitate political action, Mexican Americans formed mutual aid societies, labor unions, and civil rights organizations. In the 1930s and 1950s, anti-immigration politics resulted in the deportation or repatriation to Mexico of perhaps two million persons. Beginning in the 1960s, "Chicanos," as the political militants called themselves, sought to focus world attention on failed promises of the 1848 treaty, and they allied with Native American groups to demand monetary compensation for costs incurred in fighting for land taken from them. Finally, Mexican American leaders have petitioned the United Nations and other international organizations, charging that the U.S. has violated their human rights and undermined the right to maintain their culture.

"Interior Frontiers," a four-page essay by Elena Poniatowska, a Mexico City journalist, rambles on about Mexicans who cross the Rio Grande (Bravo) seeking work. With anecdotes and quoted phrases, she describes the plight of borderland Mexicans: rejected by both Mexicans and Americans; despised because of their *pocho* "Spanglish"; fleeced by *polleros* who take their money to guide them across the frontier; arrested by Border Patrol officers; and always in transit, like *mariposas* (butterflies). She concludes that hope lies in the future, when the border has disappeared and Mexico has recovered its lost territories, perhaps with a miracle by the Virgin of Guadalupe.

This slim volume is marred by several typos, and bilingual readers will be dismayed by some faulty translations. Although the original text of Articles IX and X of the treaty are included, most of the Spanish version of Article IX has been omitted.



Chicano activists near the completion of their sixty-day march from Calexico to Sacramento in the summer of 1971, in protest of Governor Ronald Reagan's proposed cutbacks in education and welfare. During the 1960s and 1970s, youthful Mexican Americans in California and across the nation organized protests against the injustices they and their ancestors had suffered since the United States' conquest of the American Southwest in the 1840s. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Skip Shuman, photographer.*

## *Sierra Crossing: First Roads to California.*

By Thomas Frederick Howard. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, ix, 218 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, references, index, $28.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Robert J. Chandler, *senior researcher, Historical Services at Wells Fargo Bank, and author of some forty articles on 1860s California.*

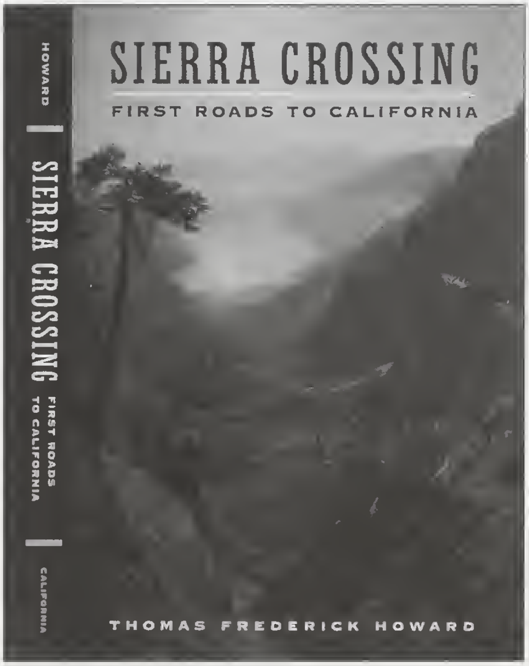
"This book has its origins in my surprised discovery that no one had written it before," begins Thomas Frederick Howard, an assistant professor of geography at Armstrong Atlantic State University in Savannah, Georgia. Howard, first in a dissertation for the geography department at the University of California, Berkeley, and now here, weaves scattered skeins to show "how regular transportation was established over the formidable barrier posed by the Sierra Nevada" (p. vii). Between the John Bidwell overland party of 1841 and the arrival of the Central Pacific Railroad in Reno in 1868, Howard catalogues routes and roads.

With a historical geographer's sensitivity to terrain and technology, Howard destroys the "folklore about the tendency of animal paths, Indian trails, wagon roads, and interstate highways to succeed each other in historical sequence among the same alignment." Only once did overlanders rely on Indian knowledge; in 1844, the Stevens party used the Truckee route. Yet, most travelers came into California south of Lake Tahoe. Westward wagons needed an easy way up the eastern slope of the Sierra below the snow line. The double summits of the Sierra did not bother immigrant wagons or fast-charging stagecoaches and lumbering freight wagons, but they would not do for the iron horse. The gradual gradient by way of Dutch Flat to a single summit, Chinese labor, and hand steel and blasting powder allowed the Central Pacific Railroad to return to the almost forgotten Stevens road blazed twenty years before!

Howard tersely reveals the changing impetus for road building. First, California border towns attracted immigrants and quickly enlisted the legislature to fund their particular routes. In Congress, Senator William M. Gwin's Pacific Railroad plans stirred up virtually every special interest, causing Congress to weasel with many surveys. While the survey lithographic plates are favorites with collectors today, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, showing his usual strategic grasp, declared in 1853 that "no railway pass could be found" over the Sierra (p. 111).

Senator John B. Weller's less ambitious Wagon Road bill of 1857 bogged down in rivalries for central route locations, but the overland mail route from St. Louis, Missouri, to San Francisco, California, by way of El Paso, Texas, and Los Angeles, went into operation in 1858. Meantime, the California legislature allowed counties to finance wagon roads, and Sacramento and El Dorado counties built a fine, graded, and watered road eastward via Placerville to Virginia City, popularized by Nevada silver and the Pony Express. And then the war came. A Republican Congress, freed from southern strict constitutionalism, passed a Pacific Railroad bill, and the iron horse went by way of Auburn. A final chapter describes the routes today.

Howard's "References" emphasize western expansion and travel. The sections on expresses would have benefited from philatelic literature, including Jesse Coburn's *Letters of Gold* (1984) or Robert D. Livingston's fifteen years of articles on regional expressing in the quarterly *Western Express*. References to manuscript accounts are few, obscuring the glamour days of stagecoaching in the 1860s, when the road was in its finest condition. Though this pioneering work has some rough spots like the roads it describes, climb aboard with stage driver Thomas Frederick Howard, where "feet are dovetailed under the seats, elbows are drawn nearer, [and] crinoline doubled." Ho, for a *Sierra Crossing*: "Now we are off all on a run. Up hill & down makes no difference."



*Courtesy University of California Press.*

## *Stories Grandma Never Told: Portuguese Women in California.*

By Sue Fagalde Lick. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998, xvi, 252 pp., glossary, bibliography, $17.50 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Sally M. Miller, *professor of history at the University of the Pacific and editor of* John Muir: Life and Work, *and the* John Muir Newsletter; *and author of "Experiences of Immigrant Women,"* Pacific Historian, *1982, and "California Immigrants,"* Journal of the West, *1993.*

This is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the history of California's immigration. Portuguese have been present in California especially since the 1870s, but despite their numbers—presently nearly one million—and their presence in a swatch of towns and rural areas across northern and central

Stories
Grandma
Never Told

Courtesy Heyday Books.

California, including the Central Valley's dairy region, they remain a relatively elusive group whose history has not yet been seriously explored. This book begins to fill that gap, and it seeks to do so by focusing on the history of the women of this heavily Azorean group. That fact makes the appearance of this book even more welcome. No longer can histories of specific groups be presented in terms of only the male experience, which was the norm in the literature not so long ago. The author, herself a fourth-generation Luso-American struggling to learn more about the culture and language of her Azorean heritage, has chosen to develop a narrative rather than an analytical history of the Portuguese women of California. She conducted about sixty interviews, essentially with middle-class women involved in the community's institutional network, and they form the basis of the book. While the author has tapped into the existing, quite meager, secondary publications on the Portuguese in the United States, she opted not to delve into the bulk of the scholarly publications on immigrant women—for example, Sydney Stahl Weinberg's *The World of Our Mothers*, Susan Glenn's *Daughters of the Shtetl*, or the several books by Donna Gabaccia.

The interviewees are immigrants and their female descendants, some of whom came to the United States early in this century and others of whom arrived here since the 1960s, when Azorean volcanos and earthquakes led Congress to open a door closed to their admission for over thirty years. Most came directly to the continental United States, while a few initially lived and worked on Hawaiian sugar plantations. The author introduces her subjects through one-paragraph biographies, and then twelve topical chapters that allow the reader to view their experiences during the emigration process itself, as workers, as wives, as churchgoers, as mothers, and in their various familial and community roles. These individuals, who were assigned pseudonyms, become very familiar to the reader as each one pops up in various chapters. In fact, the topical approach leads to inevitable repetition and even suggestions of padding.

Perhaps the most valuable information a reader gleans is about the vibrant Portuguese community life in California, from Little Portugal in San Jose with its Portuguese Chamber of Commerce and cultural center, to historical museums, libraries, and other organizations in Cabarillo, San Leandro, Sacramento, and elsewhere. The world of the Portuguese lodges, spawned by a self-help impulse, has been a rich one, as with many other groups, with their festas and other activities evolving often as American institutions rather than as essentially Old World. Women were typically relegated to the auxiliaries, but the whole structure was dependent on women's services as event organizers, cooks, bakers, and fundraisers. Only in recent years has a dwindling of elderly male leadership made it necessary to allow women to take over the actual offices of the lodges themselves. In the meantime, women organized their own lodges, sometimes initially as altar societies, headquartered in Hayward and Oakland, for example, with the largest now observing its centennial.

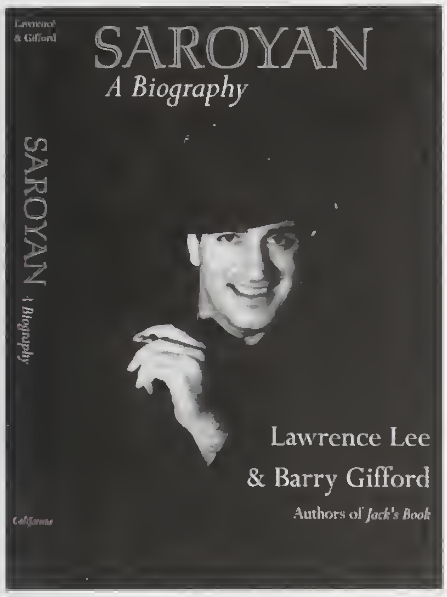
Another strength of the book is its delineation of the pattern of outmarriage and the extent to which the Azorean culture survives in individual families. Thus, this is an interesting addition to the literature but is somewhat marred by the author's narrow perspective. By failing to familiarize herself with the cultural background and experiences of women of other groups, Lick falls into the trap of viewing a Portuguese custom or belief as unique, when some, such as the belief in the evil eye, are commonly found in many essentially peasant cultures. The volume is expansively illustrated, and lacks only a map of the Azores.

## *Saroyan, A Biography.*

By Lawrence Lee and Barry Gifford. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, xvi, 338 pp., $17.95 paper, hardcover published 1984.)

*Reviewed by* Mary Graham, *Fresno County Library, retired; volunteer archivist, Fresno County Historical Society.*

Lee and Gifford have produced a comprehensive biography of William Saroyan, a Pulitzer Prize-winning writer of the twentieth century. The Saroyan papers were unavailable in 1984, when the book was written, so the authors have used other sources—Saroyan's autobiographical writings and interviews with more than a hundred persons—to produce a work that combines elements of a novel and an oral history. Since Saroyan's life *was* his work, a careful reading of his writings gives a fairly accurate picture of his life.



Courtesy University of California Press.

The book is particularly good when it deals with American eater and film during the 1940s and delineates Saroyan's place that industry. Interviews with people in the industry—Irwin haw, Budd Schulberg, Al Hirschfeld, as well as Carol Mattheau is twice married wife), his children Aram and Lucy, and ther family members and friends—give a very intimate picre of Saroyan and how he connected to his time. His growg estrangement from his wife and children, as well as his many ng–lasting quarrels with various movie people, lawyers, pubshers, and even the U.S. Army, are well covered by these interiews. There is little analysis of Saroyan's works nor is there uch discussion of his Armenian heritage as it relates to his writgs.

Saroyan was the consummate egotist. In an attempt to keep ome of his money, which he easily lost gambling, he bought e house in which his mother and sister lived. Their improved nancial status caused him to lose his draft exemption, so hen he realized that he was going to be drafted during WWII, e decided that he must have an heir to carry on the Saroyan ame. To this end he required that whoever was to be his bride rove her worth by becoming pregnant before he would cont to a wedding. Carol obliged but seems to have lived to regret , for she not only divorced Saroyan once, she remarried him nd then left him again. People who could not accept Saroyan s the center of the universe often caused him to take violent islikes that lasted a lifetime.

In later years Saroyan was a familiar figure in the Fresno area, equenting the local libraries and riding his old bicycle in and ut of heavy traffic on major streets, disregarding the chaos he ften caused by ignoring both cars and people. Despite the fact at he always seemed larger than life, many of those interiewed mention how surprised they were to discover just how hort he was. This book contains many excellent photographs s well as a useful chronology. Lawrence Lee, a journalist who ied in 1990, and Barry Gifford, a successful novelist, have comined to produce a well–written and entertaining biography of is colorful literary figure.

## *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America.*

By Vicki L. Ruiz. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 240 pp., $30.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Alma M. Garcia, *associate professor of sociology, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, California.*

Joan W. Scott, the eminent historian, raised a critical question that sparked feminist scholarship, particularly within the discipline of history. In *Gender and the Politics of History* (1998), Scott asked: "Why have women been invisible as historical subjects, when we know they participated in the great and small events of human history?" A generation of feminist scholars has contributed systematically to a growing body of research to answer Scott's question. This research has challenged the parochialism and ethnocentrisim characterizing the "old school" of historical, and indeed, much of traditional and positivist social science research that, according to Ronald Takaki, has been limited by its failure to reach beyond a "scholar's particular perspective or view of the world." Like Scott, Takaki, in *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (1993), asks: "What happens when historians leave out many of America's people? What happens, to borrow the words of Adrienne Rich, 'when someone with the authority of a teacher' describes our society, and 'you are not in it?' Such an experience can be disorienting—'a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing.'"

In *From Out of the Shadows*, Vicki L. Ruiz carries on in the intellectual tradition of historians such as Scott and, more recently, women of color scholars whose scholarship has brought generations of American Indian, African American, Asian American, and Latina women from the margins to the center of scholarly research. As in her past research on cannery women, Ruiz reexamines United States history by using a different historical lens. To use Takaki's metaphor, Ruiz uses a different historical "mirror" in her (re)telling the story of the United States. Ruiz's *From Out of the Shadows* gives the reader an opportunity to look into the "mirror of history" and see the daily lives of Mexican and Mexican American women whose struggles represent the elusive search for the American Dream.

Relying on both primary and secondary historical sources, Ruiz unravels the postmodern complexities of twentieth-century United States history by integrating the frameworks of feminist history, feminist theory, postcolonial and postmodern theory, and feminist methodology. Her work combines the broad strokes needed for a massive landscape painting—U.S. history—with the finer, more subtle strokes needed for individual portraits that capture the daily life histories of Mexican and Mexican American women. For example, in perhaps the best chapter of *From Out of the Shadows*, chapter three, "The Flapper and the Chaperone," Ruiz contextualized the generational conflicts between Mexican immigrant parents and their daughters as these young women experience the dual worlds of a traditional Mexican culture and the rise of the "Flapper" culture of the "Roaring Twenties." Using oral histories of Mexican women who came of age during this period, Ruiz skillfully crafts the narratives of these individual women within the context of a generational cohort bound together over time by shared hopes, struggles, and dreams. Ruiz concludes that this specific generation of "Mexican-American women were not caught between two worlds. They navigated across multiple terrains at home, at work, and at play. They engaged in cultural coalescence . . . [they] selected, retained, borrowed, and created their own cultural forms" (p. 67).

Indeed, this characterization of the "Flapper generation" serves as Ruiz's central trope in her entire monograph. Ruiz brings Mexican American women back into the frame of U.S. history, depicting them as strong, resilient, and active agents. Specific social structural conditions produced a diversity in their gender, ethnic, and social-class formations. Ruiz's chapters are filled with examples of Mexican American women engaged in an often precarious struggle of self-identity formation and community activism. Their collective stories as "farmworkers, flappers, labor activists, barrio volunteers, civic leaders, and feminists" reveal their historical and contemporary legacies as filtered through the prism of race, gender, social class and, to a lesser extent, sexual orientation.

Ruiz's work is strongest when she draws directly from the in-depth interviews that were collected primarily for this monograph. Unfortunately, *From Out of the Shadows* often relies too heavily on summarizing secondary sources within Chicana/o studies. Nevertheless, Ruiz's study makes an important contribution by systematically shining a feminist historical light on Mexican and Mexican American women, bringing them "from out of the shadows" to a more clearly illuminated center stage of historical research.

## *The Presidio: From Army Post to National Park.*

By Lisa M. Benton. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998, xvii, maps, 277 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* David M. Hansen, *acting state historic preservation officer, state of Washington.*

Since the formation of the United States, the federal government regularly has set aside reservations for national defense. Just as regularly, the government has released acreage no longer needed for military purposes and has given it over through sale or other means to new public and private owners. Nowhere, however, has the site been so grand and the land so valuable as the Presidio of San Francisco, and nowhere has there been such an intimate connection between a military post and an adjoining great city. These are the unique qualities that Lisa M. Benton follows in the text of *The Presidio.*

Benton calls her book a biography of place, but the real story lies in the subtitle: "From Army Post to National Park." The span of the slim volume outlines the sometimes frustrating business of transforming a military post of two hundred years standing to a national park like no other. The author has admirable credentials for the job, with her background in environmental and urban geography enriched by her position as a firsthand witness to many of the events she describes. She aptly relates the eager interest taken by San Franciscans in the conversion of the Presidio, the competition between for-profit and nonprofit organizations, and the precarious navigation of essential legislation through Congress.

Benton's scope is large, and it is at times an awkward fit within the limits of the 250 pages. An historical and environmental overview of the Presidio crowds the first several chapters, giving way to a brief and confusing discussion of base closures after the Cold War. A summary of park planning and citizen involvement is next, followed by an exposition of a largely internal perspective of national parks from the point of view of the National Park Service. These are too many themes to handle well, and as a result the picture that emerges is complex, but not as well integrated as a reader might hope.

A highlight is the engaging final chapter; there are some compelling points here that deserved greater attention and play earlier in the text. The value of non-traditional urban parks in building support for the entire system of national parks, and the tension between plan and hyperbole, are worthy, expandable concepts.

While the author never argues that her perspective is balanced, it is often tilted in favor of the Park Service to the point of distraction. For example, the arguments of the critics of the Presidio-as-park are given scant credit. We never learn the motivation and interest of Congressman John Duncan as he advocated against the Presidio plan, although we are given ample insight into the NPS position. Congressional concerns at odds with the Park Service are dismissed as "meddling and petty politics" (p. 183) without acknowledging that one person's meddling and petty politics might be another's effective constituent response.

The success or failure of the plan for the Presidio will be told in the future. Whatever the outcome, Lisa Benton's volume will be a valuable source for understanding the foundation that was laid for the Army post to become a national park. CHS

# CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

*Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art*

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emann, William, ed. *A Year of Mud and old: San Francisco in Letters and Diaries, 849-1850.* Lincoln: University of Neraska Press, 1999. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN: -8032-1293-3. Order from: University f Nebraska Press; 312 N. 14th St.; Lincoln, NE 68588-0484

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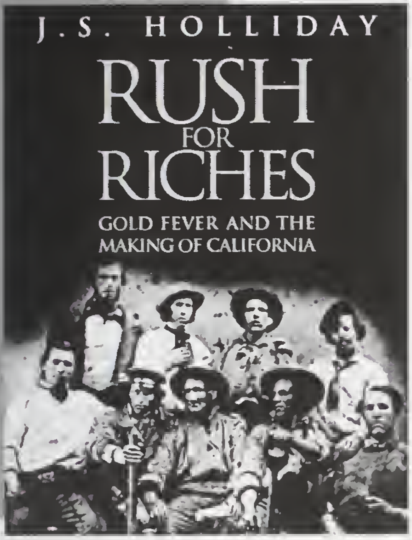

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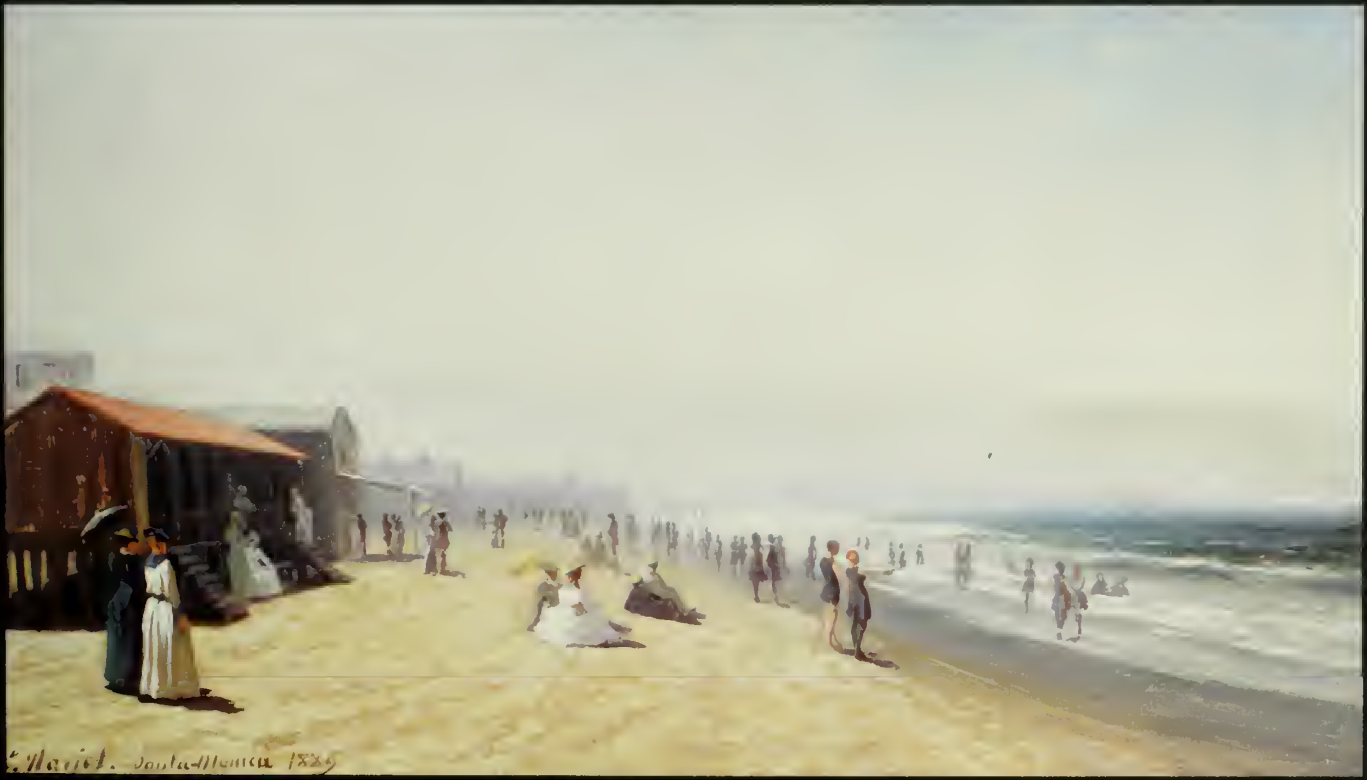
# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

FALL 1999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## *Milestones—*

# El Antiguo Pueblo de Los Angeles

Los Angeles in 1850, the year the city's Mexican institutions gave way to American ones. A mayor and city council replaced the traditional *alcalde* and *ayuntamiento,* and America residents established the first English-language school and first Protestant church. *California Historical Society, Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

*The beginnings of Los Angeles were humble indeed. It was difficult to induce Spain's colonials of any social standing to accept exile in such a distant wilderness. Yet, colonization was essential. By the eighteenth century, England, France, and Russia might well have decided to claim the province.*

*The first non-Indians to see the Los Angeles area, on August 1, 1769, were members of a Spanish exploring party led by Gaspar de Portolá. Not, however, until 1781 did Felipe de Neve, California's first civilian governor, officially authorize a pueblo there. Only five years after that event did he issue the first land titles to its residents. The founders included forty-four settlers who belonged to eleven families recruited in northern Mexico. These mostly illiterate folk, of mixed Spanish, Mexican Indian, and African heritage, had walked much of the way, hoping to find a new home. By 1790, the population still numbered but 139 forlorn souls. By the 1790s, a significant number of local Indians had also moved to the pueblo, serving as the principal working class, and in 1800 the population stood at 315, making it by far the largest town in Spanish California.*

*Today's "El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument," adjacent to picturesque Olvera Street, is but a reminder of the colony that frequented a central plaza. Fronting that public square, where festivals and military drills took place, was a calabozo, or jail, a council house, and a church. These were surrounded by the adobe dwellings of the Carrillo, Olvera, Sepulveda, and other families. The area was so well watered by abundant marshes and the then-flowing Los Angeles River that a* zanja *system of irrigation ditches had to be built to protect flood-prone zones.*

*By 1784, the Spanish crown had authorized the governor to grant three nearby ranchos to the Verdugo, Nieto, and Domínguez families. All were raisers of cattle, which became the mainstay of southern California's economy. Later, Americans would label the pueblo the "Queen of the Cow Counties." The countryside, especially in the early 1800s after the disbanding of the missions, became a veritable patchwork of huge land grants settled mostly by retired soldiers. One of these, Corporal José Vicente Féliz, was granted the Rancho Los Féliz (today merely the name of a boulevard) at the base of today's Hollywood Hills. He had become known as the "Little Father of the Pueblo." A neighbor, Miguel Ortega, was also granted the nearby Las Vírgines rancho.*

*As the eighteenth century drew to a close, a generally tranquil way of life would abruptly end. Within a few decades, invading* Yanquis *would transform the local environment. In 1803, despite Spain's efforts to keep foreigners out of the province, the* Lelia Byrd *became the first United States vessel to land at nearby San Pedro. After far-off Mexico seceded from Spanish control, Los Angeles would be visited by such foreigners as Joseph Chapman. A Bostonian, in 1818 he left behind his life as a pirate and became a skilled resident carpenter and jack-of-all-trades. In 1826 the fur trapper Jedediah Strong Smith was the first American to arrive overland. Other mountain men, sailors, and traders also arrived, married señoritas, and settled permanently in sunny Los Angeles.*

*By 1846, during the Mexican War, United States forces took rude control of the pueblo. It was quickly transformed from a sleepy little village into a bustling, semi-lawless frontier town. The Spanish and Mexican land-grant ranchos surrounding it were replaced by organized farming. One day, L.A. would become the dominant city of the American West, but its original settlers could not have dreamed of such a perplexing future.*

ANDREW ROLLE
*Author,* Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future *(MTL, 1995)*

FRONT COVER: Ernest Narjot (1826-1898), *Santa Monica Beach, 1889,* oil on canvas. *Courtesy The Redfern Gallery, Laguna Beach.*
BACK COVER: Ernest Narjot, *Self-Portrait In The Artist's Studio,* 1890, oil on canvas, 38 x 26 in. *Courtesy Garzoli Gallery, San Rafael, Calif.*

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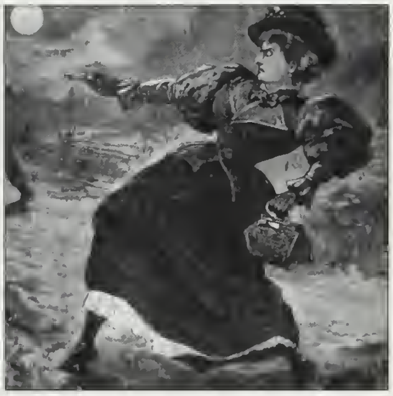

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# FRANÇOISE, LUCIENNE, ROSALIE

## *French Women-Adventurers in the Early Days of the California Gold Rush*

*by Claudine Chalmers*

Eighteen forty-eight was a year of political discord in France. In February, bloody street-fights pitted republicans against royalists. After the fall of King Louis-Philippe, more street-fights opposed moderate republicans against socialists during three days of riots in June. The December 1848 election of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as president of the new French Republic hardly reduced the intensity of the civil strife.

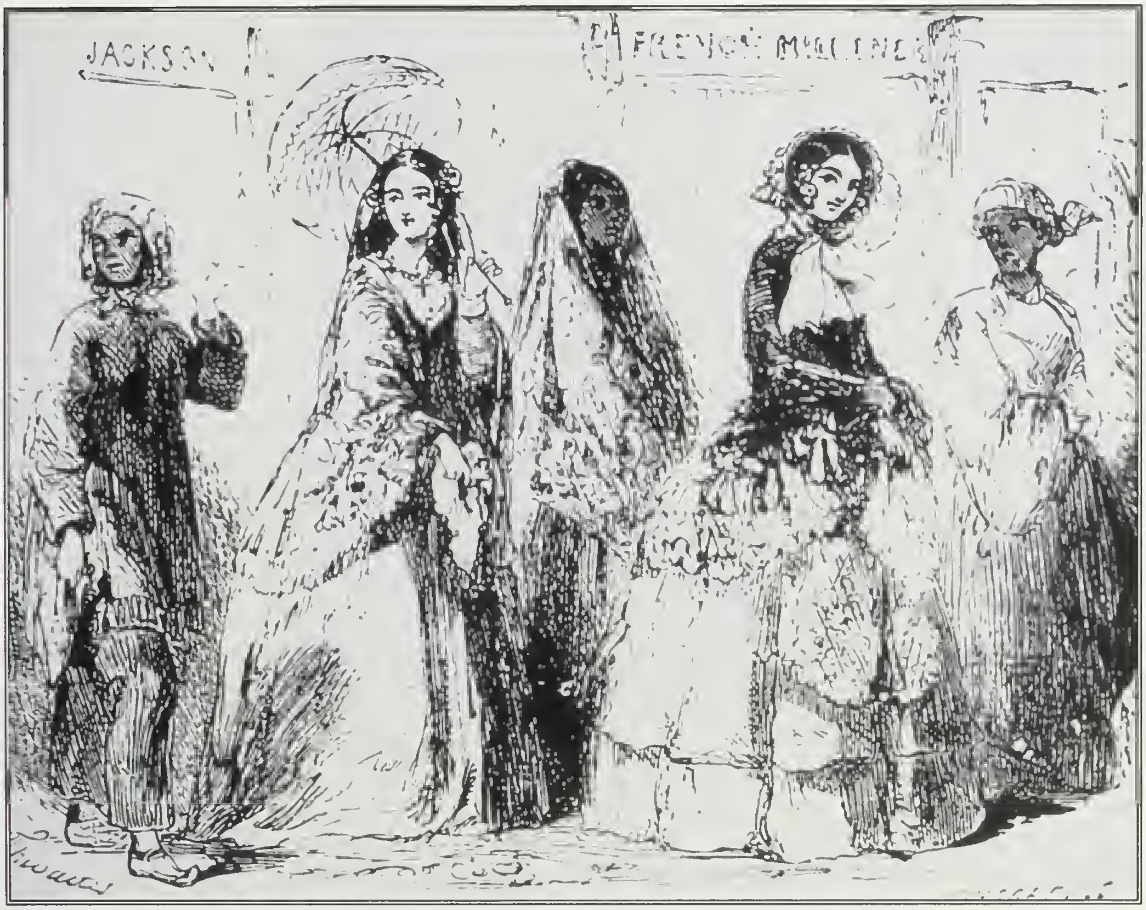
When, at the end of that year, the news of James Marshall's California mineral find reached France, thousands of Frenchmen were ready to leave the seemingly endless chaos at home and sail for the California gold fields. There was among them a large contingent of literate, educated men robbed of their wealth and privileges, who flocked to California in search of opportunity and adventure. Their journals give a fresh perspective on the Gold Rush as we know it, and recall how the cities and mines of California were then filled with thousands of Frenchmen and, in comparison, only hundreds of Chinese. They also bring to light the feisty, romantic, and adventuresome character of this oft-forgotten group of gold seekers, and of the few women who dared the journey.[1]

Although there wasn't a single woman aboard *La Meuse*—the first French ship specially outfitted to take Frenchmen to California directly from France in 1849—a few women's names were recorded among passengers on French ships that immediately followed it. In 1849, for example, the *Céres*, which left Le Havre in May, had three women aboard, among a total of eighty passengers; the *Jacques-Lafitte*, which left in November, carried five women among 128 passengers. In 1850, the *Ferrière*, leaving in September: 11 among 125 passengers.[2] These numbers increased slowly through 1851, to culminate in 1852 with many women among the convoys of the Lottery of the Golden Ingots, a separate subject because those immigrants were primarily laborers who represent an altogether different sort of immigration to California.

### AN EPIC VOYAGE

In the years 1849 to 1851, the six-month voyage from France to California was an epic of similar resonance for the French gold-seekers as the plains-crossing was to their American counterparts. Crossing the plains and crossing the oceans required different survival skills, yet they both required courage and endurance. Most French Argonauts had never even sailed aboard a ship, much less across two oceans and around the Horn. The difficulties they had to face were twofold: the physical danger of the crossing, with its storms, calms, sometimes dwindling food or water supplies, and illnesses; and the emotional toll that six months of constant contact with the same people represented.

Living conditions aboard the French ships headed for California were not the first-class service advertised in the Parisian papers: "Look at these 32 compartments inhumanely stacked on both sides of two alleys 36-feet long, with not a single draft of air, no light except through a thick, dirty piece of glass the size of my hand affixed to the ceiling; the air is filled with the foul smells from the hold, from the stench



"San Francisco Beauties—the Celestial, the Señora, and Madame," from *Annals of San Francisco,* 1855. Perceived as mysterious and sophisticated, French women in gold-rush California attracted the fascination of American men and women alike. "The expensive ad fashionable style of dressing among the French ladies has greatly encouraged the splendid character of the shops of jewelers, silk merchants, milliners, and others whom women chiefly patronize, while it has perhaps increased the general extravagance of the whole female population of the city," noted the authors of *Annals of San Francisco* in September 1854. *Photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.*

of the stagnant water at its very bottom, to that, on its upper levels, of an assortment of food, salted meats, cod, herring, tar, burning oil, and of a frightening number of monstrous rats." Alphonse Délépine, who painted this grim description of his ship, *l'Edouard*, in the spring of 1849, also reports that there were women quartered between-decks in what he called "The Ladies Alley." "These poor women were most to pity," he recalled. "I still see them, pale as death, lying fully dressed inside their bunks as in a coffin, too weak to make their way up to the top-deck." Cape Horn was generally the most trying time of the voyage, and Délépine recalled their panic, "with each shake, each crack of the ship, I heard them scream, pray, invoke God and the Virgin Mary."[3]

The shorter voyage via the isthmus of Panama was hardly a pleasure cruise either. Françoise de Saint-Amant, a Frenchwoman traveling alone on that route, reported in a letter from Panama on October 5, 1850, that

> The crocodiles with which the Chagres river is infested, are said to be more teeth than bite. But I wasn't prepared to test that reputation.... The constant fight one must wage to defend one's person in these region is very absorbing, and it is more as a memory than as a reality, that I was able to enjoy the extraordinary and incomparable sights unfolding

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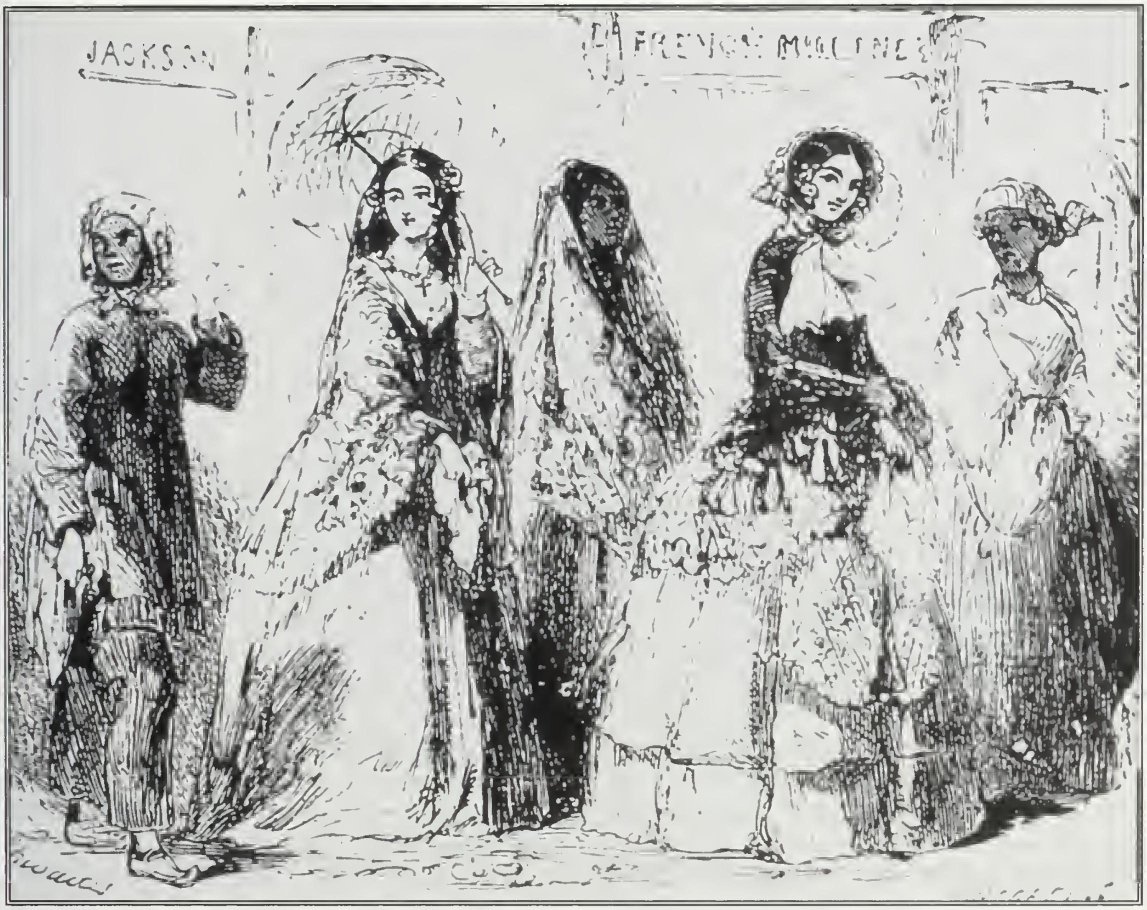

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> around me. Assailed with fear, worn out with fatigue, I was still assured not to find either a good dinner or, most of all, a good bed, at the end of the day, these are nothing but myths around here.
>
> Now for the mountains and all that goes with them: ravines and precipices.... The weather was beautiful; but since it had rained a lot the preceding days, the road was a quagmire, and even at the top of the mountains our animals sank to their shanks. The rock we climbed was covered with a thick layer of clay; infiltrations from the mountain top had dug ravines through it. Shuddering, we marched through crevasses filled with mud, the darkness around made thicker by their dense canopy of vegetation....[4]

Her mule fell twice, Françoise reported, but she was lucky enough to only scratch her knee and tear and soil her clothes.

### Mining Gold Second-hand

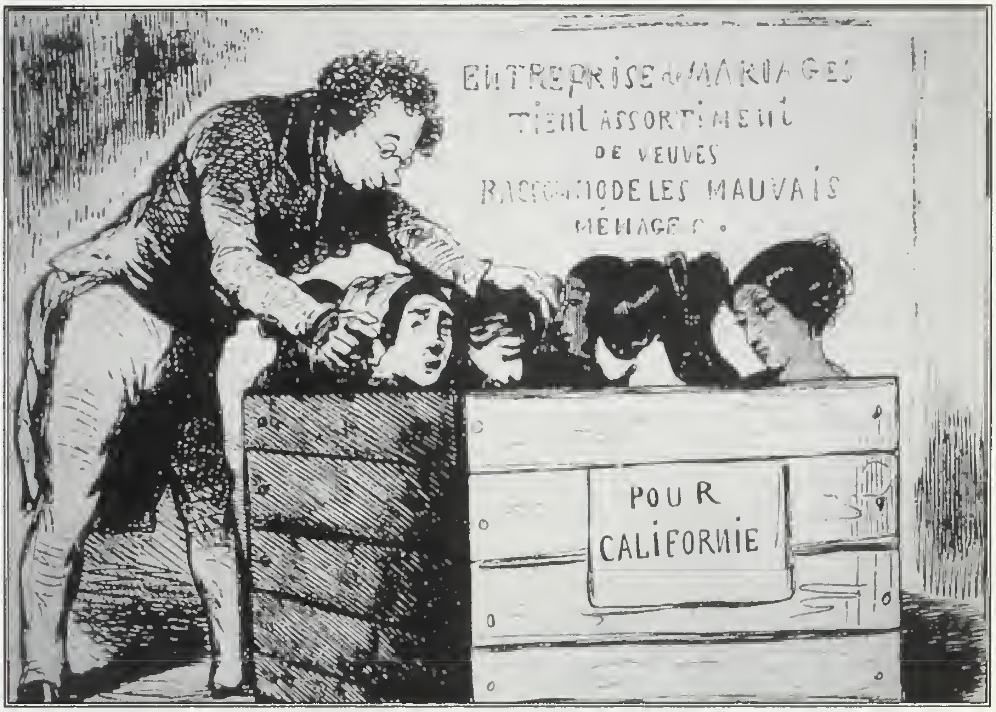
The same dreams of fortune that motivated male Argonauts compelled French women to take chances and to endure such difficulties. The dreams were the same, although their implementation may not have been. These women clearly intended to mine gold second-hand, which gave their fellow passengers much to muse about. French Argonauts of these early days, including Ernest de Massey, Alphonse Délépine, Jean-Nicolas Perlot, Albert Bénard de Russailh, and Charles de Lambertie, all spared some time to describe the French women aboard their ship, or those they met in San Francisco.

Albert Bénard's 1851 journal offered one of the best reviews of who these women were, and what their plans for fortune were. He mentioned eleven women passengers aboard his ship, the *Joseph*. Five of them were in the company of their husbands and were going to California to support them in their respective schemes to get rich. Two were wives of French businessmen: Mme. Hermier, whose much hen-pecked husband had been a lithographic printer in Paris; and Mme. Bresson, traveling with M. Bresson, two associates, and a ready-made French café, complete with wood house and billiard table. Also aboard were the wives of three artists: Mme. Mayer, the spouse/mistress of a Jewish antique dealer who planned to perform with her in concerts; and two sisters married to the Munié brothers, all four good Parisian actors seeking fame and fortune on the shores of the Eldorado. There was a thirty-eight-year-old widow and her fifteen-year-old daughter, Mme. and Mlle. Falco, clearly on a rich-husband hunting mission. They traveled in the company of the Mayers, since Mme. Mayer and Mme. Falco were sisters. Last but not least, there were four women traveling alone.[5]

Among the extant journals, little was recorded about married women passengers—the chroniclers often don't remember much about them, not even their names. The single women travelers drew much attention, however. They were generally labeled as "*ribaudes*" (dissolutes) and regarded with condescension by the gentlemen aboard ship. Bénard, for example, regarded Lucienne Carpentier, one of the four lone women passengers aboard the *Joseph*, as "a former *lorette*[6] who sacrificed more than once on the alter of love, who is still sacrificing during our crossing, and will no doubt sacrifice some more on the shores of San Francisco. She was pretty and is still not bad looking. She managed, still very young and thanks to a generous protector, to climb on the stage of the Théâtre des Variétés. As an actress, she was so lack-a-luster, that the best they could do with her was have her dance the Polka."[7]

What explains the great attention paid these women in French travel journals was the fact that they supplied the best sort of entertainment available during the six-month voyage: scandal. The rivalries they provoked, the yelling matches, the fistfights and solemn promises of duels once in Valparaiso, were certainly on a par with shark fishing and shooting at floating targets. Stanislas de Lapeyrouse mentioned that love intrigues started from the very beginning of his crossing and reached full bloom by the time his ship the *Anna* sailed past the Equator. "We had a rather pretty stock of more or less married women," he quipped. Albert Bénard's journal, like de Ernest de Massey's, recorded these women's love affairs with passengers, or crewmen, or both. Their behavior aboard ship usually confirmed the initial prejudice against them. Indeed, Lucienne Carpentier developed an affair with the ship's second officer. Mme. Chalas, another lorette, kept the ship's captain close company. Mme. Sapin, who intended to start a ladies' fashion store, caught the eye of M. Desmarais, while M. Leboucher won the favors of the fourth lone traveler, Mlle.. Fanny Borel.

Rather than just a function of character, love affairs could have occurred as a function of both the boredom and the constant promiscuity of life aboard a ship. In fact, these intrigues seem to have spread throughout the ships like so many epidemics, and even those travelers who had managed to remain single during the first half of the voyage often suc-



From early 1849 to late 1850, no country in Europe fell under the thrall of "gold fever" more intensely than France. More than eighty mining companies with names like La Fortune, La Californienne, and L'Eldorado sold millions of shares to eager French investors and sailed for California, only to inevitably dissolve upon reaching San Francisco. In this cartoon, Parisian artist Cham lampoons a fictional entrepreneur who aims to turn a profit by exporting one thing sure to be in demand in gold-rush California—French women. His sign advertises a "marriage company" with an "assortment of widows" to "mend bad marriages." Cham's skepticism notwithstanding, French merchants and miners in California managed to send home an estimated $80 million by 1851. *Courtesy California State Library; photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.*

cumbed to romance after Valparaiso—which included, at times, married men and women.

The backgrounds of the Frenchwomen bound for California were varied, however. The passenger list of the *Joseph* reveals that Lucienne Carpentier was an actress, Claudine Sapin a seamstress. On De Massey's ship, Mme. Perret was a watch engraver. Like all French Argonauts who reached the golden shores, economic survival of French women also depended less on old skills than on innovatively meeting the demands of the instant society mushrooming by the bay. These women's first contact with California confirmed that it mattered little who they were or what they would do. They would in no way be left to starve.

## THE LAND OF GOLD AND BACHELORS

These unmarried French women's adventures during their voyage pale in comparison with their landing in San Francisco. As soon as it dropped anchor, the ship *Anna* was surrounded by a flotilla of small crafts; their occupants scaled the ship's sides in great haste, struggling and fighting to be the first to reach the women passengers, the first to offer them a job, at almost any price if they were young and pretty—two to three thousand francs *a month* just to appear at a bar or a gambling table. "I don't believe our gracious travel companions had ever dreamed such a magical debut in San Francisco," Stanislas de Lapeyrouse commented in his travel book.[8]

The mechanisms of supply and demand were of course at the root of this unusual scene. According to the *Alta California*, eighty-seven women in all reached San Francisco in the month of August 1849 compared to a total of 3,806 men. Only six of the women were married. In February 1850, French Argonaut Aimée Eudes reported the commonly accepted figure of 3,000 women to 70,000 men. Frank Soulé, in the *Annals of San Francisco*, estimated that 36,000 arrived by sea in 1850, 2,000 women among them. These figures suggest that women in California and San Francisco represented between 2 percent and 4 percent of the total population. Scarcity of women in the city was not a euphemism.[9] In fact, this scarcity was such that as early as August 1849, according to the *Californien*, the newspaper of the Parisian immigration company *La Californienne*, three separate schemes evolved that aimed to bring women to California. The American traveler Eliza Farnham planned to bring "intelligent, virtuous and efficient women" ages twenty-five and over to act as a cement to California's society; a Chilean merchant advertised in a Santiago newspaper that he would ship two hundred poor, virtuous, passably good-looking young white women to California; and the French woman Mlle.. Fonsalles booked passage to California for herself and a group of young French widows twenty to forty years old aboard the *Jacques-Lafitte.*[10]

### The French Coquette

With a few exceptions, the descriptions of the women freshly arrived from France do not suggest that they were of unusual beauty, intelligence, or charm. They did not need to be: their very scarcity was in itself a factor of seduction. "What does it matter that they are no longer young, not really beautiful?" exclaimed the French gold-seeker Alexander Holinski. "They appear young and beautiful to the pack of starved bachelors and they create such an invincible fascination that they can each claim 20 to 25 adorers." Holinski went on to marvel, "California is a paradise for women in general, and for French women in particular, from ages 20 to 40 inclusively."[11]

Why were French women such favorites? Albert Bénard spent some time pondering the question in his journal. The young Bénard had come to California to make enough money to marry "Lady Harriett," the English sweetheart he had left behind in Paris. Once in San Francisco, however, Bénard fell in love with one of the French actresses of the city's French Vaudeville company. His journal revealed that he was constantly atuned to women. He observed in March 1851 that there were only a few respectable French women in San Francisco when he had first arrived, but quite a number of American women had, according to him, arrived from convents in New York, New Orleans, Washington, or Philadelphia. "They all had the stiff carriage typical of women in those cities. Men would look hopefully at them in the streets,... but they much preferred the French women, who had the charm of novelty. Americans were irresistibly attracted by their graceful walk, their supple and easy bearing, and charming freedom of manner,... and they trooped after a French woman whenever she put her nose out of doors, as if they could never see enough of her."[12]

Dressing to seduce appeared to be a specifically French attribute in gold-rush San Francisco, no matter these women's occupations. Widowed reformer Eliza Farnham, who arrived in San Francisco with her young sons and settled in Santa Cruz, was among the first American chroniclers to remark on French women's attractive appearance—and to approve of what she saw. "In one corner," she noted, "a coarse-looking female might preside over a roulette-table, and perhaps, in the central and crowded part of the room a Spanish or Mexican woman would be sitting at monte, with a cigarita in her lips, which she replaced every few moments by a fresh one. In a very few fortunate houses, neat, delicate, and sometimes beautiful French women were every evening to be seen in the orchestra. These houses, to the honor of the coarse crowd be it said, were always filled."[13]

This contrast found an echo with an unnamed American journalist in Marysville, who got a bit carried away in his description of a French woman-gambler he called "the belle of the El Dorado":

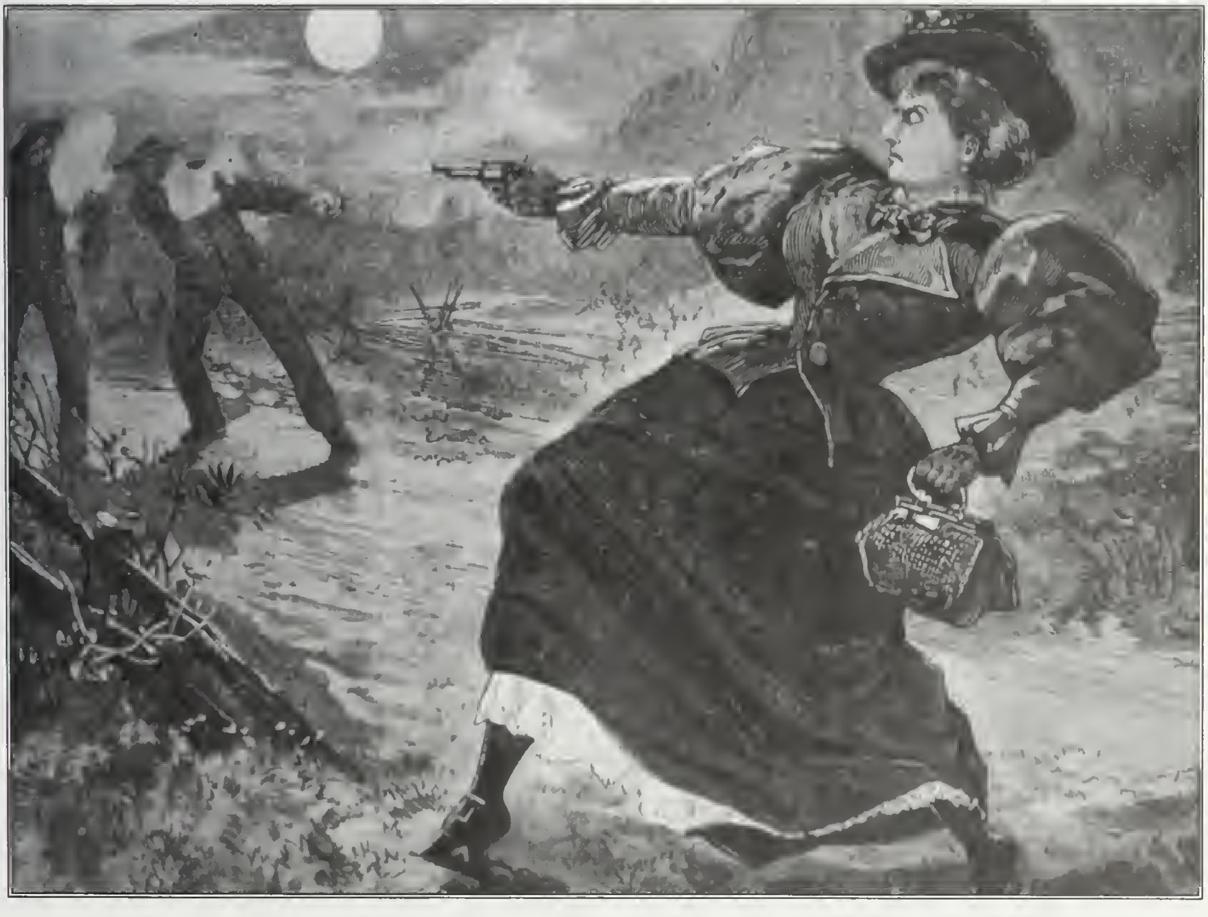
> A bright, black eye, a well gloved hand, locks whose silky glossiness, in their wavy dances are like to captivate and charm, and the dress and appointments of the latest and most lady-like style—grace the queen of Lansquenet at the El Dorado [hotel]; she has a quiet style, contrasting wonderfully with the bizarre and violent gesticulations of the French gent, who is continually vociferating at the top of his lungs "Only von dolare in ze banque!" "Banque—Roullez!" We never look at the lady without thinking her fit to grace a far different place.[14]

In the view of this journalist, "lady-like style," "a quiet style," a woman's composure and graceful bearing, all went hand in hand with fashionable attire.

Even the more provincial-looking French women in California attracted rapt attention, such as the Bayonnaises (women from the city of Bayonne), who reached San Francisco in August 1851. As reported in the city's daily newspaper, "their dress and appearance plainly indicate the proximity of their dwelling place to the Pyrennees [sic], and their dialect is half Spanish. The women wear a head-dress consisting of a colored kerchief tastefully arranged and, with their clear olive complexions, under which the warm blood of the south mantles as perceptibly as beneath the fairer skins of more northern climes, their dark eyes, light forms and graceful steps, many of them are quite attractive."[15]

The open sensuality of the Bayonnaises' mode of transportation, regarded as unfamiliar but quite suggestive, was not lost on the journalist: "the conveyance is a sort of double saddle, placed across a horse's back and shared by the traveller with a fair Bayonnaise, who sits on the right side and holds the whip and reins. It requires some practice to reach the seat at the same time as your fair conductress on the opposite side; if you fail in doing so the saddle is apt to tilt over and spill you. Once comfortably seated it must be a very agreeable way of travelling."[16]

Other, less ladylike Frenchwomen-Argonauts still always managed to look memorable, to make a fashion statement. An *Alta California* journalist was prompted to take stock of one Frenchwoman's mining outfit in 1850: "Female labor: We saw last April, a French woman, standing in Angel's creek, dipping up and pouring water into the washer, which her husband was rocking. She wore short boots, white duck pantaloons, a red flannel shirt, with a black leather belt and a Panama hat." He noted the contrast between her rough clothes and her "slight form and slender figure."[17] Like the double-saddle system, the notion of sensuality was not far below the surface in this description. There was also much boldness involved in a woman's dressing in men's clothes. The notorious Eléonore Alphonsine Dumant, who landed in San Francisco on November 3, 1851, on the ship *Seine,* made a fashion statement of sorts as well when, later in her life, she did not remove the hair that grew on her upper lip and thereafter became known as Madame Moustache.[18] The irrepressible Mary Suize was arrested both in Virginia City and San Francisco for wearing men's clothes. "Masquarading in men's attire," the charges read. Suize became well known as Madame Pantaloon, which did not keep her from earning a small fortune in the wine business.[19]



Eléonore Alphonsine Dumant emigrated to California in 1851 at age twenty-three, planning to make her income selling feathers as a *plumassière*. Instead, she became a gambler and, after down grew on her upper lip, an infamous prostitute known as "Madame Moustache." From Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg, *The American West* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1955). *Photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.*

This attention to clothes and demeanor was reflected in a passage of Fanny Loviot's journal. The young French woman clearly enjoyed the romantic character of the accessories she needed for her life as a California adventuress: "A felt hat of light shape, a travel coat cut down to my size, riding boots: such is the fashion in California. Mexican spurs attached to the boots since one rides mules so often, kid gloves, a belt for carrying gold, a dagger slipped in the belt. This outfit, a rather unusual one for a woman, is indispensable for travels through these abrupt areas. It gives a woman, in moments of danger, much more room to move than usual clothing would."[20]

Clothing was central to the success of the coquette, and suppliers were quick to meet the women's demands. The price of fashion items imported from Paris accordingly skyrocketed in San Francisco in 1850.[21] At the same time, buyers were particular about exactly what clothing would suit them. French-Swiss merchant Théophile de Rutté reported much difficulty in getting rid of twenty crates of outmoded women's clothing his firm in Brazil, anxious to dispose of the unwanted items cluttering its stores, had added to the San Francisco-bound cargo: "Two French ships, the Cachalot and Suffren had each brought about twenty Parisiennes, curious to sample this earthly paradise, but never would a French woman allow herself to sport the outmoded fashions of Rio de Janeiro...our unsalable trinkets caused us much difficulty."[22]

In 1854, Frank Soulé, editor of the *Annals of San Francisco,* credited French women with the improvement of manners and dress in San Francisco: "The great number of flaunting women of pleasure, particularly the French, gave ease, taste and sprightly elegance to the manners of the town." His admission of their influence on the city was not without a touch of reproach, however: "The expensive and fashionable style of dressing among the French ladies has greatly encouraged the splendid character of the shops of jewelers, silk merchants, miliners and others whom women chiefly patronize, while it has perhaps increased the general extravagance among the whole female population of the city."[23]

## THE "PARISIAN SIRENS"

Beneath the perceived allure, French women have often been characterized historically as independent and calculating to a fault. French women were particularly quick to make full use of the new-found independence that was a staple of life for all comers in the early days of the Gold Rush: far away from home, family, and friends, no one truly cared who went to church and who to a gambling hall. The quickest way to take advantage of the relaxed morality was to visit those women who practiced the oldest trade in the world. The Frenchwomen, especially, shunned common prostitution and practiced seduction on their own terms.

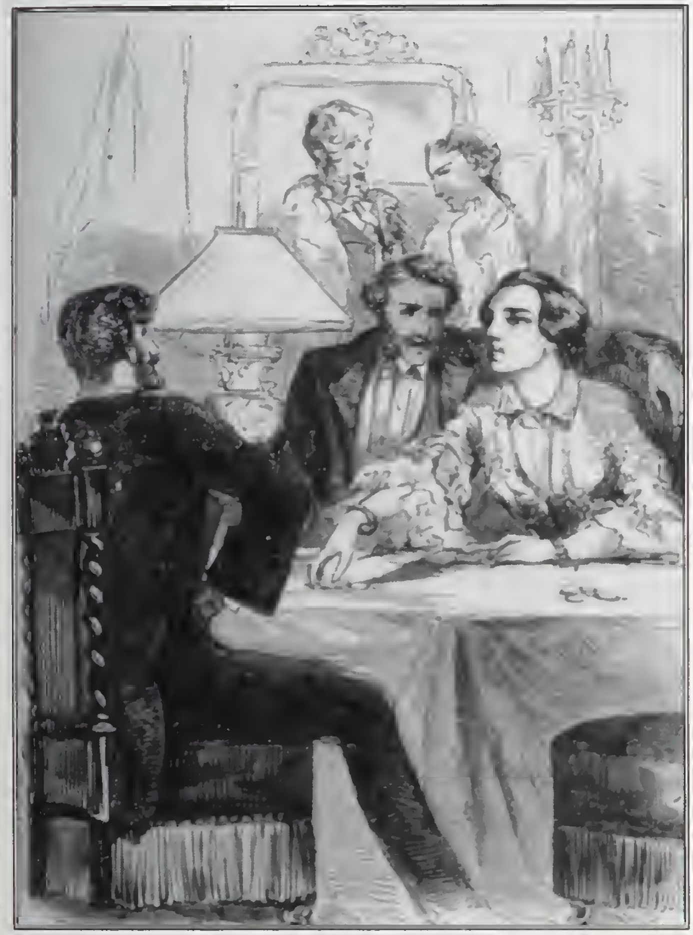
According to Capt. José Fernandez, "unchaste" French women proved more threatening to society than their Chilean, American, or Chinese counterparts because they turned prostitution into a free enterprise. "The French women did much more damage to the public morals than did the Mexicans," Fernandez judged, "because these ex-Parisian sirens, more skilled in the art of entrapping the unwary, in place of allowing themselves to be kept in large houses where they must share their earnings with the proprietors, rented the best apartments."[24]

A few French Argonauts such as Alexandre Holinski suggested that many of the so-called French seamstresses who advertised their business in the newspapers or on door-signs—even the French diviner Mme. de Cassin—were in fact prostitutes. Bénard echoed this view and reported that French prostitutes often concealed their real business behind the front of a dressmaker or a milliner. According to him, many others simply scrawled their names and reception hours in big letters on their doors.[25]

The rewards were huge, according to all accounts, even if the diamonds weren't of the first water. Bénard found the prostitutes' rates staggering: "All these women who, in Paris, at night, walked the boulevards, and who would give all for a dollar, here fetch exorbitant prices," he wrote. "A hundred *piastres* are barely enough for a moment of pleasure and a whole night costs no less than two, three or four hundred dollars (F 1,000, 1,200 or 1,500). It is unbelievable, yet there are some whose rates are higher still."[26]

Canadian pioneer William Perkins, who reached California in 1849, reported that French women were "one of the peculiar features of California society." He went on to describe them with a mixture of contempt and admiration: "They are to be met everywhere, and everywhere they are the same: money making, unscrupulous, and outwardly well-behaved.... Thousands have immigrated to this country as adventuresses."[27]

Although contemporary gold-rush journals that discussed activities of French women in California often noted their participation in disreputable behavior, in these early days of the Gold Rush, the dominant endeavor of the French woman was not that of the prostitute or the madame, which would not blossom fully until the end of the century. In the early 1850s, the typical French adventuress kept a table in a gambling hell.



Some French women in gold-rush California supported themselves by working in casinos, where male Forty-niners would pay to sit next to them. "Americans much prefer French women who have the charm of novelty," noted French goldseeker Albert Bénard de Russailh. "To sit near you at a bar or at a card table, a girl charges one ounce [of gold] an evening. For anything more, you have to pay a fabulous amount." A French woman sits at a *lansquenet* table in this 1855 illustration from *Almanach de l'Illustration. Photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.*

## THE FRENCH CROUPIER

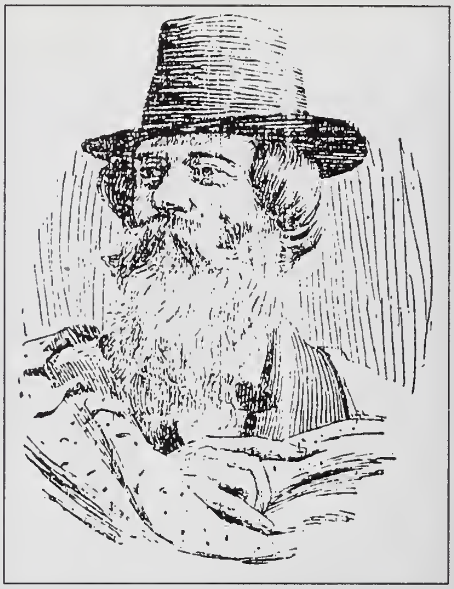
There were an overwhelming number of Frenchmen dealing cards at the tables of the California "hells," as gambling halls were called, in the early 1850s. San Francisco's French consul, Patrice Dillon, often deplored the French Argonauts' passion for gambling, an old habit of theirs, according to him, one no doubt revived by the long inactive days spent playing *lansquenet* or *rouge et noir* during their voyage around the Horn. "They now, in turn, take advantage of a science acquired at such a dear price, and which was undoubtedly one of the factors that caused them to come to California in the first place," Dillon observed.[28]

In early 1850, an *Alta California* editorial bemoaned the first appearance of a woman at a card table at the Bella Union Hotel. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, she was a Frenchwoman: The beautiful Mme. Jules, with huge, dark eyes and ebony hair, was so immensely popular that evening, and her winnings so considerable, that nearly all the saloons and gambling houses in the city soon hired a woman croupier, most often a Frenchwoman. According to one account of gold-rush San Francisco, "one stands at the bar where she attracts the customer with flirtatious looks, another sits at night at a lansquenet table where she attracts gamblers, another yet sells cigars and lights up hearts as easily as she does cigars, while another caterwauls at night to the sound of a piano." These women charged an ounce of gold per night (F 80/U.S. $16) to sit at a bar or at a lansquenet table. They not only drank and chatted with customers, they dealt cards as well.[29]

In a show of independence and calculation of the sort Captain Fernandez found so dangerous, French women often opened their own private gambling circles. The French traveler du Hailly, having read one morning an ad for a lansquenet circle directed by Mlle.. Armande that was open every night at eight, attended and discovered "a fully-appointed salon where the rather colossal seductions of the Eldorado were reduced to more intimate proportions. Mlle.. Armande, like nine tenths, unfortunately, of the San Francisco croupiers, was as her name indicates, a compatriot."[30]

Canadian pioneer William Perkins, a miner in Sonora in 1850, was shocked by these ladies, whom he described at great length and in poetic terms: "It is fearful to look upon these women at their Lansquenet Tables; to see the forms of angles in the employ of Hell; to witness the anxious and angry glare of disappointment when they lose; the fever-

# ERNEST ETIENNE NARJOT
(1826–1898)



Ernest Etienne Narjot. *Courtesy of the author.*

Ernest Etienne Narjot was born in Saint-Malo on December 15, 1826, the son of thirty-nine-year-old Philippe Pierre Narjot, a merchant's clerk, and of thirty-six-year-old Madelaine Françoise Garnier. By the time he was twenty-three, young Narjot, who had studied art at a very early age, was swept into the excitement of the early days of the Gold Rush and left early for the California gold fields.

By 1851 the Breton was mining at Foster's Bar, near Downieville. There he painted his only factual painting of the mines, a view of a waterwheel operation. His later paintings of gold-rush days, executed in the 1880s, would all bear a strong sense of reminiscence. After a brief stay in the mines, Narjot joined the ranks of one of the French filibustering expeditions to Sonora, Mexico, where hundreds of disenchanted French miners were headed to wrestle gold mines from the Apaches, establish agricultural colonies, and create settlements that would act as a buffer between the United States and Mexico.

When his expedition failed, Narjot settled in Metape, where he married Santos Ortiz in 1860. There the Frenchman owned a ranch, bred horses, did some mining, and continued to paint border life and battle scenes in Mexico and Arizona. Politics caught up with him, however. The French coup in Mexico and Emperor Maximilian's overthrow in 1867 made even the peaceable French settlers undesirable. The Narjots returned to San Francisco, where he opened a studio at 621 Clay street. He accepted all commissions in order to survive, including illustrations for newspapers, portraits, and book illustrations. He did a great deal of fresco work for churches and public institutions. In 1885, he was in charge of the male life class at the California School of Design. He exhibited regularly and was one of the most faithful contributors to the San Francisco Art Association's exhibitions, the Mechanics Institute, and the California Agricultural Fairs. By the late 1880s, Ernest Narjot was considered one of California's most accomplished painters.

Always a bit of a vagabond, Narjot kept traveling throughout California in search of suitable subjects. Besides views of San Francisco, he painted many diverse sceneries of Marin and Sonoma, as well as Menlo Park, Palo Alto, New Almaden, Santa Monica, and Santa Catalina Island. His biggest success, however, was a four-panel screen depicting mythical maidens—a Druid Priestess, a Spanish girl, a Chinese maiden, and Caroline, princess of the Panamints—for which he received a gold medal at the California State Agricultural Fair of 1888. The next year he received a silver medal at that same fair for his canvas illustrating *Miggles*, a Bret Harte tale.

At the end of those boom years, in 1890 Narjot painted a self-portrait (see back cover) that represents him sitting in front of an empty canvas, palette and brush cast aside on the floor, musing absent-mindedly against a backdrop of the various mementos of his adventures in California and Mexico, including an actual painting of his entitled *Southwestern Scene*. The following year, after an absence of twenty-five years, Narjot returned to Sonora to refresh these memories.

While at the zenith of his career, Narjot was commissioned to paint a fresco to decorate the Leland Stanford tomb on the grounds of Stanford University. During his work, paint fell into his eyes, severely damaging his eyesight. He continued to paint after the complete loss of one eye, but by 1894, Narjot could scarcely walk alone. He and his family moved to a small tenement house at 1322 Vallejo Street. By January 1897, thirty prominent California artists came to the family's aid with a benefit sale of their work. Ernest Narjot died the following year on August 24, 1898.

Claudine Chalmers

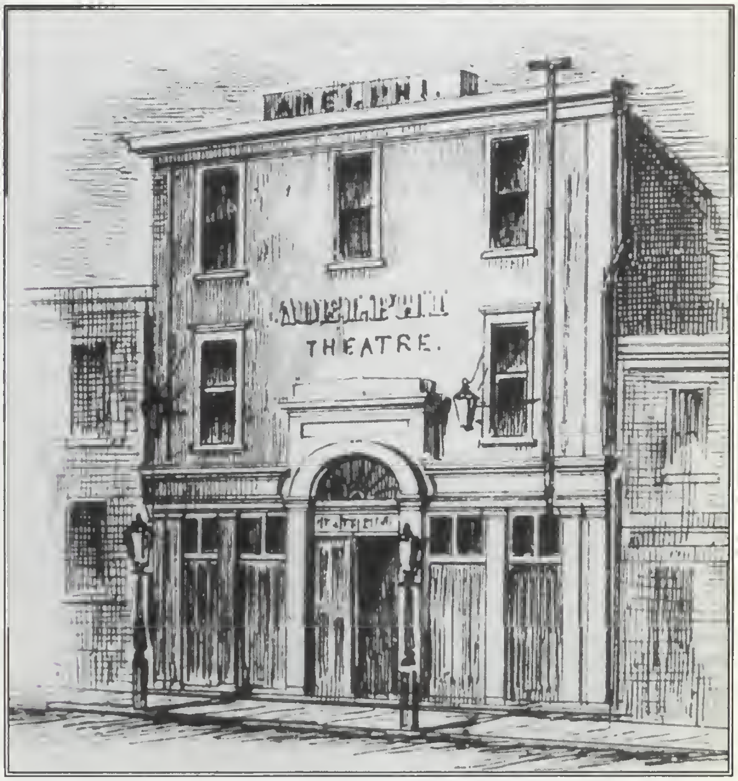
ish and eager glance of triumph when they win; the efforts to keep a calm exterior and clothe the tongue with honeyed words while the heart is beating with rage! Oh! it is terrible! and enough to make a gambler forswear his unholy trade."[31]

The young, lonesome pioneer, far from home, just back to the city from long harsh months of prospecting, did not have a chance against these alluring Parisian sirens. Fernandez resented this exploitation by women: "It is not too much to say," he complained, "that half of the money of which the gambler robbed the miners and merchants went into the pockets of the sylph-like seductresses who presided over the game." There were indeed rumors of young Frenchwomen having earned so much gold within a few months of their reaching California that they were shortly able to return to France and live off their fortunes.[32]

## THE FRENCH ENTERTAINER

French performers, like other women performers of those days, were the toast of the town. And there seemed to be an endless bounty of them.[33] An unusual partnership of three French actresses who had performed at the Théâtre de l'Ambigu in Paris was particularly effective in crystallizing French entertainment and the French community of San Francisco in early 1851. These three women, Eléonore Florentin, Marie Adalbert, and Elisa Racine, landed in San Francisco on November 12, 1850, on the ship *Vesta*. They quickly organized a small troupe that included three other actresses and five actors, all French, Their first performance was given at the Jenny Lind Theater on December 23, 1850, and again the following Sunday, December 30. The *Evening Picayune* of January 6, 1851, saluted with great pleasure their appearance on San Francisco's entertainment scene: "The performances were admirable, and the acting characterized by that peculiar ease and gracefulness which belong to the French stage. The French simply live through a play, and naturally, too, but they do not act nor rant it out with the view of carrying some huge idea which the author never intended to inculcate. The singing was sprightly and elegant."[34]

The light French vaudevilles they played on those two nights probably rivaled a little too much in their *éclat* the more serious plays performed by another theater group known as the Starks. And the Starks owned the Jenny Lind. The nomadic French troupe moved again two weeks later, this time to the Adelphi Theater, which would become the French Theater of the 1850s in San Francisco. Their first performance at their new location was *La Dame aux Camélias*, by Alexander Dumas fils, which had just premiered in Paris. Although the following performances were not always of the first quality, this small group of enterprising actresses became the heart of the French cultural community, and quite popular with the American public as well. They gave frequent balls at the theater. One of them, held on February 17, 1851, became the stage for the shooting of a French actor by the notorious bully Charles Duane, who shot the unfortunate Amédée Fayolle in the back after the actor had stepped on Duane's foot by accident.[35]



San Francisco's Adelphi Theater, where French immigrants gathered for balls, vaudeville performances, and operas in the 1850s. In addition to the Adelphi, San Franciscan theatergoers supported a German, a Spanish, a Chinese, and five English-language playhouses. "Theatrical entertainments have never been so well patronized in San Francisco as during the past half year," recorded the authors of *Annals of San Francisco* in 1854. "A rapid succession of musical and dramatic 'stars' attracted continual crowds to the various 'houses.' English, French, and Italian versions of the most noted modern operas were excellently performed." *Courtesy Bancroft Library; photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.*

Eléonore, Marie, and Elisa were civic-minded as well. An April 15, 1852, letter addressed by Frenchman Eugène Delessert, treasurer of the Vigilance Committee, to Eléonore Florentin, reveals that she had offered to contribute a benefit performance of the French vaudeville company to help fill the committee's coffers.[36] The young Albert Bénard publicly praised the troupe in a column devoted to French news in the *Public Balance*, one of the city's newspapers. He was not, however, quite as generous in the personal observations he consigned to his journal. "What shall I say of Mmes Eléonore & Adalbert?" he penned. "Only what can be said of two ladies who have spent much time—I was about to say: too much time—on the stage without ever really succeeding. Mme. Eléonore's bright and provocative eyes find favor with the public, and Mme. Adalbert's tasteful outfits make up for what she lacks." His tone softened considerably when he described the third actress of the group, Mlle.. Racine, whom he depicted with an enthusiasm that quickly turned into a personal confidence. "Mademoiselle Racine is amazingly versatile, every role suits her: soubrette, character part, duenna, whatever is needed; How often I regretted seeing her pretty face hidden under some atrocious make-up. She has class, good manners, was trained in the best tradition, has a pure diction and acts naturally, such are her qualities. With that, she is graceful, beautiful, and witty. Much more than she needed to please us. She is generally found very attractive, and she attracted me too." The actresses' success did not wane, even after a rival French Vaudeville troupe was created some months later. Two years after their first performance, Albert Bénard reflected on the trio's success: "Today they own the lot, the theater and the decors. They may not have earned every penny acting, since they have, the rumor goes, found protectors...of the Arts, who have much to do with their prosperity to the detriment of their own."[37]

To French Argonaut Alexandre Holinski, these ladies' fortunes, when they did not together own twenty francs at the time they landed in San Francisco, proved with what marvelous ease women with a "minimum of skill" could manage on this faraway shore. "It is a fecund mine, the mine of the Parisiennes, in the land of gold! Eléonore, Adalbert, Racine & Alexina, enjoy in California a comfort, an elegance, a luxury which must give them no time to regret the banks of the Seine."[38]

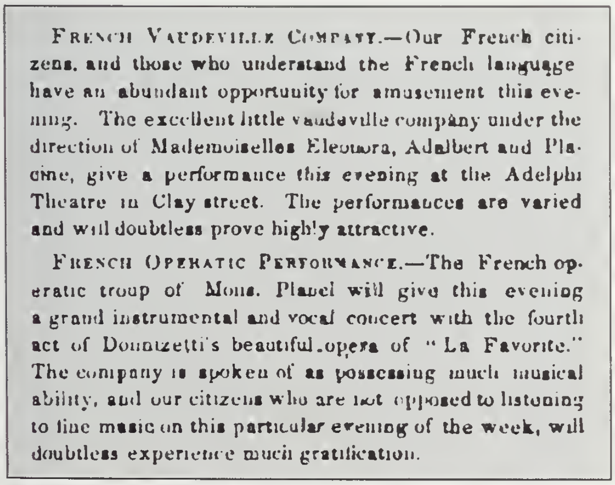
The entertainment business was one of the most profitable in gold-rush San Francisco, where the need for distraction, paired with the pioneer's pocketful of nuggets and craving for a feminine presence, elevated these artists to the stature of goddesses, and their salaries to the stature of ransom. San Franciscans adored their female musicians as much as they did their actresses. These included a few talented French singers and musicians, such as Mlle.. Koska, Mme. Planel, Mme. Paris, and Mme. Martin. When the Eldorado Theatre reopened after a fire, on January 4, 1850, the *Alta California* made particular note of Mme. Paris: "The novelty in the orchestra was Mme. Paris, a clever musician who played on an authentic Stradivarius with remarkable skill and vigor." Paris was paid two ounces of gold per night. Mlle.. Koska, a singer who performed at the French Theater in the fall of 1851, was one of the French community's treasured goddesses. After a tour of the gold region (she returned as *Mme.* Koska), the usually stern and business-like journalist Etienne Derbec turned lyrical in this description for his *Evening Picayune*'s French column: "Mme Koska is back from her tour of the inland town, she comes back covered with crowns—gold crowns. The French theater brings her back to us for four representations, four days of celebrations. Let them be thanked for it."[39]

## Bold and Seductive Entrepreneurs

The general infatuation with these entertainers somewhat overshadowed the success of other French women in more serious realms of business. A great number of Frenchwomen Argonauts became entrepreneurs. The French-language columns of the *Public Balance* and the *Evening Picayune*—and later in 1852, those of the all-French San Francisco newspaper *l'Echo du Pacifique*—are filled with ads of French businesses directed by women. They were most often dressmakers and milliners, teachers of French or music, or they operated hotels, boarding houses, or restaurants. According to all, they earned whatever they wished.[40] The mere sight of them was usually enough to draw faithful, devoted, generous customers.

A story related by Theodore A. Barry and Benjamin A. Patten, owners of a famous city saloon at the corner of Washington and Kearny streets, revealed how French women-entrepreneurs brought flair and seductiveness even to ordinary business: "On the west side of Kearny, between Clay and Sacramento, was a little restaurant kept by Madame Rosalie, a vivacious little French woman, with the most piquant manner and conversation, and bewitching toilette. Her *chef* was an artist and her little *salle à manger* was cosy and comfortable, the table linen and the equipage nice and clean, and her patronage the better class of citizens." Mme. Rosalie's mimicks and her accent were undoubtedly a part of her attractiveness. They were described in detail, as chroniclers Barry and Patten related how she reproached one of her customers for wanting his eggs boiled for breakfast. "'Oh!' said the Madame, her face assuming, quick as thought, the expression of one who had lost everything worth retaining on earth, her shoulders raising in the most expressive of shrugs, her little, speaking hands outstretched with upturned palms, and her whole manner the perfection of pantomimic apology, 'Oh, pardon, Monsieur! very good for ze *omelette*, but not for ze *bouillie!*'"[41]

Among these enterprising gold-rush French women one must include the unusual Mme. de Cassins, who first advertised her divining business in the *Alta California* of January 12, 1852. Bénard wrote in his journal, "There is a certain Mme. Cassini who runs a collar shop and claims to be able to predict the past, present and future and anything else you like."[42] Although one French traveler suggested that Cassins sold more to the public than just accessories or predictions, her steady advertising in the *Alta* throughout the 1850s, sometimes for rebates on clothing articles, is proof enough of her good business sense. On June 29, 1854, she proudly advertised the transfer of her business to a new, prestigious address: "REMOVAL - Mrs Cassin has removed to 164 Montgomery street, in Montgomery Block, where she hopes for a continuance of the kind patronage of her friends. Having received a splendid assortment of Perfumery, Gloves, Handkerchiefs and Toilet articles, she now offers them at the Lowest Prices."[43]



FRENCH VAUDEVILLE COMPANY.—Our French citizens, and those who understand the French language have an abundant opportunity for amusement this evening. The excellent little vaudeville company under the direction of Mademoiselles Eleonora, Adalbert and Placine, give a performance this evening at the Adelphi Theatre in Clay street. The performances are varied and will doubtless prove highly attractive.

FRENCH OPERATIC PERFORMANCE.—The French operatic troup of Mons. Planel will give this evening a grand instrumental and vocal concert with the fourth act of Donnizetti's beautiful opera of "La Favorite." The company is spoken of as possessing much musical ability, and our citizens who are not opposed to listening to fine music on this particular evening of the week, will doubtless experience much gratification.

Two advertisements from the January 12, 1851, edition of *Alta California*, San Francisco's first daily newspaper. *Courtesy of the author.*

Prostitutes or entrepreneurs, entertainers or gold-diggers, French women were so few and so admired that they became legendary characters of the California Gold Rush. The adventures of three of them in particular illustrate this transformation.

### Rosalie, the Spice of Life

From the viewpoint of many of the miners they fleeced, the seductive sylphs who manned the gambling tables were much more than lost angels. They were an object of adoration, a refreshing presence, the very spice of life. A revealing series of articles in the *Marysville Herald* haltingly followed the appearance of a new gambling establishment in town. In March 1851, an editorial noted "We have learned that a new establishment is to be opened today by two French ladies in the Humboldt House on Main st. The ladies will open a private lansquesnet. Go and see them, they are pretty, *one of them* particularly so."[44] A month later, the *Herald* gave readers an update: "Lansquenet—Some of the prettiest French women the eye ever gazed on, have 'set up' lansquenet tables, and not satisfied with making money, are setting everybody crazy."[45] Finally, on June 10, a French poem appeared in the same newspaper, likely dedicated to that *one* particularly pretty lansquenet lady:

> To Rosalie
> The graceful French lady by the name of Rosalie
> With lovely black eyes and skin the color of lilly
> Draws a crowd to lansquesnet each night:
> Such a sweet pleasure is her sight.
> Filled with grace she steals every heart
> Of our prettiest flowers the live image
> And truly of them all the greatest beauty
> By the Humbold one finds belle Rosalie.[46]

### Lucienne Carpentier, the Spirit of California

A few women doubled as gamblers and entertainers. Among them was Lucienne Carpentier, whom Albert Bénard described in his travel journal as an ex-*lorette* who "used to be pretty and is still not so bad-looking."[47] Lucienne's appearance seems to have somehow improved in California, where she worked as a croupière for the French-owned and very well attended San Francisco gambling hall, the Polka Saloon. Alexandre Holinski wrote that "two beauty queens appear now at the counter, now at the lansquenet. One is the belle Lucienne, who used to perform at the Théâtre des Variétés in Paris. The other is the beautiful Madame Touchard."[48]

When the Polka reopened after one of a devastating series of fires that swept San Francisco regularly in the early 1850s, a November 1851 article in the French column of the *Evening Picayune* suggests that Lucienne's talent had also taken a turn for the better: "Mlle Lucienne, our beautiful artiste *par excellence*, so beloved, is the queen of this beautiful place. She shines from within the crowd that besiege the Polka, more seductive than Eve when she presented the fatal apple to our first father. See how the charm of youth together with grace and beauty has a powerful effect! Each evening, an entire population presses around her, and she charms them, fascinates them, makes them happy with a word or a smile. This house of woodplanks called la Polka enjoys a tremendous vogue, M. Prou's paintbrush turned it into a palace, Mlle Lucienne's grace makes it immortal."[49] Could this be the same actress who, in Bénard's words, was so "lack-a-luster" that the best her Parisian troupe could do with her was have her dance the polka?

The Lucienne whom Bénard also described as selfish, heartless, soulless, and mean-spirited aboard the *Joseph* seems to have been given a second chance in the land of gold. And she did not let it escape. After only a few months in San Francisco, Bénard himself gave a much more sober opinion of the ex-lorette. "She was well-suited for the roles of grandes coquettes," he remarked. And there is quite a bit of poetic justice in her being cast as the "Spirit of California" in the prologue—composed by the young Albert Bénard himself—to a play performed on April 10, 1851, by the Second French Vaudeville troupe.

According to Bénard's proud description of the performance, Lucienne appeared on stage dressed in a white gown of gauze embroidered with gold, and on her head a crown of gold laurels surmounted by a star. In one hand she held the American flag, in the other a sceptre representing the French Comic Spirit. One of the lines of her song was: "In this land where the world was born again, if you wish to please, if you wish to thrill, call on Folly, so rich in earthly pleasures, let her come often and entertain us." She also led the final chorus: "With kindness for the unhappiness of others, we'll never mock anyone with poisoned darts; the American welcomes as his brothers, those who, like him, have a kind and noble heart."[50] The young playwright himself conceded that Lucienne sang her verses with sufficient brio that the audience requested she sing the song twice again before the curtain finally went down in the midst of wild applause. This transfiguration of the formerly unremarkable lorette/actress into a shining Spirit of California speaks eloquently of California's redemptive power.

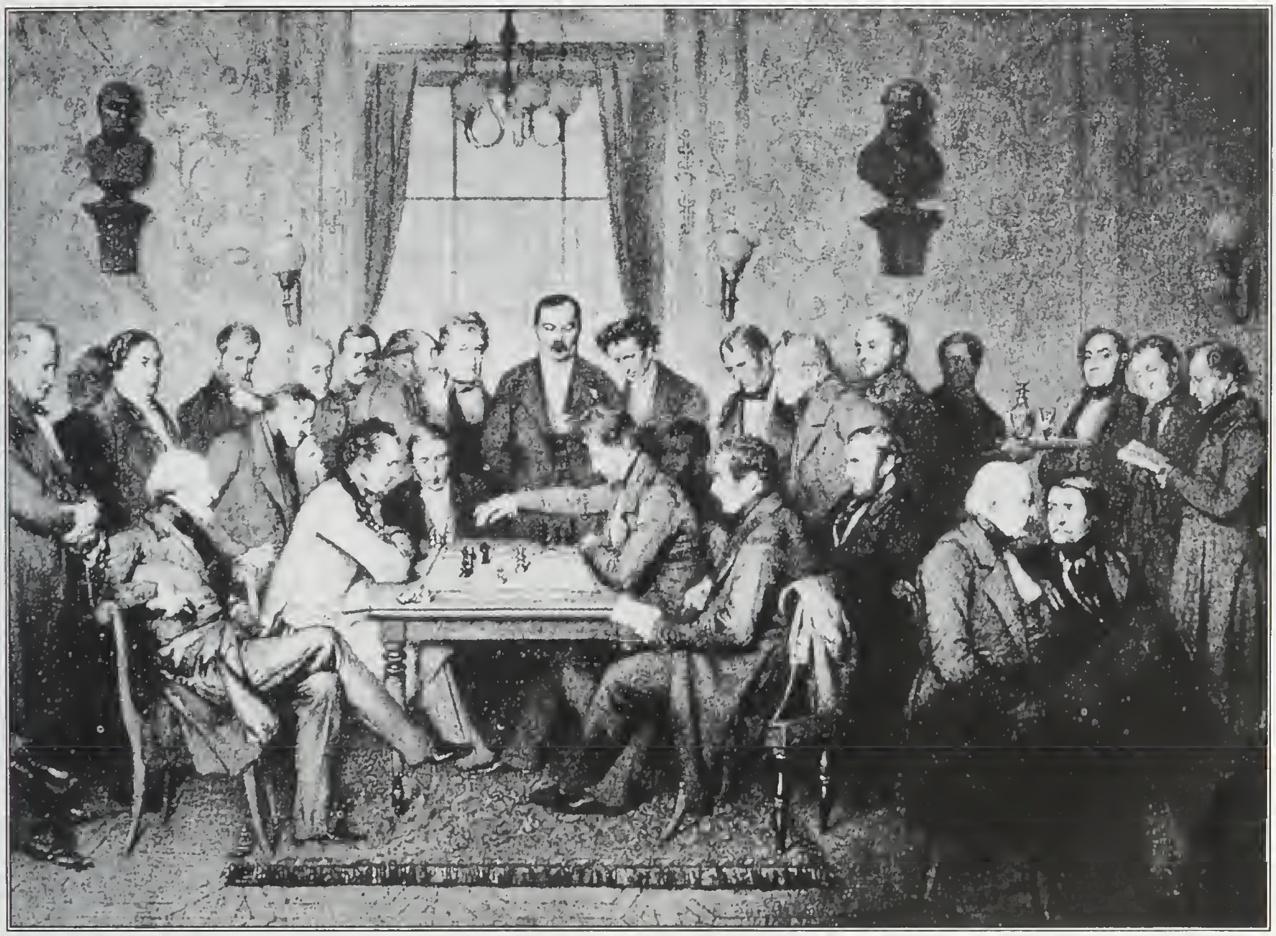
## FRANÇOISE DE SAINT-AMANT, LA GRANDE DAME

Mme. Françoise de Saint-Amant's adventures in the land of gold appear almost as a reverse of Lucienne's. Françoise was the wife of Charles de Saint-Amant, a self-described Parisian merchant and bourgeois. He was also one of the foremost European chess players, a wine-merchant of noble birth, and an active *bonapartiste*. Political manipulation, a sense of adventure, and the desire to shine in the Parisian salons seem to have been the motivations that propelled his wife to accompany him to California.

Françoise left for California alone as soon as Louis Napoléon, then president of France's new Republic, confirmed Charles's consular appointment to San Francisco, an appointment intended to show gratitude for Saint-Amant's support during the 1848 riots. Her early departure was probably intended to force the president to honor his promise to Charles. The funds were indeed very slow to come, and Charles did not leave France until almost a year after the departure of his bold spouse.

Coming, as she did, from the intellectual circles of the French capital, Françoise wrote letters à la Sévigne, which seemed intended for a dual audience of family and literary friends as well.[51] Her description of a storm she encountered while on the steamer from Panama to San Francisco on October 12, 1850, was a true masterpiece. It not only showed what risks she was willing to take alone, but how she could indeed turn her experiences into a masterful tale of adventure—in the style of the day:

> Will I ever forget the night of the 11 to the 12th of October? Tossed about for five days, the ship was disabled; the waves crashed on the deck as if to batter it in; the wind redoubled its fury to drive us against the coast; the machines no longer worked: we could no longer steer, everything to God's will! My poor head shares in the chaos in which I whirl. It wanders: I no longer know where I am, the prey to a sort of delirium, I rise with effort and I decide



Parisian merchant Charles de Saint-Amant playing chess in 1843, from *La Fabuleuse Histoire des Joueurs d'Echecs* (Paris: Nicolas Giffard, 1978). His adventurous wife, Françoise de Saint-Amant, emigrated to San Francisco in 1850 and founded the well-known Frascati Club, only to see it burn down four months later in one of the city's many voracious fires. *Courtesy of the author; photograph by Jacques Perilhou.*

> to wrap myself in my own shroud since no one is here to help me with it. By the gleam of lightning I grasp the dress which witnessed our first embraces; I fasten it as best I can; I put on the bracelet that saint queen Amelia took off her own arm to put on mine following that other shipwreck, that of a monarchy; I attach around my neck the necklace of small pearls my friend F... brought back for me from Panama two years before I reached that cursed shore myself, your letter and your portrait do not leave my heart; bathing in cold sweat, I fall back on bunk soaked both with my tears and the vapor from the waves. There, I lose consciousness....[52]

Having reached San Francisco on October 31, 1850, Françoise found the economy stagnant from a glut of imported merchandise. Only one product, French red wines, had escaped the general disfavor in the previous months. Unable to generate capital with the sale of the many items she had brought with her from France at great expense and effort, the fiery Françoise turned to other business. Fresh from the stylish salons of Paris and London, she was shocked by the primitive California lifestyle. "It is sometimes natural to believe you have landed in the midst of savages," she wrote home. She was also surprised to see that honest women, a minority, were held in great respect. She decided to contribute to the taming of this wild society with a touch of Parisian class. A communication appeared in a December 1850 newspaper that advertised her new venture:

> Since the rapid and almost magic growth of San Francisco, establishments of all descriptions have sprung into existence for evening recreation after the toils of the day: but what has been most essentially wanting until now to the fashionable world in the Crescent City of the Pacific, is a place of familar "rendezvous" where friends may meet to enjoy uninterruptedly social intercourse with all the comfort which our city may procure, which although but yet in the first stage of its existence, competes already in civilization with the most ancient of the globe.
>
> We have assurance of succeeding in an enterprise of this kind, and hope before long that the Paris of the new world will possess its "Frascati" of Paris in the old continent.
>
> Mme de St. Amant, we are happy to say, has consented to take the management of the new "Frascati," and will fulfill all the duties devolving upon such an establishment, with lady-like taste, accustomed as she is to the "bon ton" of the Parisian world. Assuredly the management of one so competent is a guarantee of success, besides Mme. de St Amant has already the good will and esteem of our most prominent citizens. We hope to be counted among the *chosen.* Mme de St. Amant deserves thanks for having consented to associate her name with this enterprise.[53]

Françoise made good use of her husband's world renown and connections. Her Frascati Club, similar in concept to the private club of that name in Paris, opened on January 22, 1851, with the elite of the city in attendance. Françoise's proud husband reported in one of his letters that "it is developing quickly and its brilliant destiny is called upon to reward courage, perseverance and skill."[54]

With the proceeds of the club's activity, Françoise—whom Bénard included in his list of French beauties in San Francisco—purchased several buildings in town. After a few successful months, however, she lost everything in the fires of May and June 1851. She then moved to Sacramento, where she opened a café, only to meet with the same fate. True to form, she wrote a dramatic report of her loss, which opened with the line "Ashes of Sacramento-City, November 4, 1852—I am neither dead nor wounded, but I am ruined for the third time. Everything is smashed, burned, anihilated! There is nothing left of our big city but a vast plain still smoking!" Her description included unforgettable images of the devastation:

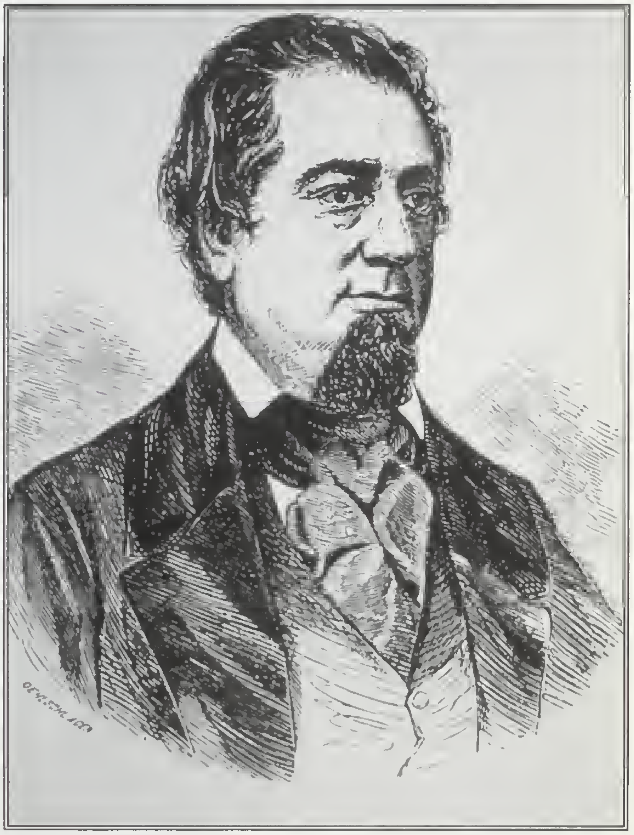
> The beautiful Crescent-City hotel, where public coaches leave for the mines, was one of the first to burst into flames. Do you remember that hotel? The top of it was built like the dome of the Invalides. It was the most vaunted and the most beautiful hotel in town. The flames were so violent that they lifted this sort of dome, which was soon nothing but a block of fire. The flames, as I was saying, lifted it more than two hundred feet in the air. Never was there a more frightening meteor. It was like a sun sowing fire brands over the unfortunate city. It flew thus for more than a quarter of an hour, lighting all the neighborhoods over which it floated like a balloon moved by hell. The city and the surrounding countryside were lit as at full noon, and Sacramento itself looked like an ocean of fire.... My cafe was filled with people ready to help within half an hour of the start of the fire. Unfortunately, the fire moved with the speed of wind, which appeared to be fanned by the flames. We were only able to save my clothes and the small furniture; all the rest, tables, beds, mirrors, paintings, rugs, piano, ...etc. was devoured. I lost more than 5000 piastres with my larger house, and 700 with the small one. The fruit of eight long months of slave work was snatched away in an hour's time. Three times in two years! ...the land of gold! We must start over again, and maybe with the same result once more. Never will anyone be willing to provide any decent insurance. One could jeopardize, in California, in one single night, all the richest companies of New York, London and Paris.
>
> A sort of tent is being set up around her for me just now. But the soil is still too hot; we have to let it cool off a little. I will, as if at a fair, serve drink and food night and day. Only work can save us from despair. I had been ill for two months when the fire broke out; the day before, I had been bled. The commotion keeps me from feeling any ailment.
>
> I spent the night before last, that trojan night, on my debris in open country, staring at the volcano, then soaked by dew. At sunrise, all that was left of the city was a vast plain of still-smoking ashes. When we dare, we will go to our lot, a pistol in hand, to scratch the ashes in the hope of finding something left over. The looters did not work the place as scandalously as they did in San Francisco; still the Vigilance committees must wake up, and Judge Lynch too. No mercy, no pity for incendiaries.[55]

Françoise de Saint-Amant was rewarded for her boldness and for her literary efforts by the great French poet and political figure Alphonse de Lamartine, who, after reading her correspondence, praised "the ardent and sincere faith of a heroic soul, unweakened by doubt."[56] She appears as the epitomy of the French adventuress of the gold-rush days in its higher definition: she had class, education, an enterprising and bold spirit, and, it seems, an unquenchable passion for adventure.

French adventuresses of the early days of the Gold Rush, their spirit of independence, their boldness and coquetry, became an intimate part of California's mythology, and no doubt contributed to the myth of the French woman that survives to this day. Their popularity was confirmed by a letter written in late 1851 by two-term San Francisco mayor Charles Brenham to French consul Patrice Dillon. In it, Brenham enjoined Dillon to use his influence in Paris to ensure that the convoys of the forthcoming Golden Ingot Lottery emigrants would be in part composed of young French women, to establish "yet another tie between the two great elements which compose the population of California."[57]

By then, the newly established French republic was being swept from under the Republicans' feet by Napoleon's coup of December 1851. More Frenchmen left home, this time looking not only for gold and adventure, but for political asylum as well. While most of the French emigration to California had been so far conducted by private Parisian companies—companies that fell victim to scandals, trials, and bankruptcies—one new and unusual company was created at that time by a Parisian shipowner, Jules Langlois, who conceived the plan to finance with a lottery the passage to California of five thousand needy Frenchmen. The lottery's prizes were golden ingots. These became the Golden Ingots Lottery emigrants that Charles Brenham mentioned to Patrice Dillon in his letter.

Over four thousand lottery travelers joined the ranks of California's already large French population, including a large number of women and children.[58] The *Alta California* of February 10, 1853, reported under the headline "Arrival of Female Emigrants," "The French ship Sansonette [sic], from Havre, having on board upwards of two hundred and fifty female emigrants arrived yesterday morning. The greater portion of these people, it is said, come to join their husbands, and to reside permanently in the country. They are all from the farming or working classes of France, industrious and respectable."[59] This new emigration from France presented an altogether different character from that of the preceding years. It was composed in great part of political refugee families, all without the means to pay their passage to the land of gold. The California experiences of the women within this group were quite different from those of the earlier Frenchwomen Argonauts. Their story has yet to be told. CHS



Kentucky-born Charles J. Brenham, San Francisco's second and fourth mayor, commanded steamboats on the Mississippi River before emigrating to California in 1849 and taking command of the *McKim*, the first steamer to run between San Francisco and Sacramento. From *Annals of San Francisco*, 1855. *Photo reproduction by Instructional Media Center, California State University, Hayward.*

*See notes beginning on page 213.*

*Claudine Chalmers, born and raised in Cannes, France, first fell in love with California at age sixteen as an exchange student in Palo Alto. After completing her studies in French, American, and comparative literature at the University of Nice, France, she returned to California, where she married and settled in Mill Valley. A freelance writer for the Random House textbook division for many years, she completed her dissertation on "The Years of the French in Gold Rush San Francisco, 1849-1854." She is now at work on several projects concerning French Argonauts in the context of California's sesquicentennial, including an art book,* Splendide Californie: Impressions of the Golden State by French Artists, 1786-1900 *(The Book Club of California, forthcoming).*

# THE PHOTOGRAPHER AND THE RAILROAD MAN

### *by Jennifer A. Watts*

In September 1900, a small notice in the California photography journal *Camera Craft* marked the passing of rail baron Collis Potter Huntington. "By the death of Collis Huntington the Western photographers lose a good friend," wrote the editors. "He believed that photographs could present to the people of the East, California as she is, the result being to the material advantage of Western photographers."[1] To the nation, Huntington was the indomitable corporate titan, a man whose twin bands of iron linked the country and changed the West irrevocably. But to many photographers, he was someone different: a savvy promoter who understood the power of imagery to advance his enterprise. Huntington employed scores of photographers in the service of the railroad, and their pictures helped create a potent vision of the region. But only one photographer, Carleton E. Watkins, could claim that Huntington was both patron and friend.

The complex relationship between the photographer and the railroad man began in the 1830s in upstate New York. Huntington, a Connecticut native turned itinerant peddler, sometimes visited his brother, a merchant in Oneonta.[2] When in town, he boarded at the local inn run by Carleton Watkins's parents. Watkins and Huntington apparently became friends despite the eight years that separated them. Huntington eventually settled in Oneonta, joining his brother in business and marrying. But gold fever gripped his imagination, and in 1849 he left for California with a group of local men, determined to make his fortune. When he returned to New York in 1851 for his wife, Elizabeth, Huntington was the proprietor of a thriving mercantile business in Sacramento. Watkins saw his opportunity and took it. He set sail for California with the Huntingtons and some other Oneontans in the spring of 1851, and he never looked back.[3]

Carleton Watkins reputedly began his new life as a traveling salesman for Huntington's store.[4] He quickly moved on to other jobs, but Elizabeth and Collis continued to monitor his progress, remarking upon him in letters home to New York.[5] It is likely that such contact waned as the two men embarked on their very different careers. Railroad building soon became Huntington's singular obsession. Along with engineer Theodore Judah, he and a group of Sacramento businessmen—Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, and Charles Crocker—formed the Central Pacific Railroad Company in 1861 and went on to build the western half of the transcontinental railroad. The "Big Four," as the Sacramento merchants became known, formed a giant holding company, the Southern Pacific, and kept adding to their expanding empire of railroads and associated businesses. By the late 1880s, Collis Huntington was at the pinnacle of American corporate success.

Watkins's prospects, on the other hand, resembled a roller coaster of boom and bust. A chance apprenticeship in 1853 with studio photographer Robert H. Vance set his vocational course. In the ensuing thirty years, Watkins became the master of landscape photography, his images seen the world over. His acquaintance with one of the most powerful men in the nation no doubt opened doors to lucrative commercial assignments. Watkins also did all manner of photographic work for the Central Pacific following its 1869 completion. Although he was never on the official company payroll, he received coveted annual rail passes that enabled him, an assistant, a wagon, and a horse team to travel the lines without restriction or fee. But no matter the unequivocal artistry of his work or his prodigious output, Watkins simply could not keep creditors from his door, and he often teetered on the brink of poverty.

In February 1887, in the depths of financial despair, Watkins contacted his powerful boyhood friend for help. In a six-page plea (see p. 158 below), the only known letter from the photographer to his patron, a supplicant Watkins recalled Huntington's assistance in the 1870s after the devastating loss of his business to rival Isaiah W. Taber.[6] He dared to hope Huntington would be "as generously disposed again." Watkins was bankrupt a second time, a fail-

Carleton Emmons Watkins's portrait of his friend and benefactor Collis Potter Huntington, ca. 1860s. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

ure caused by "too much faith in humanity" and compounded by the inexplicable revocation of his railroad pass. He complained bitterly of the thousands of dollars worth of work done for the rail company without recompense.[7] Watkins felt slighted by the railroad's liberal and unacknowledged use of his images. "I don't think Mr. Huntington that you can blame me for feeling sore at the condition I find myself in after all these years," he wrote. "From the time I lost my Gallery all machinery connected with the tourist travel has been used against me and I don't think it is right or just."

The impoverished Watkins wanted to become a "permanent fixture," an official Southern Pacific photographer. If his years of loyal service to the railroad were not enough to justify such an appointment, perhaps appeals to sentiment would encourage Huntington to act. Writing as a "Friend and not as a member of the [company]," Watkins tried to bridge the gap that time and life circumstances had created between the two men. He even pointed out that "Mr. Huntington" now had a namesake. Watkins had given his four-year-old son "the alphabetical name of C. P. H. Watkins." This gesture, he insisted, was done out "of the respect and worship that every one of our family ought to have for the name."

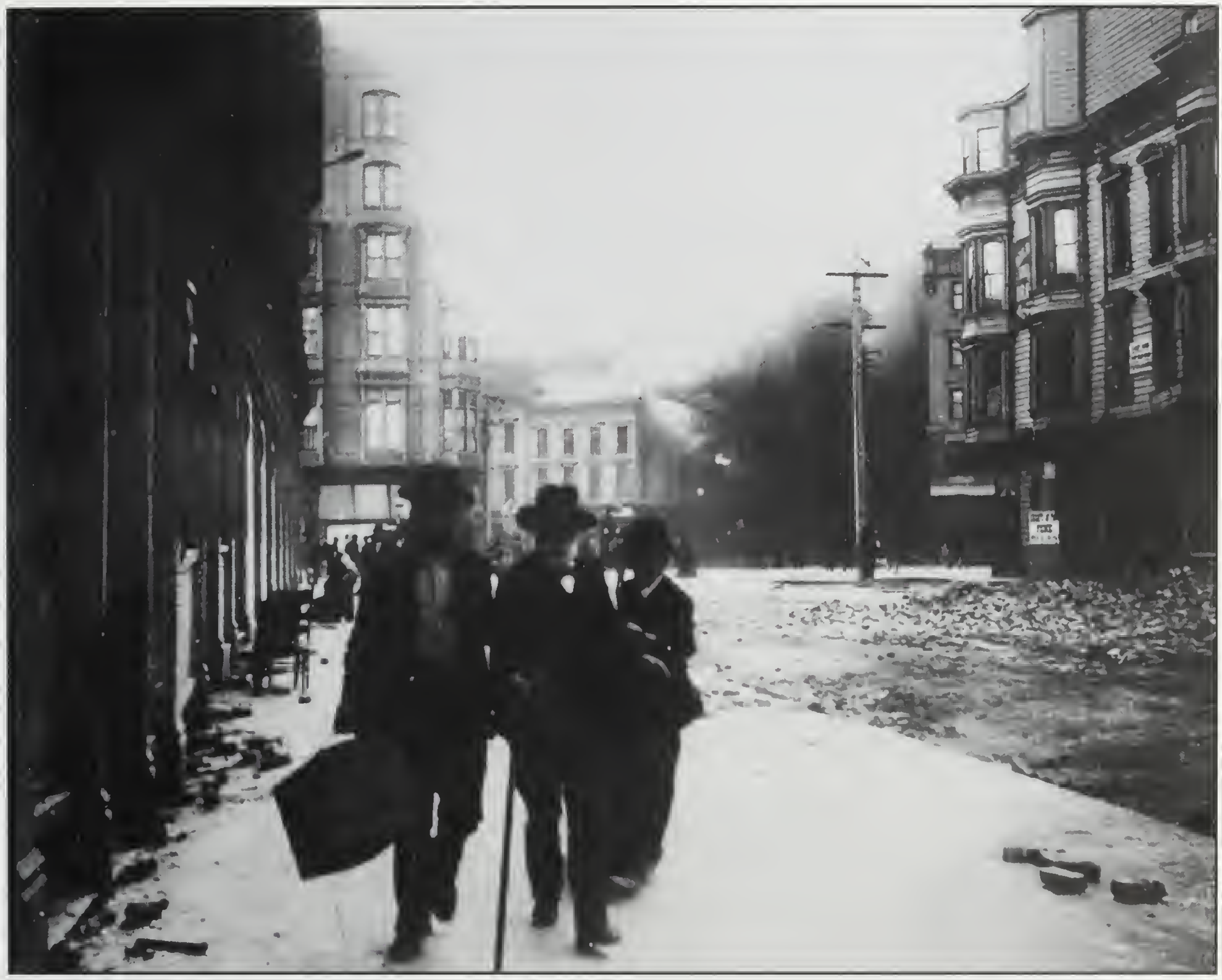
Only a few lines of Huntington's response to Watkins's are legible, but they are characteristically patronizing. "I could give you money," he wrote, "but what you want is self confidence and to learn to say no and then you will succeed."[8] But the photographer's appeal apparently struck a chord. The railroad man, publicly notorious for his tightfistedness, but privately generous in supporting friends and associates, quietly arranged to pay Watkins the requested sum of twenty-five hundred dollars and renew his rail pass.[9] Watkins went on to produce his Kern County work, which included some of the most important photographs of his career.

Correspondence between the two men seems to end here, but Huntington's support did not. When, in 1894, poor eyesight and failing health forced Watkins to abandon an assignment for Phoebe Hearst, Huntington recorded a payment of several thousand dollars to the photographer.[10] A year later, Huntington purchased the Capay Ranch, an eighty-two acre Yolo County tract owned by the Pacific Improvement Company (another Big Four development concern), where Watkins could retire with his family. Additional cash payments followed.[11] When Huntington later learned that Watkins had not moved, preferring instead to remain in rented rooms in San Francisco, he gave vent to long-standing frustrations. "Carlton [sic] has not any sense and never did have," Huntington wrote to his nephew Henry. "Of course he is not in my keeping exactly; and I do not propose to let him have any more [money] than I promised him when I was in California. What is there he can do to get a living otherwise than by making pictures?"[12]

We do not know Watkins's response to the largesse of his benefactor, the generosity that opened doors, provided unlimited transportation, and came to thousands of dollars worth of "loans" and gifts. Of course, he did name his only son after Huntington. Beyond this tribute, perhaps the only remaining artifacts of gratitude are the four sumptuous volumes of Watkins photographs that today reside at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. These oblong folio albums of superb mammoth plate views are elegantly bound in morocco leather, each bearing its title in gilt tooling, but with no inscription or other identifying marks of ownership. Institutional lore maintains that they were a gift from Watkins to Huntington, a personal "thank you," a token of esteem for a man to whom the photographer in many ways owed his very career. The volumes—*The Central Pacific and Views Adjacent, Summits of the Sierra, Arizona and Views Adjacent to the Southern Pacific R.R.*, and *Photographic Views of Kern County*—make overt acknowledgement of the rail network as the source of Watkins's documentary sustenance. Views of locomotives, tracks, and other railroad accoutrements are strategically arranged among landscapes of the high Sierra, Arizona mining operations, and the sere vistas of Kern County. Another extraordinary album in the Huntington's collections, containing some five hundred cabinet and stereo views of California and Arizona, is a possible later addition to the folio volumes. All these photographs are nothing if not rail-scapes, visions made possible by the railroad's technological triumph and the patronage of Collis Huntington.

Oral tradition aside, the albums remain a mystery. After Huntington's death in 1900, his nephew Henry was executor of the estate from which he received a substantial fortune. It is assumed the albums passed into Henry Huntington's hands at this time. A shrewd businessman in his own right, Huntington the younger soon withdrew from his position with the Southern Pacific to devote himself to Los Angeles rail transit and real estate development. A passionate bibliophile, Huntington took his uncle's inheritance (later enlarged by his marriage to Collis's second wife, Arabella) and purchased six hundred acres of prime ranch land in southern California. There he realized his complementary visions of creating varied and extensive gardens to surround a repository for his magnificent book and art collections. His purchases of books came so fast and furious—he acquired libraries *en bloc*—that the first librarians were simply overwhelmed at the task of sorting and cataloging the holdings. The original card catalog notes only that the Watkins albums were in Henry's New York residence prior to their shipment to California.

Collis Potter Huntington and Carleton E. Watkins had become friends in the same world of small-town America. But their friendship was transformed into something far more complicated once on western soil. Whereas Huntington was shrewd and successful, Watkins struggled to stay afloat. Huntington catapulted to the top of corporate America; Watkins quietly refined his art. One became wealthy beyond imagining, while the other made and lost money in



Carleton E. Watkins being led from his burning San Francisco studio following the disastrous earthquake of April 18, 1906. His negatives—along with the collections of numerous San Francisco galleries, studios, and private art collectors—were destroyed; many of his famous landscape and documentary photographs survive today only in copies. *Courtesy Huntington Library Collections.*

fits and starts. Yet, a sense of loyalty remained. Huntington's interventions salvaged Watkins's career at several critical junctures, and he provided for him in his final desperate years. Watkins was "not in my keeping exactly," Huntington admitted, in phrasing that suggests the complexity of their relationship. But if not for Huntington, Watkins may have faded from the photographic scene entirely, forced by penury to find altogether different work. But Watkins kept making pictures, and they have paid his debts. His photographs endure as master works of American genius. CHS

*See Watkins's letter on the following pages.*

*See notes beginning on page 214.*

*Jennifer A. Watts is Curator of Photographs at the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. She is currently at work on a book project funded by The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation entitled* From 'Semi-Tropic Paradise' to 'Nature's Workshop:' Photography and the Creation of Los Angeles, 1880–1930.

## Carleton E. Watkins to Collis Potter Huntington, February 3, 1887

*San Francisco Feb 3 1887*

*Mr. CP Huntington*

*Dear Sir:*

*Some years ago after going into the Portrait Gallery opposite the Lick House, I found myself in trouble. I went to Gov Stanford and explained my position and gave him what I thought to be good reasons why I should apply to the Central Pacific R.R. Co. for help. Gov Stanford received me courteously and was pleased to say that he thought the Co should assist me, and asked what they could do. I told him that when I was pushed to the wall I would come to him for help. When they did come nearly two years after, Gov. Stanford was sick and attended to no bussiness [sic]. Everything I had was sold and I commenced again. The man who obtained possession of my things found after a while that he could not manage them and the opportunity was offered me of getting them in my hands again.*[13] *I tried for a long time to get speech with Mr. Stanford and eventually did so on the street when he told me in rather an abrupt manner that the Co could do nothing for me but "if any of the officers of the road had ordered any goods from me to present the bill and it would be paid." At this time you kindly offered to assist me. Too much faith in humanity made the bussiness [sic] miscary [sic] and I venture to apply to you once more in the hope you will be as generously disposed again. In consideration of Gov Stanford's answer to me I presume I had told him that the officers of the road had made liberal use of me but to what extent you can have no idea. The only request* not complied with *since the commencement of your road was one made by Col Gray for 12 sets of 25 each of Imperial Photographs selling at $60 per doz. or $1500. worth in one order.*[14] *I was too poor to fill it but Col Gray is not likely to find any fault with me on the score of liberality, personally, or on account of his office, and I can say the same of any of the official[s] connected with your road. Not only have my views been at the disposal of the Co, maps, plans, specifications and whatnot have been copied and duplicates furnished whenever required. I am not going to present any bills to your Co but if I were I should be ashamed (as I am ashamed to have conducted my affairs in such a manner): to put an amount to the bill that would come a good way within its just requirements. You will remember that I felt indignant that your Co should subsidize Mr. Muybridge in the sum of $2000 to go to the Yosemite from the fact that since you drove the first spike your Co had all the Photographs they wanted without pay and you told me at that time that it was foolish in me not to have sent a bill for all things, as it would have made no difference to the Co for any Photographs furnished the Co for that money.*[15] *I am coming a long way within the truth to say that I have given ten and that I have never seen a dollar of the companys [sic] money to this day. Acting upon your advice I after doing a lot of copying sent a bill to Col Gray. It amounted to several hundred dollars and did not cover much time. I sent word to the Col to discount it as much as he pleased and send me the balance as I was much in need. I heard of it through my friend telling me that Sam Miller was howling through the town that I had impudence to send a bill to Col Gray for hundreds of dollars. That's all I ever got. Very near the same time a large no. of plans for Steamboat building were sent to the Gallery for Photographing. The amount when completed would have bought me six lots in Willard's new addition.*[16] *I had just made a donation to the Director's Room of 200 Imperial mounted Photographs. The Portfolios which contained these cost me $120. When the bill came in I made out one for the amount of the Portfolios and submitted to Mr. Towne and he advised me not to send it in.*[17] *That was the beginning and the end of sending bills.*

*Willard was in this morning and inquired why my Passes have been withdrawn. I would* *like to know myself. There must have been some reason why Gov Stanford was so uncourteous to me. Some reason why my passes were taken from me and transportation refused. Especially when the work is directly in the interests of the Co. I don't think Mr. Huntington that you can blame me for feeling sore at the condition I find myself in after all these years. From the time I lost my Gallery all machinery connected with the Tourist travel has been used against me and I don't think it is right or just. I have been putting off writing this letter for years waiting to see you, and when you did come the dislike of going into this bussiness [sic] made me delay until to[o] late.*

*I fixed up the store in the Palace last summer because I was obliged to do something or starve. I had to go in debt for the fixtures and the winter has been so unexpectedly and unusually dull that I have had a more than usually hard time to get along. I have got a good stock of goods and a good deal of it. My stock will inventory $30000 of first class Photographs and I have a reasonable hope of being able in a few years of getting out of debt. The years that I have been putting off this application ought to convince you how much I dislike to do it. I want you to let me have $2500 for two, perhaps three years, and let Mr. Willard V. Huntington take such security as a chattel mortgage will give you upon whatever I have got and it is certainly the best collection of my line of Goods on this coast. Also I wish you to ask Mr. Towne to restore to me the Passes and transportation of former years or in other words please make me the Photographer of your road and give me such transportation as will enable me to do my work as comfortably as possible.*

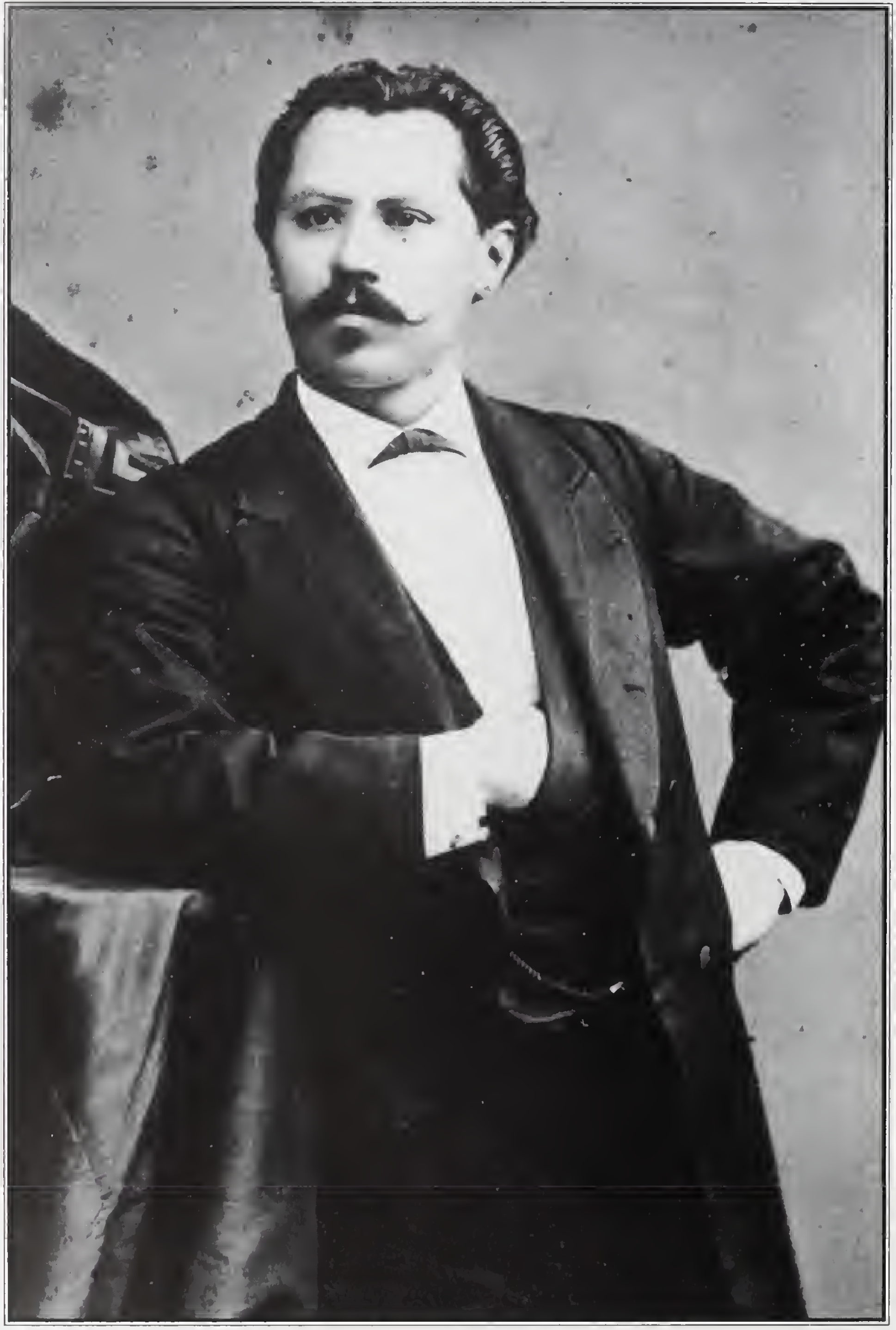
*I think I may justly claim that the work of my life has been and always will be of signal value to my transportation and that it is only fair that I be made a permanent fixture. There is not much time left me for work and as the results of my labor in negatives is all that I can leave my family, I am anxious to put my affairs in such a shape that I can spend nearly all my time in the field or in out door work.*

*Nothing that I have said in this letter applies to the Northern Division of the Southern Pacific. Mr. Basett has been uniformly kind and considerate and I think appreciates the work that I have done in Monterey.*[18] *I suppose you received a mounted set of what I had made some months ago. I should have written that I sent these for office use as I shall take pleasure when the work is compleat [sic] in sending you a set in a more permanent shape.*

*In closing this letter permit me to hope you will at once telegraph to Willard to help me. In meeting the obligations of the new store it has taken all the money that has come into the place and left us in a nearly destitute condition. I have a wife and two children. My wife, a plain unassuming woman, does her daily work and accepts her condition of poverty without a murmur always having a pleasant word and a hopeful outlook for which thank God! The children a girl and boy are good and healthy except a disposition to asthma. The greatest trouble I have with them is to keep these toes in their shoes. The boy is a jolly fellow as ever made mischief and he bears the alphabetical name of C. P. H. Watkins. Please give me credit for thinking only of the respect and worship that every one of our family ought to have for the name. This appeal is made to you as the Friend and not as a member of the Co. When you come here again I shall try and see you and hope to establish my relations with the Co on a permanent basis. Hoping you and your Family are well.*

*I remain Respectfully Yours,*
*C.E. Watkins*

From the Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University,
Microfilm Edition: Series 1, Reel 44—Incoming Correspondence



Celebrated composer, singer, guitarist, and music instructor Miguel S. Arévalo, ca. 1872.
*Courtesy Los Angeles Public Library, Security Pacific Photograph Collection, A-007-762.*

# *Canciones del país*

## Mexican Musical Life in California after the Gold Rush

*by John Koegel*

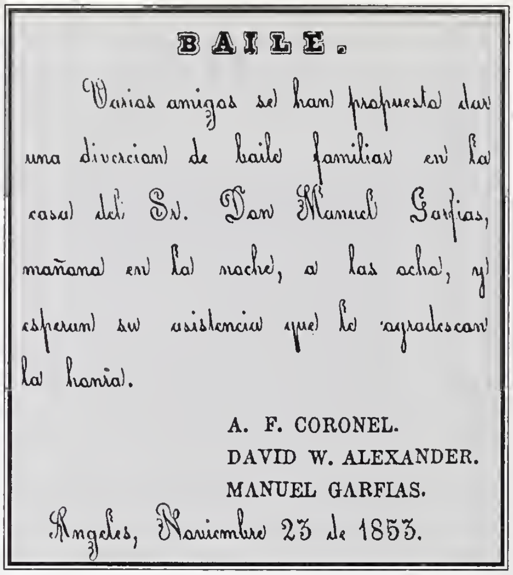
Before the Gold Rush, Spanish-speaking Californians, living in rural areas and towns on Mexico's northern frontier, had no direct access to large-scale formal musical and theatrical establishments, venues, and practices such as those available in central Mexican cities. Cathedral choirs, professional drama, opera and musical theater, orchestras (apart from the Indian musical groups in the California missions), artistic salons, formal concert life, and professional music teachers and performers on the Spanish, Mexican, or European-American models only came to California during the American period. Secular musical needs were supplied informally from within the family or immediate social circle during and immediately after the Spanish and Mexican periods. Practiced by a large percentage of the Mexican population in early California, secular music-making functioned almost completely within the oral tradition.[1]

Music did not achieve a professional status until the 1850s, when touring musical and theatrical troupes began to visit California and the Southwest, and when Mexican, European, and Anglo-American professional musicians began to settle in the area. After the arrival of the Argonauts and the large-scale development and settlement of California, most particularly in the northern part of the state, music teaching and public performances of fine art music were increasingly offered to the general public—both Mexican and non-Mexican alike—by professional music teachers and musicians. During and after the Gold Rush, San Francisco became a major center for musical and theatrical events, competing on favorable terms with New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and other eastern and midwestern cities. Foreign-born composers of concert and salon music began to settle in California after statehood. By the end of the century, native-born composers had established a presence in the state. Music publishers and music merchants opened businesses beginning in the 1850s in San Francisco (and later in Sacramento, San José, and Los Angeles). Both informal and formal music-making among the entire population and across ethnic lines was cultivated to a high level of sophistication and accomplishment.

In this article I examine the private and public secular musical and theatrical life of California's Spanish-speaking population as a tradition separate from and also part of the Anglo- and European-American mainstream before the turn of the nineteenth century. The lives, families, social experiences and connections, formal and informal musical training, and musical repertories of eight musicians (six amateurs and two professionals) are examined in detail here in order to give a fuller picture of this aspect of California history.[2] Because of the greater Mexican influence in southern California after the American annexation, musical life in the south (especially in Los Angeles) is stressed here more than musical activities in the north, though San Francisco's musical life is frequently mentioned.

### Recording Hidden Voices: Music in the Private Sphere

In nineteenth-century California, non-professional musicians in the Mexican community were active primarily within the extended family circle and were often hidden away from Anglo-American view. Though both Mexican-American women and men were often amateur musicians, the local Mexican community held strong beliefs about women's public roles as musicians. *Mexicana* women of the middle and elite classes, while encouraged to sing and play instruments (especially piano and guitar) in private, were often expected to do so only in "appropriate" public venues and situations. If they performed outside the private sphere, it was usually deemed necessary that the performance venue be acceptable in social status and tone. Churches and recital halls that attracted "respectable," or "polite" society were considered acceptable public performance spaces for women performing European art or salon music on



**BAILE.**

Varias amigas se han propuesto dar una diversion de baile familiar en la casa del Sr. Don Manuel Garfias, mañana en la noche, a las ocho, y esperan su asistencia que le agradescan la honra.

A. F. CORONEL.
DAVID W. ALEXANDER.
MANUEL GARFIAS.

Angeles, Noviembre 23 de 1853.

Dance invitation, 1853. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Coronel Collection.*

the piano or as vocal soloists; cantinas and other arenas for working-class male entertainments were not. When women married, they were often expected to give up public performance, though they continued to perform in the home. These restrictions seemingly held less importance for working-class *mexicanas*, though they too did not regularly seek out opportunities for the prominent public display of their singing and playing. Relatively few Mexican American women became professional musicians in nineteenth-century California, and those who did usually took up the occupation of private music teacher. Because of the private nature of music-making in the home and among extended family, few detailed accounts were published in the local Spanish- and English-language press about this form of musical activity. Consequently, this area of musical life generally has gone unreported, except for sporadic accounts of the excellence of Mexican American voices and the fact that music was heard everywhere in the Mexican community.

However, an understanding of private music-making can be gained through the study of the more than three hundred recordings made by thirty-five California informants for writer and folksong collector Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859–1928) in Los Angeles in 1904 and 1905. These singers, most of them women, were probably the very first to record Spanish-language secular folk, popular, theatrical, and salon music on a non-commercial basis anywhere in the Americas. These recordings document in a vivid way both the importance of local musical repertories and the continual interchange of musicians and music between Mexico and the Hispanic Southwest.

Examination of the Lummis Wax Cylinder Collection reveals as much about Charles Lummis's own cultural attitudes and biases—as well as those of his European-American contemporaries—as it does about the music he recorded and the cultural artifacts he preserved. Like many English-speakers in California and the Southwest at the end of the nineteenth century, Lummis espoused a romantic view of "Spanish" culture and society that was not completely based in historical reality. Though almost all of his Spanish-speaking informants were Mexican Americans of working- or middle-class backgrounds (a few of Lummis's female informants were from the Californio aristocracy), he tended to idealize them and the music they recorded for him as representative of Spanish, rather than Mexican, culture. This attitude permitted Lummis and other European Americans to disregard the Mexican origins of Spanish-speakers in California and thus avoid becoming involved with negative stereotypes of Mexicans and Mexican Americans then prevalent in Anglo-American society.

Who were the Spanish-speaking musicians who sang into Charles Lummis's Edison wax cylinder recording machine almost a century ago? And how did music fit into the pattern of their daily lives? Almost all were non-professional musicians and came from varying occupations, social classes, and family backgrounds. What they held in common was their skill as singers and guitarists and their friendship or acquaintance with Lummis. Unfortunately, despite Lummis's interest in preserving this music, he apparently left few actual details about his informants. Nevertheless, a significant amount of information exists in various forms that permits the study of the lives and musical activities of these musicians. Six musicians connected in some way with Lummis's recording project are profiled here (four women and two men). Their lives and musical repertories spanned the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods and more than 150 years of California and Mexican history (the oldest singer was born in 1802, the youngest died in 1957).

Chief among Lummis's informants was Manuela García, who recorded at least 107 wax cylinders in 1904 and 1905; these make up well over one-third of the Spanish-language songs in the Lummis Collection, now at the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. García was a musician who performed almost exclusively within the private sphere. Since it is important to understand how her musical activities fit in with the pattern of her life and social connections, details about her family are included here.

Born in Los Angeles, Manuela García (1869–1930) was one of at least eight children of Ygnacio García

(1828–1896) and Rosario Díaz (1836–1895).[3] While Ygnacio García and Rosario Díaz had established a common-law relationship by 1861, after the death of Díaz's first husband, Felipe Rheim, they did not marry until September 22, 1866.[4] Therefore, Manuela's elder sister Elisa García, born in 1863 (and who also recorded songs for Charles Lummis), was described by the pastor of the Plaza church in Los Angeles in her baptismal record as an *hija natural* (natural daughter). A common-law arrangement such as this was not entirely uncommon at this time among Hispanic residents in California and the Southwest, and did not always result in social ostracism.

Ygnacio García had business connections with several successful businessmen and ranch owners in early Los Angeles, including Ygnacio del Valle and John Temple. He served as a commercial agent for both men and was involved with many large financial transactions on their behalf.[5] From 1849 until 1866, García managed Temple's store in Los Angeles and was his confidential clerk. García also imported *serapes* (blankets) and *rebozos* (shawls) from Mexico, and as "every Mexican man and woman required one of these garments, Temple [through García] had a large and lucrative trade."[6] García lived with John Temple and Temple's wife Rafaela Cota (a member of a wealthy Californio family) from at least 1850 until 1860. The 1860 Federal census reveals that while Temple (one of the wealthiest men in southern California) owned real estate valued at $85,000 and personal property worth some $73,000, Ygnacio García possessed real and personal property to the value of $2,100.[7] After Temple's death in 1866, García purchased from the Temple estate the property known as the "New Temple Block" in downtown Los Angeles.[8] After the failure of the Temple-Workman Bank in January 1876, in which Ygnacio García had a financial stake, he contemplated moving back to Mexico, his birthplace. However, Rosario refused to move her family to Mexico unless her husband first found a substantial position there. García decided to stay in Los Angeles and recoup his financial losses.[9]

Besides his commercial and financial affairs, Ygnacio García was actively involved in social and cultural events in Los Angeles, serving in various capacities for several organizations, including the Sociedad Hispanoamericana de Beneficiencia Mútua, the Mexican American mutual aid society. He sometimes offered gambling nights at his home, where games of lotto and keno were available.[10] Through his business and social connections he came into contact with most of the prominent southern California residents *de la raza latina* as well as Harris Newmark, the Temple brothers, and other important American and European immigrant businessmen and community leaders. Because of his social standing in the Mexican community, notices about García and his family sometimes appeared in the local Spanish-language press. On April 7, 1875, *La crónica* published the following account of the celebration of the baptism on April 4, 1875, of Manuela García's brother, Ygnacio Arturo (1875–1949), who, like his sister, recorded songs for Charles Lummis.

> On Sunday 4 April, a pleasant celebration was held at the home of Señor Don Ygnacio García, in honor of the baptism of one of his children, who was sponsored by Dr. Fernández and his wife.[11] Also present were a great number of amateur and professional musicians, who gave the greatest brilliance to the festivities.[12]

Friends such as Dr. Fernández often served as baptismal sponsors, or *padrinos*. By acting in this capacity, they agreed to see to the future well-being of their *apadrinado* (godchild); they also fulfilled social duties of *compadrazgo* (godparenthood), thus cementing the relationship between friends and creating extended family ties. One of Ygnacio García's sons, Bernardo Arturo, was sponsored at his baptism on January 3, 1873, by Miguel S. Arévalo, the preeminent Mexican guitarist, voice teacher, and composer in Los Angeles in the 1870s and 1880s. Arévalo met Ygnacio García and his family soon after his arrival in Los Angeles from Guadalajara via San Francisco in late 1871. Arévalo inscribed his photograph to his *compadre* Ygnacio soon thereafter.[13] For several years before his death in 1900, Arévalo lived off and on with the García family.[14] He undoubtedly had a musical influence on the García children, including Manuela, Ygnacio, Elisa, and Mercedes (1872–1951), as well as on Rosario Rheim, Manuela García's half-sister, who was Arévalo's musical protégé and student (appearing with him in concert in Los Angeles several times in the 1870s).[15]

Details about Manuela García's early life, and how she acquired her musical knowledge and prodigious artistic talents are not recorded. Undoubtedly, she was influenced musically by her family, friends, and other relations. She studied to be a teacher, enrolling in the State Normal School in Los Angeles (the predecessor of UCLA) in August of 1884.[16] Mrs. E. J. Valentine (1883–1885) and R. L. Kent (1885–1892) were the music instructors with whom she studied at the normal school.[17] Manuela received high marks in vocal music during her two terms of study, though she did not finish the teacher-training course. Since at this time she lived at home and had no tuition expenses at the normal school, financial considerations were probably not a reason for the discontinuance of her studies. Though she did not receive a normal school diploma, she was listed for many years as a teacher in Los Angeles city directories. It is possible that her

Manuela García, ca. 1904. *Courtesy Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Neg. P.32321.*

motivation for stopping her education was linked to prejudice against Mexican Americans in certain sections of southern California society. Between its foundation in 1882 and 1907, the Los Angeles State Normal School granted diplomas to only four Mexican Americans; during this same twenty-five-year period the school enrolled many hundreds of students, female and male, and graduated a somewhat lesser number.[18] Similarly, of the 160 students who received their high school diplomas at Los Angeles High School (opened in 1873) during the ten-year period between 1875 and 1885, only one was a Spanish-surnamed individual, this at a time when many southern California residents were of Hispanic background.[19]

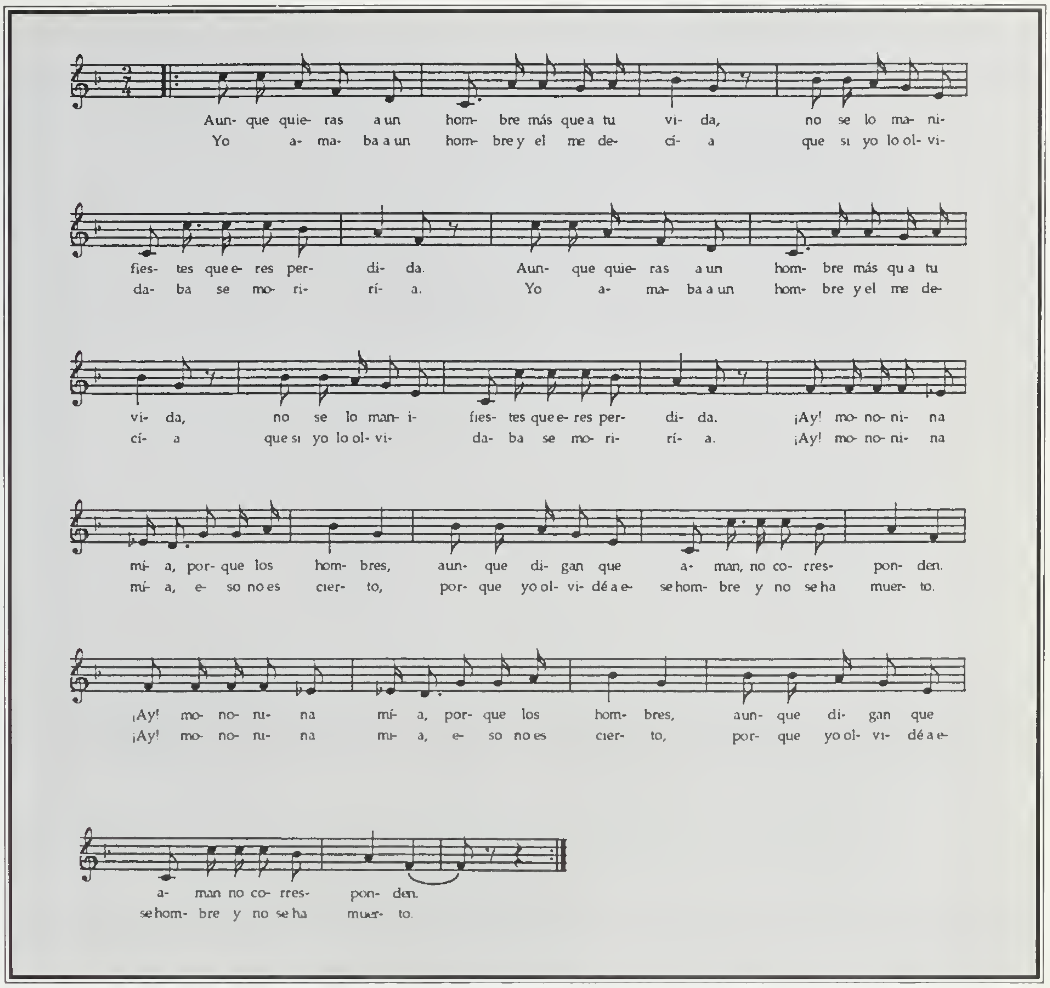
How and when Manuela García met Charles Lummis is not recorded. However, since Lummis had many contacts in Los Angeles's Mexican American community, it is not surprising that he came into contact with Manuela and that he elicited her support for his folksong collecting efforts upon learning of her excellent musical abilities. Lummis held dinners at his Los Angeles house, El Alisal, at which prominent visitors such as composers John Philip Sousa, Carrie Jacobs Bond, and Charles Wakefield Cadman, singers Ellen Beach Yaw and Mary Garden, film actress Mabel Normand, and Spanish novelist Vicente Blasco Ibañez were entertained by Manuela, Ygnacio, Elisa, and Mercedes García, Rosendo Uruchurtu, and Lummis's Spanish cook, Francisco Amate. Good company, much conversation, spirited Mexican music, and vast quantities of Mexican food were the requisite elements of these events, which Lummis called "noises." The counterparts to Lummis's feasts were the New Year's celebrations at the García adobe house on 1115 South Olive Street near Ninth Street. Charles Lummis recorded in his diary his memory of two of these gatherings at the García residence.

> January 1, 1908. It was the great fiesta at Manuela's house with Romulo Pico as chief of staff . . . She had a big crowd of 36 and the table was very pretty; and all the food the best ever Manuela fixed . . . we had frequent interruptions of song from New Year carols to "[El] Capotín" and "Don Simón."
>
> January 1, 1909. Manuela's dinner was a howling success as usual . . . Manuela and Nacho came in singing a New Year's carol in Spanish and from then on during the rest of the two or three hours that the dinner lasted, there was singing, talking and chattering and a mighty good time.[20]

Composer Arthur Farwell, who worked in 1904 and 1905 with Lummis on transcribing the wax cylinders, first met Manuela García in January of 1904 at Lummis's house during one of his Spanish dinners.[21] Farwell left a vivid and romanticized description of the festivities and music of the evening of January 17, 1904.

> On Sunday afternoon various Spanish folk from the neighborhood of Los Angeles congregated at the house, some of them bringing their guitars . . . At the head of the table sat Mr. Lummis. The singing of Spanish folksongs became the order of the hour toward the close of the dinner. The guitars rang out with magic which can be imparted only by Spanish fingers, and song after song, in inexhaustible array, floated or danced upon the air. The charm, the spontaneity, the grace of these songs were indescribable. There was nothing in the nature of exhibition in this singing. These singers were singing because these were their own songs—and they threw themselves into their enjoyment of them with Latin ardor . . . The very heart of the Spanish life of the old Southwest seemed to stand revealed.[22]

In late 1903 and early 1904, after having conceived of the idea of recording his friends and acquaintances singing Mexican folksongs into a Edison wax cylinder-recording horn, Lummis began to lay siege to Manuela and her brother Ygnacio, attempting to convince them both to collaborate in his project. His diary entry for January 12, 1904, reveals that "Manuela and Nacho [Ygnacio] don't want to make recordings." However, sister and brother soon capitulated to Lummis's insistent entreaties, and began to record wax cylinders.


Aun- que quie- ras a un hom- bre más que a tu vi- da, no se lo ma- ni-
Yo a- ma- ba a un hom- bre y el me de- cí- a que si yo lo ol- vi-
fies- tes que e- res per- di- da. Aun- que quie- ras a un hom- bre más qu a tu
da- ba se mo- ri- rí- a. Yo a- ma- ba a un hom- bre y el me de-
vi- da, no se lo man- i- fies- tes que e- res per- di- da. ¡Ay! mo- no- ni- na
cí- a que si yo lo ol- vi- da- ba se mo- ri- rí- a. ¡Ay! mo- no- ni- na
mi- a, por- que los hom- bres, aun- que di- gan que a- man, no co- rres- pon- den.
mí- a, e- so no es cier- to, por- que yo ol- vi- dé a e- se hom- bre y no se ha muer- to.
¡Ay! mo- no- ni- na mí- a, por- que los hom- bres, aun- que di- gan que
¡Ay! mo- no- ni- na mi- a, e- so no es cier- to, por- que yo ol- vi- dé a e-
a- man no co- rres- pon- den.
se hom- bre y no se ha muer- to.

"La monona," recorded by Manuela García on July 20, 1904, transcribed by John Koegel. *Courtesy of the author.*

To publicize the recording project, Lummis arranged for Manuela and her sister Mercedes, and his other Mexican musician friends Rosendo Uruchurtu and Rosa and Luisa Villa to present a concert of Mexican music at the Church of the Unity in Los Angeles on February 26, 1904. Included in the program were fifteen Mexican songs, among them "Lejos de ella," "Niña que vistes de luto," "Guarda esta flor," "El capotín," "La pepa," "La barquillera," and "Adiós, adiós amores," all later recorded onto wax cylinders. Judged an artistic success, the concert was attended by somewhere between five hundred and six hundred people. The *Los Angeles Times* of February 27, 1904, favorably reviewed the program and noted the importance of Lummis's cylinder recording project to cultural life in Los Angeles.

The wax cylinders made by Manuela García were recorded over a period of many months in 1904 and 1905 at El Alisal. Manuela was accompanied by her brother Ygnacio on guitar, or by Rosendo Uruchurtu, Lummis's blind protégé, or she sang without accompaniment. Sometime in 1904, Manuela García gave Lummis a songbook containing 149 songs from her active repertory, which she had compiled and copied, apparently for his use with the folksong project. Her songbook and recordings together make up the most substantial and important collection of early Mexican-Californian songs. Despite the temporary notoriety that her work with the cylinder project brought her, Manuela García lived her entire life as a private person. Further details of her life remain elusive.

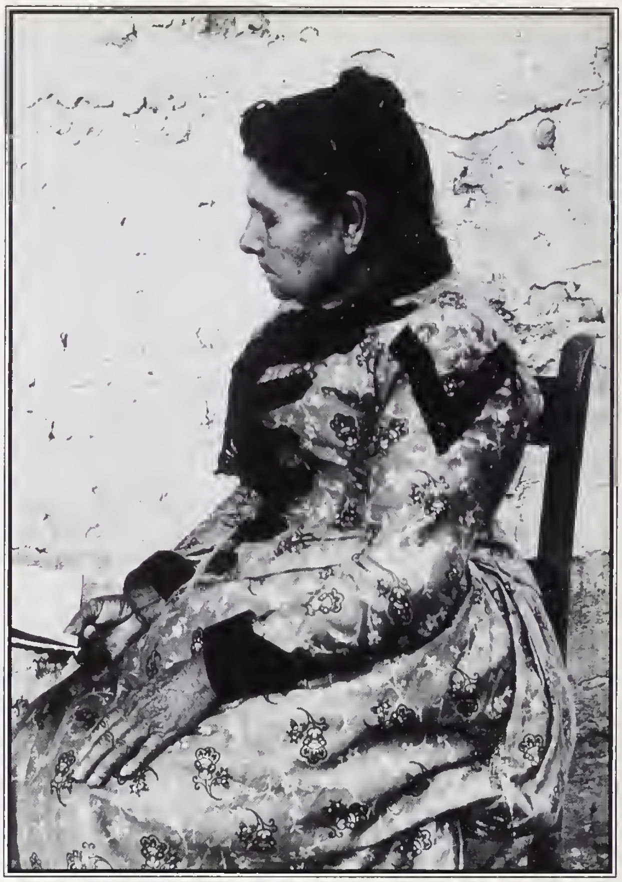
Two songs from García's very extensive repertory are examined here.[23] Figure 1, "Despierta blanca paloma," is an example of the popular lyric *canción* (song) on a romantic theme. The figure of the dove *(paloma)* as both a messenger of love and a figure for the beloved is a common symbol in Mexican folk and learned poetry and song. Songs from both the female and male points of view formed part of Manuela García's repertory (this is sung from the male point of view).

The dual emphasis on the sentimental song about the various aspects of love, and satirical songs poking fun at human foibles and peccadilloes is a highlight of the Mexican folklore; this duality is well represented in Manuela García's repertory. Figure 2, García's version of "Las pulgas de Morelia" ("Morelia's Fleas"), one of the most striking recordings in the Lummis Collection, humorously extols the fame of Morelia's pests. As with many of the songs in the collection, "Las pulgas de Morelia" traveled as far north as California from the central region of Mexico. Madame [Frances Erskine] Calderón de la Barca, the principal chronicler of Mexican society and customs from the foreign point of view during the 1840s, describes the pestilential scourge of the beautiful city of Morelia (colonial Valladolid), in the state of Michoacán, in her important book *Life in Mexico During a Residence of Two Years in That Country:*

> I ought not to omit, in talking of the natural productions of Valladolid, to mention that it is famous for fleas. We had been alarmed by the miraculous stories related to us of these vivacious animals, and were rejoiced to find ourselves in a house, from which, by dint of extreme care, they are banished. But in the inns and inferior houses they are said to be a perfect pestilence, sometimes literally walking away with a piece of matting upon the floor, and covering the walls in myriads. The nuns, it is said, are or were in the habit of harnessing them to little carriages, and of showing them off by other ingenious devices.[24]

In this humorous song, the contrast between "angelic Morelia" and the image of Morelia's hardy fleas adds a piquant flavor to the music. As with many Mexican popular songs, two opposing ideas are juxtaposed in the same verse, for example, in verse two: angelic Morelia—greatest miseries.

The second largest group of songs recorded for Charles Lummis was done by Adalaida Cordero Kamp. A laundress and seamstress from Ventura, Kamp came from a Californio family that had been in Alta California since at least the 1780s. Adalaida's ancestors, like many other Mexican settlers in Alta California, came from Sinaloa, and from Loreto in Baja California. Her maternal grandfather, Nicolás Higuera, a soldier from 1819 to 1823 at the San Francisco Presidio, and afterwards *alcalde auxiliar* at Sonoma, was the grantee in 1836 of Rancho Entre Napa, the northeast section of which would later become the town of Napa. Adalaida's parents were José Clemente Cordero (1803–ca.1850) and María Josefa Narcisa Higuera (b. 1818).[25] After Cordero's death, Josefa Higuera married Harold Kamp (1824–1899), a Swede who had come to California from New York in March 1847 on the ship *Loo Choo* as a member of Company C of Col. Jonathan D. Stevenson's New York Regiment. After his release from service with Stevenson's Company C in Sonoma, Kamp settled there permanently upon his marriage to Josefa Higuera.



Adalaida Kamp, ca. 1904. *Courtesy Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Neg. P.32434A.*

Adalaida Kamp was one of at least seven children of her mother's two marriages. Adalaida, though probably not ever officially adopted by her stepfather, Harold Kamp, lived in his house until his death in 1899, and she used his patronymic. She and her family resided in Sonoma until 1856, outside the town of Sonoma from 1856 to 1868, in Martínez from 1868 to 1880, and in Ventura after 1880. Harold Kamp practiced the trades of farmer, liquor merchant, and saloon keeper at various times in his life. Adalaida Kamp kept house alongside her mother for her family for many years. Through her maternal relations, she had familial connections with many Californio families. Gen. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo (1807–1890), commander of the San Francisco Presidio, founder of the town of Sonoma, and elder statesman of early California politics, was a personal and family friend.

As with all of the singers recorded by Charles Lummis, Adalaida Kamp was taught her song repertory by family members and friends. Likewise, she passed it on to those closest to her. Music was certainly part of the fabric of her daily life. Like many an early Californian, Adalaida composed *versos* (verses). She improvised some of these *versos* in 1856 for Pablo de

**Figure 1.**

| "Despierta blanca paloma" | "Wake Up, My White Dove" |
|---|---|
| Despierta blanca paloma. | Wake up my white dove. |
| Mira que yo soy constante. | See that I am faithful. |
| Ven al lado de tu amante, | Come to the side of your lover, |
| de su amor a disfrutar. | His love to enjoy. |
| Despierta y oye cantar las aves, | Wake up and listen to the birds sing, |
| y de mi lira los trinos suaves. | And to the soft trills of my lyre. |
| Despierta y oye cantar las aves, | Wake up and listen to the birds sing, |
| y de mi lira los trinos suaves. | And to the soft trills of my lyre. |
| | |
| Qué linda sale la luna, | How beautifully the moon rises, |
| y nos alumbra a los dos. | And bathes us with its light. |
| Dame un besito, paloma, | Give me a little kiss, my dove, |
| en prueba de fino amor. | As proof of our fine love. |
| Sal un momento a tu ventana, | Come for a moment to your window, |
| y goza el fresco de la mañana. | And enjoy the freshness of the morning. |
| Sal un momento a tu ventana, | Come for a moment to your window, |
| y goza el fresco de la mañana. | And enjoy the freshness of the morning. |

**Figure 2.**

| "Las pulgas de Morelia" | "Morelia's Fleas" |
|---|---|
| Las pulgas de Morelia, | The fleas of Morelia, |
| ¿quién las pudiera aguantar? | Who could stand them? |
| Se suben por las piernas | They crawl up one's legs |
| y hacen a uno renegar. | And make one curse. |
| *Estribillo* | *Refrain* |
| *No deje usted de ir* | *Don't fail to go* |
| *a Morelia angelical,* | *To angelic Morelia,* |
| *tras de las grandes miserias* | *Behind the greatest miseries* |
| *el pulguero sin igual.* | *Is a jail without equal.* |
| En el barrio Capuchinas | In the neighborhood of the Capuchins |
| hay pulgonas sí de a bola, | There are so many fleas, |
| cuando pasan las catrinas | That when the dandies pass by |
| sacudiendose la cola. | They tuck in their tails. |
| *Estribillo* | *Refrain* |
| El piojo come y se va. | The louse eats and goes on its way. |
| la chinche cena y se acuesta, | The bedbug dines and goes to sleep. |
| Pero las malditas pulgas | But the cursed fleas |
| ¡ni siquiera duermen siesta! | Never even take a nap! |

la Guerra and General Vallejo while washing clothes in the patio of her family home near Sonoma, creating these lines directly from her own surroundings and experience (fig. 3).[26]

Arthur Farwell met Adalaida Kamp during his visit to El Alisal in 1904 and later described this encounter.

> When I arrived, Doña Adalaida Kamp, of Ventura, was visiting at the Lummis house, and singing, with a voice no longer young, all the old Spanish songs of the region which she remembered. Among the . . . sixty-four [= sixty-five] songs which she sang, was a serenade which had been composed and sung for her—well, one should not say just how many years

**Figure 3.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Por allá a la vuelta<br>tengo mi cuartito<br>con sus dos ventanas<br>y su corralito,<br>su pozo de agua<br>y su cantarito.<br>Y cuando yo quiero<br>riego mi cuartito. | Over there<br>I have my little room<br>With its two windows<br>And its little yard,<br>Its well<br>And its little water jug.<br>And when I feel like it<br>I clean my room. |
| Blancas azucenas<br>para que se diviertan<br>las niñas doncellas;<br>disciplinados claveles<br>para que se diviertan<br>los enamorados,<br>que le hacen sin cuidados. | White lilies<br>[Are given to] the girls<br>So that they can enjoy themselves;<br>Variegated carnations<br>To the lovers<br>To enjoy themselves<br>Without a care. |

before—when she was a young and undoubtedly entrancing señorita. The old Spanish manners survived in this lady.[27]

The sixty-five songs Adalaida Kamp recorded at age sixty-five in June and July 1904 at El Alisal and at her home in Ventura are especially important because many of them originated at least in the Mexican period in California, if not earlier.[28] Adalaida learned many of her songs from family friend José ("Pepe") de la Rosa, who lived with the Kamp family for many years in Martinez and Ventura. While recording for Lummis the songs she had learned from de la Rosa many years earlier, Adalaida Kamp may have had occasion to refer to the songbook given to her by her friend, which he had compiled sometime in the mid-nineteenth century. In the José de la Rosa manuscript are found the texts to almost all of the songs Adalaida recorded onto wax cylinders. While she was too young to have lived during the Spanish colonial period, her mother and friend José de la Rosa lived under the Spanish regime. One of Adalaida's songs, "El gachupín" ("The Spaniard"), could have been taught to her by either her mother or José de la Rosa. "El gachupín" (fig. 4) dates from after Mexico's independence from Spain, and expresses the joy of the Mexican at the removal of the Spanish from Mexico (and Alta California). One wonders if the song still held political or emotional significance for Mexican Americans in California at the end of the nineteenth century. By that time Anglo-American domination had taken the place of Spanish (or Mexican) hegemony over California's Spanish-speaking residents.

The *corrido* (ballad) dealing with contemporary events is one of the most important Mexican folk song styles of this century. While most corridos date from the time of the Mexican revolution of the 1910s to the present day, several nineteenth-century precursors of this genre have been identified by Mexican scholar Vicente T. Mendoza. Songs in ballad form, such as "El sitio de Querétaro" ("The Siege of Querétaro"), "Leonardo Márquez," and "Entrada de Juárez a la ciudad de México" ("The Entry of Juárez into Mexico City"), helped spread knowledge of important Mexican political leaders, events, and military battles among the general Mexican population in the mid-nineteenth century, especially among the non-literate.[29] Many of these corridos were also known in the American Southwest. These often propagandistic ballads supported the positions of conflicting political, social, and military factions.

One particularly cutting song recorded by Adalaida Kamp, "Napoleón y Miramón" (fig. 5), might be considered an early *corrido.* "Napoleón y Miramón," a song from the time of the French intervention in Mexico in the 1860s, knocks down Napoleon III, as well as the counter-liberal military leader Manuel Losada (1828–1873) and President Miguel Miramón (1831–1867). The song has several layers of meaning. Unflattering comparisons are made between historical and literary figures (Charles V of Spain and Cervantes' earthy character Sancho Panza) and ruling monarchs and military figures (Napoleon III and General Miramón). A satirical tone is established by the lines "La manaña está serena/que hayan tiros de cañon" ("The morning is peaceful/For there are canon

**Figure 4.**

| "EL GACHUPÍN" | "THE SPANIARD" |
|---|---|
| Al pie de la sombra | Standing under the shade |
| de un arbol gentil, | Of a sheltering tree, |
| al pie de la sombra | Standing under the shade |
| de un arbol gentil, | Of a sheltering tree, |
| "cómo lamentable," | "How pitiful!" |
| dijo un gachupín. | A Spaniard said. |
| La América libre, | America is free, |
| ¡ay! triste de mí. | Oh, woe is me! |
| | |
| Resuenen cornetas, | Trumpets sound |
| también el violín, | And also the violin, |
| resuenen cornetas, | Trumpets sound |
| también el violín, | And also the violin, |
| porque el despotismo | We've put an end |
| le hemos dado el fin. | To despotism. |
| Ya no nos gobierna | And now no Spaniard |
| ningún gachupín. | Governs us. |

**Figure 5.**

| "NAPOLEÓN Y MIRAMÓN" | "NAPOLEON AND MIRAMÓN" |
|---|---|
| Napoleón nació para rey, | Napoleon was born to be king, |
| para simple Miramón, | Miramón to be a fool, |
| Carlos Quinto para Sancho, | Charles the Fifth for Sancho Panza, |
| Losada para ladrón. | Losada for a thief. |
| | |
| *Huir, huir traídores,* | Flee, flee traitors, |
| *dejar a nuestra nación.* | Leave our nation. |
| *Porque Jalisco es libre* | Because Jalisco is free |
| *proclama constitución.* | She proclaims the constitution. |
| | |
| La mañana está serena | The morning is peaceful |
| que hayan tiros de cañon. | For there are canon shots. |
| Son las tropas liberales | They are the liberal troops |
| del General Logartón. | Of General Logartón. |
| | |
| *Estribillo* | *Refrain* |
| | |
| Miramón subía a los cielos | Miramón went up to heaven |
| a bajar la religión, | To bring down religion. |
| Y le respondió San Pedro: | And Saint Peter answered him: |
| ya bajó mucho, ladrón. | You've already brought down too much, thief. |
| | |
| *Estribillo* | *Refrain* |

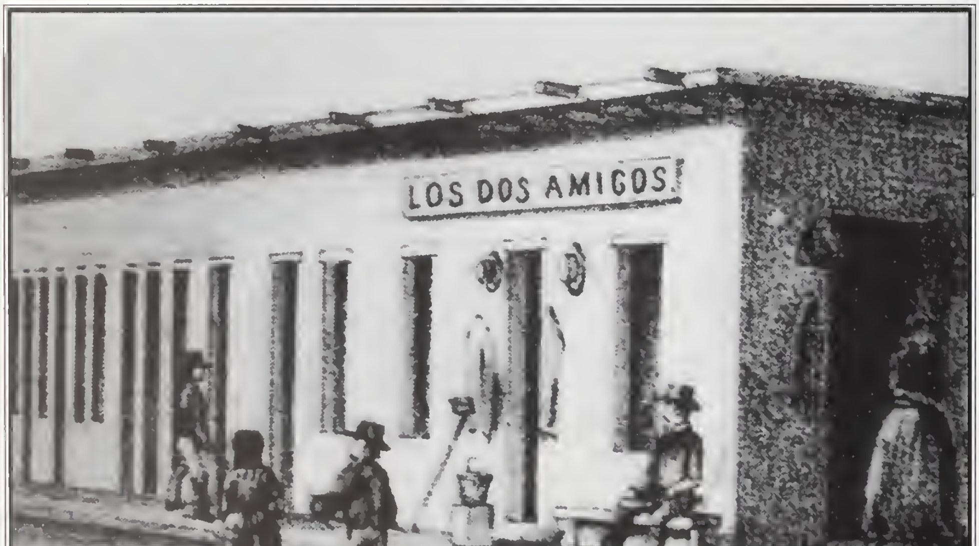
---

shots"). The rhymes of "religión" and "ladrón" (thief) and "Napoleón y Miramón" seem especially telling. This highlights the general Mexican distaste of General Miramón, the French invaders, and Mexican collaborators. The patriotic refrain, "Huir, huir traídores" ("Flee, flee traitors"), locates the song in the state of Jalisco and proclaims its pro-constitutional stance. In the final verse of the song, General Miramón ascends *(subía)* to heaven in order to bring down *(bajar)* religion, but Saint Peter at the Heavenly Gates sends him downstairs instead. Not mentioned in the song is the ill-fated and hapless Austrian Hapsburg Archduke and Mexican Emperor Maximilian, a central player in Mexican, French, and Austrian politics of the 1860s.

Not all of Kamp's songs were of the satirical sort. Many were love songs of a literary nature, some with allusions to classical mythology. Songs with classical references were especially favored by Kamp's friend José de la Rosa. Some of the songs recorded by her were Spanish translations of Italian operatic arias that had undergone melodic transformation in Mexico and Mexican California. The influence of Italian opera on the Mexican *canción* is infrequently one of exact compositional modeling of arias by composers such as Gaetano Donizetti, Vicenzo Bellini, or Giuseppe Verdi. These Italian arias with their wide range, virtuosic vocal demands, and cavatina/cabaletta form (a slow declamatory section followed by a quicker and brilliant section), and often melismatic text settings (with many notes per syllable of text), are musically more sophisticated than the nineteenth-century Mexican *canción*. Rather, it is the influence of the Italian lyrical melodic style on the melodic contour of Mexican song that is significant. Chromatic and melismatic inflections at cadence points (ends of phrases), the use of portamento (a sliding between pitches) in performance, and an expanded melodic range in many of the Mexican *canciones*, also point to the influence of Italian opera on Mexican love songs. This influence can be seen in the following version of Edgar's aria "Tu che a Dio spiegasti l'ali" from Donizetti's opera *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835), known as "El destino de la joven encarcelada" in California (fig. 6). Recorded by Adalaida Kamp in 1904, it must have been taught to her by José de la Rosa, for it appears in his songbook. The text is a close translation of the original Italian, and happily achieves a sonorous approximation of the sound of the original Italian text. The melody, however, though similar to Donizetti's tune, has undergone a transformation through the oral process.

Gold-rush-era Argonauts brought popular and theatrical American songs from Europe, and the East, South, and Midwest; some of these songs were taken up by the Mexican community in California. Because some Anglo-Americans mixed freely with the local Mexican population, and because some English-speakers eagerly acquired Spanish songs from their Mexican neighbors (and vice versa), music often created a bond of friendship between the two groups. Because of these exchanges, Adalaida Kamp's wax cylinder recording of the melody of Stephen Foster's famous song "Gentle Annie," sung in Spanish as "La canción de los placeres" (to a text unrelated to Foster's original), is not unusual. Perhaps this song (fig. 7) was taught to her by José de la Rosa or some family member. It reinforces the continual exchange of musical repertories between ethnic groups in nineteenth-century California.

A third Mexican American, José de la Rosa (1802–1891), is profiled here because of his importance as an early Californio musician and because of the role he played in Adalaida Kamp's musical formation.[30] De la Rosa, a member of the prominent family of



Drawing of the Los Angeles saloon and dance hall Los Dos Amigos, ca. 1857, from "Los Angeles in 1857," reproduced in *California in the Fifties* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1936). *Courtesy of the author.*

**Figure 6.**

"EL DESTINO DE LA JOVEN ENCARCELADA" ("THE FATE OF THE MAIDEN IMPRISONED")

| Original Italian text | Spanish adaptation | English translation of Spanish text |
|---|---|---|
| Tu che a Dio spiegasti l'ali | Tú que al cielo estás volada, | You who to heaven have flown, |
| o bell' alma innamorata, | ¡oh! bella alma enamorada, | Oh! beautiful loving heart, |
| ti rivolgi a me placata, | hacia mí vuelve apiadada | Return to me full of pity |
| teco ascenda il tuo fedel. | y volemos a él los dos. | And we two will fly to God. |
| Ah! se lira dei mortali | Sí, el furor de los mortales | Yes the violence of mortals |
| fece a noi si cruda guerra, | hízonos tan largar guerra. | Made us flee from war so. |
| se divisi fummo in terra | Separándonos en tierra | Though we separate ourselves here on earth |
| ne con giunga il Nume in ciel. | en el cielo únanos Dios. | In heaven God will unite us. |

**Figure 7.**

| "LA CANCIÓN DE LOS PLACERES" | "THE SONG OF HAPPINESS" |
|---|---|
| En pos de mis placeres | In my pursuit of pleasures, |
| presuroso corría, | Time quickly passed, |
| y tranquilo vivía | And I lived peacefully |
| sin saber que era amor. | Without understanding love. |
| *Estribillo* | *Refrain* |
| *¡Más ay de mí! que al verte* | But, oh my! upon seeing you |
| *perdí la dulce calma* | I lost the sweet peace |
| *de que gozaba el alma* | And inner happiness |
| *de un placer interior.* | Which my soul enjoyed. |
| Si acaso algún suspiro | If by chance a sigh |
| del corazón se escape | Escapes from your heart, |
| y a tu pecho pasare, | And passes to your breast, |
| trátalo con amor. | Treat it with love. |
| *Estribillo* | *Refrain* |

printers, came to California with the Híjar-Padrés party of settlers in 1834 from Puebla, Mexico, along with his wife, María Dolores López Cárdenas, and their daughters, María de la Luz and María Estanislada.[31] He was sent to Alta California charged with "the commission from President Santa Ana to do governmental and ecclesiastical printing."

A number of musicians accompanied José de la Rosa and the other members of the Híjar-Padrés Compañia Cosmopolitana on the arduous trip overland and by sea from Mexico. Colonist Agustín Janssens (1817–1894) mentions these musicians in his excellent account of the journey.

> Among our colonists were many who knew how to play various musical instruments, some the violin, some the guitar, others the flute, others wind instruments, etc., and there was no lack of many who sang well, from which it may be surmised that on the journey we had very pleasant concerts for ourselves and for the inhabitants of the places through which we passed.[32]

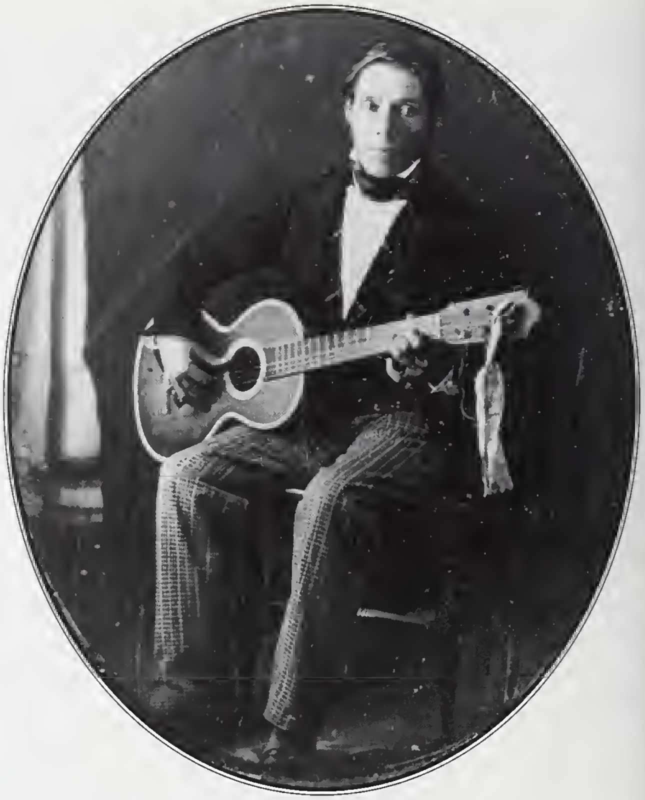
Agustín Zamorano (1798–1842), with whom de la Rosa and his family lived for a time in Monterey, was the owner of the first press in California and is honored as being the first printer in the state.[33] However, historians of Mexican California would do well to investigate José de la Rosa's rival claim to the title of first California printer. In the early 1830s, he printed what were the first, or among the first, California publications, some erroneously credited to Zamorano.[34] De la Rosa printed official proclamations of California's provincial government, poetry, song texts, broadsides, ecclesiastical materials, and ephemeral items for other customers with printing needs, including his friend and patron Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo.[35] The type he used in his printing business may have been in California before his arrival; he may also have brought type with him from his family's print shop in Puebla or from Mexico City.[36] Some of this type was later used to print the *Alta California*, California's first newspaper.

De la Rosa's whereabouts between 1836 and the 1840s remain obscure, though he and his family probably lived in Monterey and Sonoma. His wife and daughter's death dates are unknown, though his letters to his wife mentioning his children indicate that they were alive in 1844.[37] Serving for a time as *alcalde* in Sonoma, de la Rosa became immersed in California politics in June 1846, when he helped obtain the release of Mexican General Vallejo from imprisonment by the fomenters of the California Bear Flag Rebellion. He served as intermediary after Vallejo had been captured and held against his will by the Anglo-American instigators of the short-lived rebellion.[38] De la Rosa later achieved notoriety in the 1850s, when a claim by José and Juan Luco for a grant of the huge tract of land called Los Ulpinos in Solano County was denied by the California Land Commission. It was alleged that the original land grant was made in 1846 to José de la Rosa by Pío Pico, and was purportedly passed to the Luco brothers by de la Rosa. The negative decision by the California Land Commission was later appealed and the case tried in the Circuit Court for the Northern District of California in 1858. This was the first case in which photographs were admitted into evidence in an American courtroom.[39]

Writer Mary Bowman, who met José de la Rosa sometime in 1890 or 1891, later published a biographical sketch about him.

> When I asked "Which do you like best, Don José, the old times or the new?" it was the fanning of a dying ember into glowing flame. Every faculty was aroused and the musical Spanish seemed to roll in volumes from his tongue. "The old times!" he cried. "They were the best!"[40]

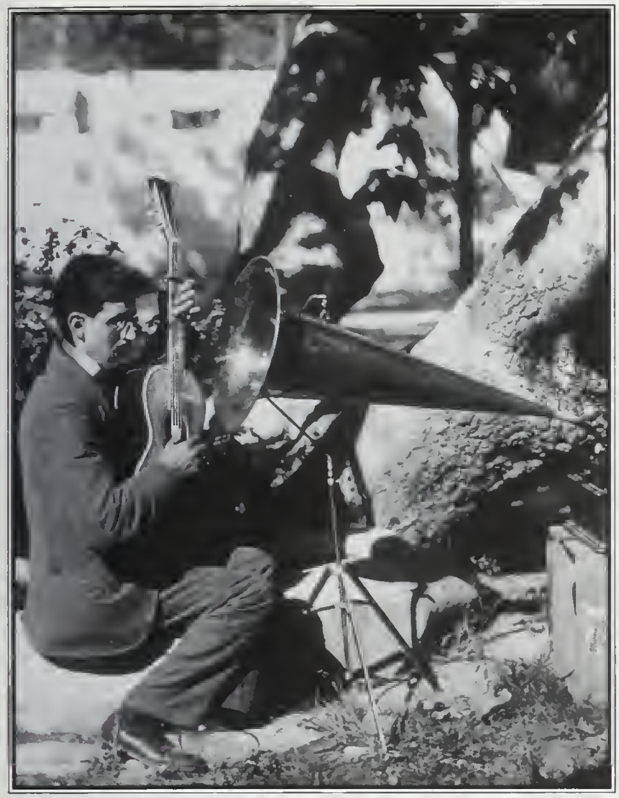
De la Rosa told Bowman that "he had once written his recollections and had given them to a friend, to be published; but they were lost somewhere, and the friend was dead." According to Bowman, José de la Rosa had been a printer, tailor, watchmaker, and bookbinder. There were many in Ventura who after Don Pepe's death fondly remembered the elderly gentleman. Bowman recalled:



José de la Rosa, ca. 1860s.
*Courtesy Ventura County Museum of History and Art.*

> The courtly old gentleman was a familiar figure on the streets of San Buenaventura, under a broad-brimmed sombrero, making his way carefully by the aid of a heavy walking stick. "Buenos días, amigo mío, buenos días," was his cordial salutation to each passer.[41]

José de la Rosa's musical abilities were mentioned prominently in accounts published late in his life because of his pioneer status, personality, musicianship, and advanced age. On June 5, 1890, on the occasion of his supposed one hundredth birthday (he was only eighty-eight at the time), he was honored by the citizens of Ventura with a centennial musical celebration. From these accounts, his songbook, and the songs he taught Adalaida Kamp, it is clear that he valued music very highly and was a talented musician.[42] The José de la Rosa manuscript (at the Southwest Museum) contains, in addition to the lyric *canciones* of great interest (especially since the music of these songs has been preserved in the Adalaida Kamp wax cylinders), several *décimas a lo divino* (sacred décimas—of ten-lines), and a number of José de la Rosa's own poetic compositions, such as *odas*, *octavas*, and *sonetos*.



Rosendo Uruchurtu, ca. 1904. *Courtesy Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Neg. P.33391B.*

According to notes tipped into the de la Rosa Songbook by Charles Lummis from information given to him by Adalaida Kamp, some of the *décimas* copied into the songbook were written by Josefa Higuera de Kamp and Ygnacio Higuera, mother and maternal uncle of Adalaida. This practice of composing, reciting, singing, and writing down semi-erudite lyric and declamatory poetry was widespread throughout Mexican California, the Southwest, and Mexico. The ability to compose verses was a talent enjoyed by many early Californians of all social classes. The songs and poems that have survived in *cancioneros* (and on the Lummis wax cylinders) are but a portion of a larger repertory. José de la Rosa's songbook is the earliest and most important nineteenth-century example of this literary/musical tradition.

Another singer who sang and played for Lummis and his Edison wax cylinder machine in 1904 and 1905 was Rosendo Uruchurtu, who may have been born in Hermosillo, Mexico, circa 1883, and who died in Los Angeles, February 15, 1957.[43] A blind singer, guitarist, accordionist, and violinist, he attended the California Institution for the Deaf and Blind in Berkeley around 1900.[44] It is not known if Rosendo was offered musical instruction at the institution, though it is likely that he was, since blind students were often encouraged toward a musical career if they showed sufficient talent. Indeed, Uruchurtu came from a musical family, and several of his family members were professional musicians. His grandfather, also named Rosendo Uruchurtu (probably born in Hermosillo, Sonora), was probably the first music teacher in Los Angeles to advertise in the local press in the early 1850s.[45] The elder Rosendo was also active later as a music teacher in Los Angeles in the 1870s. The younger Rosendo's paternal grandmother was Luisa Cota de Uruchurtu (1828-1910), a member of the influential Cota family of southern California. Due to the death or absence of Rosendo's parents, she looked after her blind grandson during his youth. It is not known if the younger Rosendo's father was Mateo (b. 1852), Manuel (b. 1855), or Francisco Uruchurtu (ca. 1859–1896). However, his mother was probably Esperanza F. Uruchurtu (ca. 1863–1901).

Several of the members of the Uruchurtu family were prominent in business and artistic concerns in Hermosillo. One such individual was Ricardo Uruchurtu, who at the turn of the century was the business agent for Sonora Governor Ramón Corral (1854–1912), owner of the mill "El Hermosillense."[46] Another member of Rosendo's family, Manuel Uruchurtu (perhaps his uncle) wrote the biography of Governor Corral.[47] A music lover, Mateo Uruchurtu (possibly Rosendo's father or uncle) was the editor of the Hermosillo newspaper the *Eco de Sonora*, was the town's first theater reviewer, and was Hermosillo's *Juez segundo de primera instancia* ("Second Judge of the First Instance").[48] In the 1870s he was involved in a dispute over water rights with the Seri Indians.[49] The Basque name Uruchurtu was by no means uncommon in Hermosillo, nor were other Basque surnames unusual in the Sonoran capital.[50]

The younger Rosendo Uruchurtu invented a one-stringed instrument, which he called the *rosendolín*, made in the shape of a rectangular zither with a resonating chamber, and played with a glass slide, a sort of one-string predecessor to the modern slide guitar. He performed on the rosendolín, guitar, and violin in concerts in Los Angeles and elsewhere, and for a time in the 1910s may have appeared as a vaudeville artist in California and the Midwest. Though he only made about twenty solo recordings for Lummis, he accompanied Manuela García on many of her recordings. From Rosendo's recordings we know that he was a skilled and imaginative guitarist, as well as a fine singer.[51] Lummis considered Rosendo his protégé, and did what he could to further his musical career, including helping to organize a benefit concert for him at Blanchard Hall in Los Angeles, held on June 17, 1904.[52] A few months after this benefit concert, a notice appeared in the Hermosillo newspaper *La evolución* (September 2, 1904) entitled *Rosendo*

*Uruchurtu, Músico mexicano en Los Angeles, Cal.* ("Rosendo Uruchurtu, Mexican Musician in Los Angeles, California").

> His [Lummis's] enthusiastic zeal and interest in promoting Mexican music is confirmed by the merit which he has won for Mexico as a result of the generous and unselfish protection given to the young Mexican violinist, of which mention was made above, and whose name is Rosendo Uruchurtu, a native of Hermosillo, and 21 years of age. About two months ago the "Times" of Los Angeles, California carried the notice of a public concert, given in Los Angeles, before a select audience, during which the young artist showed his mastery of his instrument.

Because of his previous support of the folksong recording project, Lummis approached railroad magnate, bibliophile, and art collector Henry Edwards Huntington about sponsoring the cost of a patent application for Rosendo's rosendolín.[53] Again seeking sponsors, Lummis described Rosendo's musical talents to Tulita Wilcox Miner (Mrs. Randolph Miner), a wealthy society matron of mixed Mexican and Anglo-American background, who also recorded Spanish-language songs for his recording project.[54]

> Rosendo not only plays that poignant music on the wonderful one-string harp of his own invention [rosendolín], and the guitar. He is extremely interesting . . . [when he] . . . yodels and in Spanish songs; and can whistle a duet with himself—which is a remarkable accomplishment—and can play a few bars on the violin—and then drop that and continue the bow across the bridge of his nose without appreciable difference in tone.[55]

The only extant letter from Rosendo,written in March 1908 in response to Lummis's entreaty for him to return home to Los Angeles from his stay in Chicago, where he was apparently performing as half of a musical vaudeville act in the area, reveals a great deal about his life.[56]

> Chicago, Illinois, March 14, 1908
>
> Estimado compadrito: Perhaps you are right in calling me "vagamundo" [vagabond], but I never regret it: it was predestined that it should happen and here I am; and if it were not for my dear old Grand-Mother [Luisa Cota de Uruchurtu], the only tie that binds me now, I don't believe I would settle in one place for long. I will contradict myself in this point, however, in saying that I don't enjoy hardships, and it might be better for one to be at home after all.

The Mexican song "Las golondrinas de Bécquer"(fig. 8), especially favored in the Southwest, was recorded by Rosendo Uruchurtu for Charles Lummis on three wax cylinders, one for each verse of the poem. The poetry of one of Spain's foremost poets, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836-1870, pseudonym Gustavo Adolfo Domínguez Bastida)—the Bécquer of the song title—has been frequently set to music.[57] The poetry of this song is among the best of the Spanish songs recorded by Lummis, and is among the best of popular Mexican song texts from this period. Just as there are a number of different song genres in the nineteenth-century Mexican song repertory (and in the Lummis Collection)—theatrical songs, semi-erudite love songs, popularly-inspired love songs, historical and contemporary ballads—there are also a number of different poetic types. Without denigrating the type of popular song lyric common in this repertory, which as folk expression has been shaped by oral tradition rather than literary development, it should be pointed out that poetry of a more purposely literary nature was also written and sung by Mexicans and Mexican Americans of all social classes. The immense popularity of erudite romantic poetry such as Bécquer's "Las golondrinas" was and is widespread throughout Spanish-speaking America.

The last of Lummis's musical collaborators profiled here are Rosa (1876–1955) and Luisa Villa (b. 1873), and their mother, Esequia Asevedo de Villa (ca. 1844-1926), who between them recorded about twenty songs for Charles Lummis. Rosa and Luisa's parents, Miguel Villa and Esequia Acevedo, were both early residents of Los Angeles who came to California from the tip of Baja California at the end of the Mexican period, Miguel from Mulegé and Esequia from Loreto. First a miner in the northern California mines during the Gold Rush, along with his brother Tomás Villa, Miguel was later a butcher in Los Angeles (among other occupations).[58] As a measure of his social status, *La crónica* of May 31, 1873, noted the opening of his new butcher shop in Los Angeles.[59] Miguel Villa became a prosperous tradesman; he was followed in his trade by his son Ernesto (b. 1874), with whom he operated the butcher shop M. Villa and Son in the 1890s. His son Noé (1878–1965), practiced various occupations throughout his life, including those of horseshoer, blacksmith, and professional singer. Noé Villa sang in the first tenor section of the San Francisco Opera Chorus between 1930 and 1932 (and possibly earlier).[60]

However, the most prominent member of the Villa family was Rosa and Luisa's brother Hernando Gonzalo Villa (1881–1952), who also sang Mexican and Mexican-Californian folksongs, but not for Lummis's wax cylinder machine. Hernando Villa was an artist well known in California and the Southwest for using Mexican and Indian themes in his canvasses. His most famous painting, that of an Indian chief, was used as an advertising poster by the Santa Fe Railroad.[61] His works reflected a pride in his Mexican heritage, and often portrayed romantic themes from California's

**Figure 8.**

"Las golondrinas de Bécquer"

Volverán las oscuras golondrinas
en sus balcones sus nidos a colgar.
Y otra vez con el ala a sus cristales,
jugando llamarán.
Pero aquellas que el vuelo refrenaban
tu hermosura y mi dicha a contemplar,
¡ay! aquellas que aprendieron nuestros nombres,
¡ay! aquellas no volverán.

Volverán las tupidas madreselvas
de tu jardín las tapias a escalar.
Y otra vez a la tarde, aun mas hermosas,
sus flores abrirán.
Pero aquellas cuajadas del rocío,
cuyas gotas mirabamos temblar,
y caer como lágrimas del día,
esas, bien mío, esas no volverán.

Volverán del amor a tus oídos
las palabras ardientes a sonar.
Tu corazón de su profundo sueño
tal vez despertará.
Pero mudo, y absorto, y de rodillas,
como se adora a Dios ante su altar,
como yo te he querido, desengáñate,
así, bien mío, no te querrán.

"'The Swallows' by Bécquer"

The dusky swallows will return
To your balcony to hang their nests.
And yet again with their wings at your windows
They will playfully call to you.
But those who were stopped in their flight
To contemplate your beauty and my happiness,
Ah! Those who learned our names,
Ah! Those, [my love], they will not return.

The dense honeysuckle will return again
To scale the walls of your garden.
And again at dusk, even more beautiful,
Its flowers will open.
But those covered in dew,
Whose dew drops we saw shake
And fall as tears of the day,
Those, my love, they will not return.

The burning words of love will return
To ring in your ears.
Your heart from its deep sleep
Perhaps will awaken.
But mute, engrossed, and kneeling,
As you worship God in front of his altar,
As I have loved you, don't fool yourself,
So, my love, they will not love you.

early-nineteenth-century pastoral existence. Villa taught art for many years at local art schools, and was an artistic advisor for the reconstruction of Mission Santa Barbara after the earthquake of 1925. He also organized concerts of Mexican folk music in Los Angeles in the 1920s.

The Villa family (like Manuela García's family) was well known in the Mexican American community in Los Angeles. That their name was mentioned from time to time in the local Spanish-language newspapers is evidence of a certain degree of prominence. On October 12, 1892, a "Gran Serenata al Cónsul de México" ("A Grand Serenade in Honor of the Mexican Consul") was held in Los Angeles, honoring consul J. Díaz Prieto. Leading the festivities was the Band of the 24th Mexican Battalion from the state of Sonora, directed by Lieutenant Antonio Cuenca, which performed a selection of waltzes, operatic arrangements, and Mexican popular music. In attendance were the Miguel Villa and Ygnacio García families, Professor Miguel S. Arévalo, Los Angeles Mayor H. T. Hazard, the piano teachers Misses E. H. Scarborough and Mary Mansfield, as well as many French, Anglo-American, and Jewish families.

Rosa Villa was listed for several years in Los Angeles city directories as a music teacher, probably giving lessons on the guitar and mandolin. Rosa and Luisa probably kept house for their parents until their deaths, and thereafter for their brothers, as most of the Villa family lived together for many years under one roof at 1018 East Ninth Street. When Rosa married barber José Pemán, he too lived in the family home. They were evidently close friends of Rosendo Uruchurtu and helped look after him when the blind musician stayed with his grandmother in Los Angeles. Both Rosa and Luisa were excellent musicians who sang Mexican music in the popular duet style (in parallel harmonies of major thirds or sixths) to their own guitar and mandolin accompaniment. They were also accomplished solo instrumentalists. In later years, Rosa and Luisa performed as part of the "A la California" Club at the yearly Fiesta held at the Southwest Museum, along with Rosendo Uruchurtu, Gabriel Ruíz (a well-known local Mexican-American musician), the Ruíz California Dancers, and Eugenio Plummer.[62] While neither Rosa nor Luisa Villa earned their living as professional performing musicians, music was an extremely important and regular part of their

The Villa family, Los Angeles, ca. 1900. Seated in the center are Miguel Villa and Esequia Asevedo de Villa; their son Hernando Villa stands behind them. Also pictured: Luisa, Rosa, Ernesto, and Noé Villa. *Courtesy Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Hernando G. Villa Collection.*

lives. This same pattern can be seen in the lives of all of Charles Lummis's informants. While valuing music highly, and acting as bearers of the Mexican musical tradition, Rosa and Luisa Villa, and others like them, generally did not perform in public for remuneration.

The lyric *canción Guarda esta flor* ("Keep This Flower") (fig. 9), recorded by the Villa sisters, was known throughout Mexico and California at the time of their recording. With its extended intervalic range of twelve notes, its thirty-two-measure phrase structure (four sections: A B C A′), tonal shift from the minor key to the major key back to minor, and its use of the intervals of parallel thirds and sixths, it lies in between the composed and folk styles common in late-nineteenth-century Mexico.[63] This use of melodic parallelism in both folk and composed styles has been interwoven throughout the Mexican song repertory since at least the nineteenth century. Its use continues today.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF PROFESSIONAL THEATER AND OTHER PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS

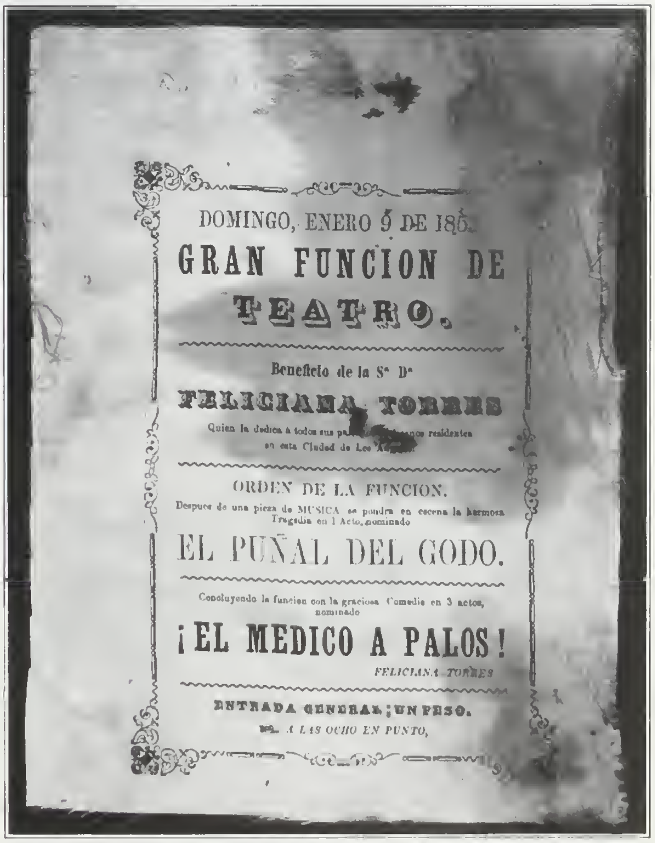
During the Spanish and Mexican periods, amateur theatricals of sacred and non-religious plays with music were held in military garrisons in the open air, in converted *salas* in the garrison precincts, and possibly in the chapels attached to the presidios. Since Spanish and Mexican military companies employed musicians and maintained inventories of musical instruments, music probably accompanied these theatrical events in some way. While these amateur performances were not usually documented, verification of an early California theatrical tradition with a presidial connection can be found in a manuscript playscript at the Bancroft Library. The play *Astucias por heredar un sobrino a su tío* ("The Slyness of a Nephew Inheriting from His Uncle"), written by Fernando de Reygados and later copied by General Guadalupe Mariano Vallejo, was probably performed in California sometime before 1821 by the Catalonian militia volunteers, at either the Monterey or the San Francisco presidio.

After California statehood in 1850, the professional theater—almost always accompanied by some sort of music—developed rapidly in the north (especially in San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, and in the gold-rush mining camps and towns) and somewhat more slowly in the more sparsely populated south. However, before 1850, theatrical events with music certainly had been given on a regular basis. Historians often cite the building erected by Jack Swan in Monterey as the place where plays were first performed in California in 1847, and thus label it the "first theater" in the state.[64] However, they mistakenly overlook the custom in Mexico and the Hispanic Southwest of regular amateur musical and theatrical performances in churches, dance halls, village and town meeting rooms, cantinas, saloons, and private houses. Amateur performers put on plays and collected a modest entrance fee in the 1840s in Monterey at the home of Rafael González, and in Los Angeles in the home of Antonio Coronel. Sánchez Hall, built in the 1840s near the Los Angeles Plaza, was one of the first buildings regularly given over to theater.[65] According to J. M. Guinn:

> [Sánchez Hall is] thus described in the diary of an old pioneer writing in 1842. "We arrived in the Pueblo at 8 p.m. We had a couple of dances. There was one in Sanchez Hall, and the other in Stearns. Sanchez Hall is painted out in the most comical style with priests, bishops, saints, horses and other animals—the effect is really astonishing."[66]

On New Year's eve 1842, Manuel Micheltorena took the oath of office as Mexican governor of California in Sánchez Hall; the ceremony was followed by a *baile* in honor of his inauguration. Another social hall, club house, and saloon, called *Los amigos del país* ("The Friends of the Country"), opened in 1844 near the Los Angeles Plaza and was also another early dramatic and musical venue. According to J. M. Guinn:

> [It was built] for the leading citizens of the town, both native and foreign born. A lot 100 varas square, free of taxes, was granted the society by the Ayuntamiento. An adobe building was erected and fitted with a dance hall, reading room, and card tables. The hall was dedicated by a grand ball and a number of social entertainments were held. The Amigos for a time enjoyed their social privileges, and the society flourished. But it was a time of revolutions and political disturbances. In time, social amenities gave place to political animosities. Although the members were "Friends of the Country," they became enemies to one another. The society ran in debt. Its membership fell off. The building was finally put up at a lottery. Andres Pico drew the lucky number. The Amigos del Pais disbanded. Their sala in course of time became a vinateria [saloon] and afterwards it was "Los Dos



DOMINGO, ENERO 9 DE 185

GRAN FUNCION DE TEATRO.

Beneficio de la Sª Dª

FELICIANA TORRES

Quien la dedica á todos sus pa[illegible] residentes en esta Ciudad de Los [illegible]

ORDEN DE LA FUNCION.

Despues de una pieza de MUSICA se pondra en escena la hermosa Tragedia en 1 Acto, nominado

EL PUÑAL DEL GODO.

Concluyendo la funcion con la graciosa Comedia en 3 actos, nominado

¡EL MEDICO A PALOS!

FELICIANA TORRES

ENTRADA GENERAL; UN PESO.

A LAS OCHO EN PUNTO,

Spanish language advertisement of a "grand theater performance" on January 9, 1853. *Courtesy Huntington Library, RB 208399.*

**Figure 9.**

| "GUARDA ESTA FLOR" | "KEEP THIS FLOWER" |
|---|---|
| Guarda esta flor, y piensa que es mi vida. | Keep this flower, and think of it as my life. |
| Pues te adoro con amor ardiente. | For I love you with a burning passion. |
| Guárdala, sí, y piensa que es mi mente. | Keep it, yes, and believe that it is my spirit. |
| No cabe nadie, no cabe nadie | There isn't anyone, there isn't anyone, |
| pues te adoro a tí. | Whom I adore as you. |
| | |
| Que no te puedo amar, eso es mentira. | That I can't love you, this is a lie. |
| Tu bella imagen, grabada en mi memoria. | Your beautiful image [is] etched in my memory. |
| Y sin tu amor no quiero ni la gloria, | And without your love I do not even want happiness. |
| quiero la muerte, si te pierdo a tí. | I wish for death if I lose you. |

> Amigos," the two friends—the friend behind the bar and the one in front of it.[67]

Rancher José Arnaz remembered that Los Amigos del País saloon/hall employed a harpist to provide musical entertainment, and that besides Andrés Pico, other members of the club included wealthy Càlifornios and Anglo-Americans such as Abel Stearns, Antonio Coronel, Eulogio de Celis, Juan Bandini, and Agustín Olvera, prominent landowners who all had some connection with musical life in California.[68]

Performances directed by Rafael Guerrero were held at the private home of José Vicente Guerrero in Los Angeles in 1852 and 1853. Part One of José Zorrilla's ever-popular play *Don Juan Tenorio* was given by Guerrero's theatrical troupe in Los Angeles in November 1852, after a "selected piece of music" was performed. In Monterey, shopkeeper José Abrego may have allowed the hall attached to his store, which was sometimes also used for billiards, to be made over into a theater in October of 1847.[69]

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the musical life of the Spanish-speaking residents of California changed dramatically as public theaters and halls constructed throughout the state offered dramatic and musical productions in Spanish, English, French, Italian, and German. Though many more plays, concerts, recitals, operas, and operettas were given in San Francisco than in Los Angeles in the nineteenth century, Los Angeles, because of its larger Hispanic population, enjoyed a greater amount of public activity specifically designed for Hispanic audiences.[70] Because of economic factors and a certain amount of discrimination against the Spanish-speaking population, San Francisco's theater managers and owners did not regularly support a strong Spanish-language theatrical and musical establishment. Nevertheless, musical and theatrical events designed for Spanish-speaking audiences were also given in San Francisco.

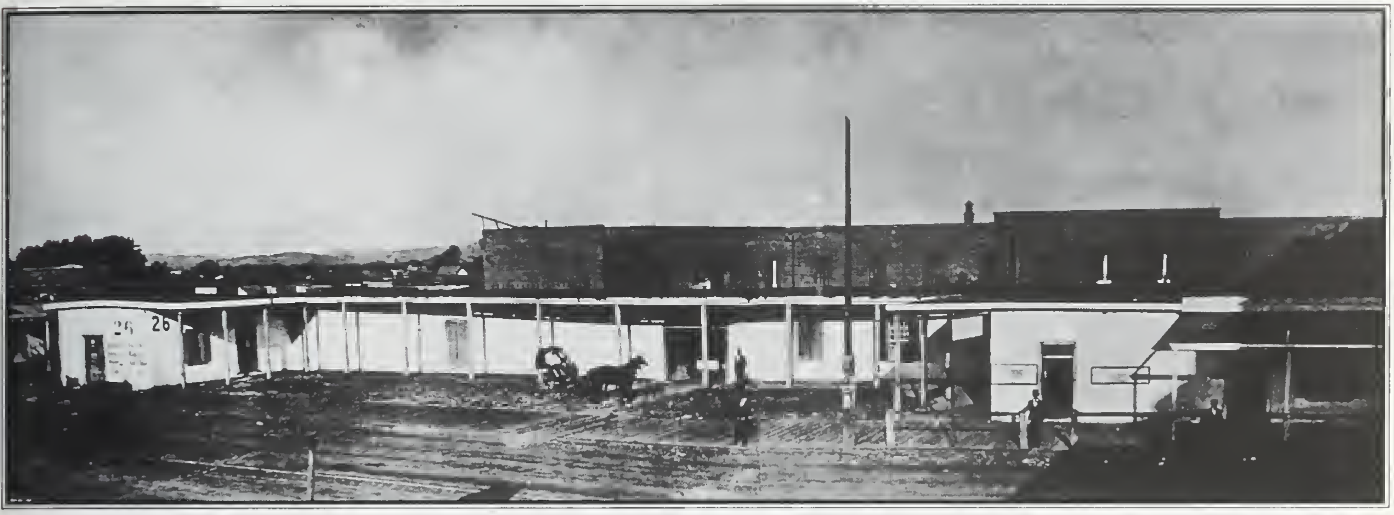
Local Hispanic musicians, as well as Mexican and Latin American touring groups and soloists, were sometimes advertised by California impresarios and promoters as "Spanish" in order to help diffuse the general prejudice of the Anglo-American majority against the Mexican/Hispanic minority. In contrast, German speakers in San Francisco faced no such necessity to cloud their ethnic origins when promoting musical and theatrical events both in and outside the German community. In fact, they proudly trumpeted their Teutonic loyalties in the names of their musical and dramatic organizations. Because of the strength of their own initiative, financial clout, and strong interest in promoting and maintaining their home culture in their adopted country, German speakers enjoyed a long history of regular theatrical and musical performances in their native language.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mexican and Spanish theatrical and musical companies made stops along a tour circuit extending throughout northern Mexico and the U.S. Southwest. Connected by stagecoach, railroad, and steamship, this tour circuit included a number of California cities, as well as Tucson, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Las Vegas, San Antonio and the border towns, and locations in the northern Mexican states of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Tamaulipas, Durango, and Nuevo León, and the territory of Baja California.

Depending on the price of admission and the social status they conveyed and represented, Italian opera, French grand opera and operetta, Spanish and Mexican *zarzuela* (operetta), and vocal and instrumental concerts generally attracted an audience primarily made up of the middle or merchant class and the wealthy or socially prominent landowning Mexican American elite. However, in the nineteenth century, Italian opera was not always the exclusive domain of the middle and elite classes, for it often attracted a general cross section of society, especially when performed at popular prices. The Mexican forms of musical comedy, vaudeville, circus, and variety acts such as the *maromas* (tight rope acts), *tandas* (musical comedies), and *carpas* (tent shows) particularly attracted working-class Mexicans because of the low cost of admission and the popular-style entertainment on offer.

Beginning in the 1850s, the publication of Spanish-language or bilingual newspapers in the Southwest, such as *El clamor público*, *Los Angeles Star/La estrella de Los Angeles*, and *La crónica* in Los Angeles, helped spread news of local, national, and international events among the literate sector of Mexican American society, and encouraged public attendance at theatrical and musical events. These newspapers contain the most complete record (and often the only documentation) available of musical, theatrical, and cultural life among Hispanic Californians in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The reviews and announcements of musical and dramatic events published in the Spanish- and English-language presses reveal that while Los Angeles was somewhat of a sleepy town in terms of artistic undertakings until the boom of the 1880s, it was no cultural backwater. Stearns's Hall, one of the first commercial theaters in Los Angeles, was at first part of the adobe residence of Don Abel Stearns known as "El Palacio" (the site of which is now located under the Hollywood Freeway). Before Stearns opened his hall, portions of his house had frequently been used for *bailes*. In 1858, the Arcadia Business Block was erected by Stearns on Los Angeles Street, fronting onto the rear of his residence. According to J. M. Guinn,



Abel Stearns's residence and El Palacio theater, ca. 1860s. *Courtesy Huntington Library, Pierce Photograph Collection, #01324.*

"Stearns's Hall in the second story of this block, was for many years the principal assembly room for social [theatrical and musical] and political gatherings."[71] Like many early prominent Anglo-American residents in Mexican California, Stearns was married to an *hija del país*. One of the richest men in southern California, he married the much younger Arcadia Bandini (daughter of Peruvian-born Juan Bandini), from whose family he obtained much of his property. Arcadia Bandini de Stearns was as beautiful in appearance as he was ugly (he uncharitably was called "cara de caballo" or "horse-face").[72] The California Minstrels, whose performances at Stearns's Hall in July 1859 were noted in both Spanish- and English-language local newspapers, was the first important group to perform there. The Isidoro Máiquez Company from Mexico appeared at Stearns's Hall soon after the California Minstrels in 1859.[73] The building apparently functioned as a theater and hall until at least 1875; it was replaced in 1878 by the Baker Block, a street-long row of commercial buildings built by Colonel R. S. Baker, Arcadia Bandini's second husband.

In the fall of 1859, a few months after the opening of Stearns's Hall, Los Angeles merchant John Temple (in connection with the Los Angeles City Council) erected a building designed to serve as a courthouse, theater, and city market at a reported cost of about $35,000.[74] The Los Angeles newspaper *Southern Vineyard* of October 21, 1859, noted the "Market House and City Hall constructed by [the] city council and J. Temple. [On the] second story [is a] capacious hall." The Gerardo López del Castillo Company from Mexico City performed one act from Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Attila* there in November 1865.[75] The Isidoro Máiquez troupe also appeared there. Both companies were remembered many years later by local historian H. D. Barrows:

> The upper story of the court house Mr. Temple converted into a theater. Here various dramatic companies, both English and Spanish, played each winter. Among those whom I remember were the Sparks, the Máiquez and [López del] Castillo troupes, the latter companies giving in Spanish, dramas, light operas, etc. The beautiful Pepita [Pérez] of the Máiquez troupe used to charm large audiences as the prima donna, by her arch ways and fine singing and acting in one particular opera, which I recall to mind, entitled, *La viuda y el sacristán* ("The Widow and the Sexton"). Each company usually remained here and played at intervals during an entire season.[76]

The Temple Theater was for many years the site of musical and dramatic performances. When and why its theatrical function ceased is unknown. It too, like many a Los Angeles landmark, was razed in the cause of progress, replaced in 1892 by the Bullard Block.

The earliest commercial theater built in Los Angeles to host Spanish- and English-language performances that still stands is the Teatro Merced, or Merced Theater.[77] It was located in the plaza area directly next to the Pico House (also a performance venue for concerts). The Pico House was erected by Pío Pico (1801–1894), the last Mexican governor of California. The Merced Theater was erected in 1870 by William Abbott and was named after his wife Mercedes García. Many performers and companies appeared there in the 1870s, including a troupe headed by Mexican actor Ángel Mollá, with his wife, actress and singer Laura Morales de Mollá. The Mollá Company toured frequently throughout California, appearing also in Tucson and Santa Fe, and in Her-

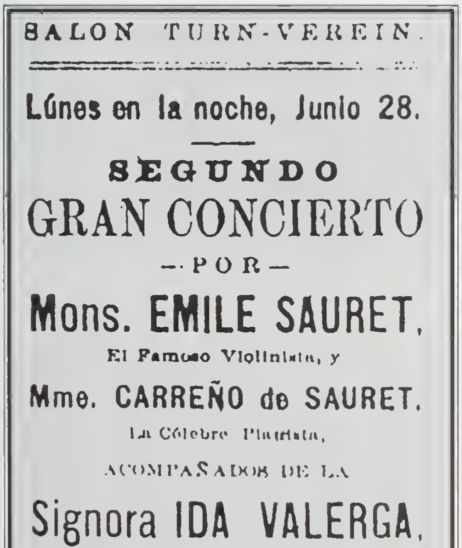
Los Angeles County Courthouse, site of the Temple Theater, ca. 1860s. *Courtesy Huntington Library, Pierce Photograph Collection, #01368.*

mosillo and Ures, Sonora, and elsewhere in Mexico, in the 1870s and 1880s.[78] In frequent use during its first few years of existence, the Merced Theater, probably because of competition from larger, better-equipped theaters, fell into decline several years after its establishment. Although by 1878 regular theatrical events and concerts were no longer offered there, until then the Merced Theater was the principal home to traveling Mexican troupes and a place where important Mexican American musicians, such as guitarists Manuel Y. Ferrer and Miguel S. Arévalo, performed.

Another Los Angeles theater where musical events were presented for Spanish-speakers was the German Turnverein Hall. First in operation at 231 South Spring Street between 1871 and 1893 (and later at other locations between 1893 and at least 1944), it was built by the Turnverein, the German gymnastic and social organization.[79] During its early years Turnverein Hall was an alternate venue for Mexican American performers. The sole criteria to determine which companies, individuals, organizations, or groups—ethnic or otherwise—could lease Turnverein Hall for performances and functions seems to have been financial: those who could pay the rent could hire the hall. Before the 1880s this seems to have been the usual practice with theater and hall owners and managers. After the southern California land boom of the 1880s and the accompanying huge growth in the English-speaking population in Los Angeles and the region, and the construction and establishment of large theaters and halls as regular commercial concerns, the most important performance venues increasingly catered to English-speaking residents, to the general exclusion of Mexican American interests.

Touring companies regularly performed for southern California audiences. German-born and San Francisco-based opera diva Inez Fabbri, for many years an important fixture of that city's operatic and concert life, headed a touring company bearing her name. Performing several times in southern California in the 1870s, the Fabbri troupe staged individual scenes or complete works from the standard German, French, and Italian operatic repertory; however, vocal works in Spanish sometimes were included as well. The Arcaraz Grand Spanish Opera Company (from Mexico City) toured throughout southern California in 1892 performing operetta, opera, and zarzuela.[80] Contemporary reports do not clarify whether these touring companies traveled with their own complete orchestras, or if they toured with a small contingent of players to which were added instrumentalists from the area, or indeed if they hired all their instrumentalists on the spot. Either of the first two possibilities seems likeliest. Contemporary reports also do not reveal the extent to which English-speaking music-lovers attended these events designed for a Spanish-speaking audience. Anglo-American attendance patterns probably varied according to the social tone of the event and the performance venue rather than the language of the opera, operetta, or musical event.

Around the time of the land boom of the 1880s, Sonoratown, the area adjacent to the Los Angeles Plaza—then predominantly Mexican and now the site of modern-day Chinatown—was a favored locale for public dance halls, hotels, saloons, cantinas, and restaurants that provided musical entertainment for less affluent Mexicans. Old Town San Diego, and the *pueblo viejo* area of Santa Barbara, centered around the still-extant Casa de la Guerra, served the same type of clientele. Cantinas and other places at which the proprietor depended on working-class Mexicans for economic survival provided employment to a number of Hispanic musicians, primarily fiddlers, guitarists, harpists, and pianists. The Los Angeles newspaper *La crónica* humorously compared Los Angeles with San Diego on May 4, 1872. "San Diego possesses a public lecture hall, Los Angeles none; but on the other hand, we have many cantinas and taverns, which indicate a higher grade of civilization."



SALON TURN-VEREIN.

Lúnes en la noche, Junio 28.

SEGUNDO
GRAN CONCIERTO
—POR—
Mons. EMILE SAURET,
El Famoso Violinista, y
Mme. CARREÑO de SAURET,
La Célebre Pianista,
ACOMPAÑADOS DE LA
Signora IDA VALERGA,
Prima Donna Soprano, y
MR. NATHANIEL COHEN,
Excelente Tenor,

CAMBIO entero de PROGRAMA,
Incluyendo muchas selecciones musicales

**EL Sr. AREVALO**
Ha accedido acompañar á la compañía y tocará un
**Solo en la Guitarra.**

Además la Señorita VALERGA cantará la preciosa "Serenata del Angel," de Braga, acompañada del Sr. Arévalo en la guitarra; Mr. Sauret en el violin y la Sra. Carreño en el piano.

PRECIOS DE ENTRADA........................$1 00

Asientos reservados, 50 centavos extra.

Se pueden obtener billetes de entrada y reservar asientos en la popular librería de Louis Lewin, Temple Block, calle Spring,

EL LUNES—DIA DEL CONCIERTO.

Concert advertisement, Turnverein Hall, from *La crónica*, June 28, 1875. *Courtesy of the author.*

Southern Californians of all ethnic backgrounds enjoyed open-air musical performances of many types. Band stands, city streets, German beer gardens and gymnastic halls, pleasure gardens (such as Washington Gardens in Los Angeles), agricultural fairs, racetracks, religious processions, outdoor dances, patriotic celebrations and parades, picnic grounds, arenas for bull and cock fights, and the open countryside itself all provided locations for musical performances. The generally favorable climate permitted outdoor events almost on a year-round basis, to the amazement and delight of visiting and transplanted winter-weary midwesterners and easterners. Mexican Americans took their place beside other Californians and the seasonal visitors at many of these performances. However, they were excluded from some events because of their ethnicity.

Traveling American and Mexican circus troupes, such as Lee's Circus and the Circo Mexicano, visited Los Angeles as early as 1853, performing either in the open air or in tents brought along for the occasion.[81] To enhance their wire acts, magic tricks, gymnastics, daredevil horse rides, and clown acts, music of a common-denominator type was the rule. Promoters of these events advertised performances through word of mouth, or through the strategic placing of placards or flysheets throughout the city. Frequently, bands and other musical groups gave a free sample of their musical wares on the day of the performance, or on the evening of the event itself in front of the tent, theater, or hall, as a way to entice the public.

With the exception of the Teatro Alarcón, which opened on April 7, 1878, in rooms in the Terán Building on Upper Main Street, other nineteenth-century theaters in Los Angeles catering chiefly to Spanish-speakers are thus far unknown. It is possible that other Spanish-language theaters and halls were not in operation in Los Angeles before 1900. A musical or theatrical performance venue intended specifically for local Hispanic residents was not truly established on a long-lived and commercially viable basis until the beginning of the twentieth century in Los Angeles. Successive waves of new immigration from Mexico, especially during the Mexican Revolution of the 1910s, made it increasingly possible for the Hispanic community in Los Angeles in the early twentieth century to patronize and support local Spanish-language

Mexican Quarter, Sonor town, Los Angeles, from *Views of Los Angeles County. Courtesy Huntin ton Library.*

theaters on a long-term basis and thus ensure a continuous supply of musical and theatrical entertainment. Indeed, the period between the 1910s and 1940s saw the highpoint of Spanish-language theatrical activity in Los Angeles, with musical and theatrical performances offered regularly to the growing Hispanic population.

### CONCERT MUSIC IN CALIFORNIA: MUSIC IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Foreign-born musicians, some of them with Spanish surnames, flocked to the state, especially to San Francisco, soon after the American annexation. Guitarists such as Vicente Quevedo, Luis Toribio Romero, Miguel S. Arévalo, and Manuel Y. Ferrer, and pianists such as J. M. Paredes, Santiago Arrillaga, and Miguel Espinosa represented Latin American and Spanish musical culture in California after the Gold Rush. Spanish-speaking touring musical virtuosi were also active in California from at least the 1870s. In 1875, the internationally-recognized Venezuelan pianist and composer Teresa Carreño (1853–1917) and her husband, Belgian violinist Émile Sauret (1852–1920), toured throughout California and also appeared in the silver mining towns in Nevada.[82] For their performances at Turnverein Hall in Los Angeles in 1875, Carreño and Sauret engaged local Mexican guitarist Miguel S. Arévalo and San Francisco opera singer Ida Valerga to perform with them. The Guatemalan-born and Parisian-trained pianist and composer Miguel Espinosa made a considerable impact on the local Los Angeles musical scene in 1877 and 1878, and in San Francisco in the late 1870s.[83] Santiago Arrillaga, a Spanish-born pianist and founder of the Arrillaga Musical College, and a longtime resident of the San Francisco Bay area, was a mainstay of San Francisco's mainstream concert life at the end of the nineteenth century.[84]

Some touring European musicians, such as German pianist Albert Friedenthal (1862–1921), immersed themselves in local Mexican music and culture. Like the famous virtuoso pianist-composers Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829–1869) and Henri Herz (1803-1888) before him (both of whom also visited San Francisco), Friedenthal integrated Latin American musical elements in his performances and publications. He had extensive experience with Mexican music in California, which he encountered first hand during his many peregrinations around the state. Friedenthal offered piano recitals in 1882 (San Francisco) and in 1884 (San Diego, Riverside, Pomona, Anaheim, Los Angeles) to critical acclaim for Anglo, Mexican American, and European mixed audiences. He also toured widely throughout Central and South America, giving piano recitals there from 1882 to 1885, 1887 to 1890, and again in 1901. After his return to Europe from his American travels, he published two books devoted to Latin American fine art, salon, dance, popular, and folk music. His *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern, Tänzen, und Charakterstücken* (1911), a large and important collection of music from Mexican California, Mexico, and Latin America, includes sheet music published by the Mexican firms Wagner y Levien and Nagel, as well as transcriptions by Friedenthal taken from live performances in Mexico and California.[85] In his second book, *Musik, Tanz und Dichtung beiden Kreolen Amerika* (1913), Friedenthal further elaborated on his musical experiences throughout California and Latin America. Friedenthal visited Los Angeles in 1884 and heard music played and sung in Spanish in all quarters of Sonoratown, which moved him to marvel at the beauty of the voices and songs he heard.[86] He also noted the fact that many Mexican Americans were musicians. In *Musik, Tanz und dichtung beiden Kreolen Amerikas*, Friedenthal wrote:

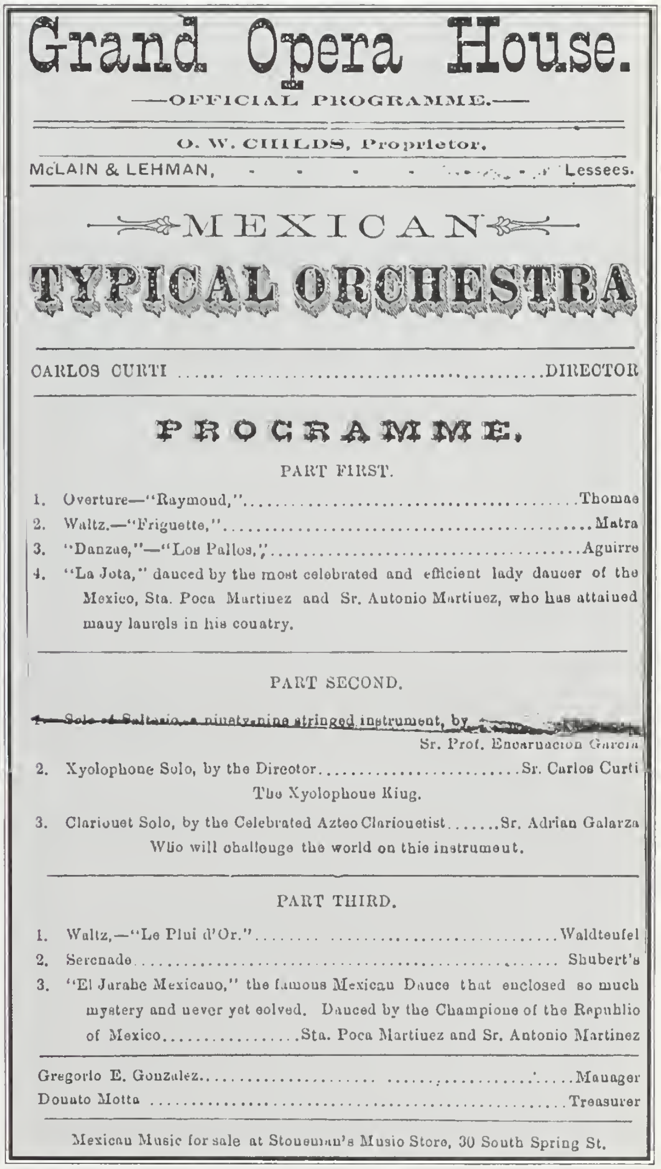
> Almost at any hour you could hear music. In the evening in front of every wide-opened door a dusky young man was sitting with a guitar in his hands and singing about love to a black-haired fiery-eyed girl lingering inside the house . . . Here . . . one listened with delight to the strange songs, folk songs in the Spanish language, which were often performed by magnificent voices to the sonorous sounds of the guitar. How wonderful were those beautiful melodies! How charming the change from the major to minor key! How strange the rhythms![87]

Because of the interest he took in Latin American music, and his important books on the topic, Friedenthal should be considered one of the first fieldworkers in the area of Mexican and Latin American music.

The musical careers of Manuel Y. Ferrer and Miguel S. Arévalo, the premier Mexican American guitarist-composers in nineteenth-century California, demonstrate that local Hispanic musicians continued to represent Mexican cultural traditions at a time when Anglo-American and European musicians dominated the formal public performance scene in the state. Though born in Mexico, both men lived most of their lives in California, Ferrer in the San Francisco Bay area and Arévalo in Los Angeles. Both men toured throughout the state (Arévalo reportedly also toured the eastern states), and frequently appeared in their home cities performing Mexican, Anglo-American, European-American, and European music for Mexican American and English-speaking audiences. Ferrer and Arévalo were also published composers. They moved easily between the Spanish- and English-speaking communities, often appearing as invited soloists for Mexican and non-Mexican audiences. They both also taught music to pupils of many different social and ethnic backgrounds. Both men had a significant influence on musical life in their respective areas of California.

Manuel Ygnacio Ferrer was reportedly born into a musical family in May 1832, probably in San Antonio, Baja California. He died on June 1, 1904, in Oakland.[88] San Antonio, thirty miles southeast of La Paz, an important mining town established in 1756, remained a principal mining town during and after Ferrer's time there. Its church, built circa 1825, in which Ferrer was surely baptized, was one of the most beautiful in Baja California.

Ferrer came to Alta California from Baja California in or around the year 1850, at about age eighteen, possibly because of the lure of the Gold Rush.[89] Though his earliest experiences in both Lower and Upper California remain obscured, it is known that his debut performance in front of a San Francisco audience took place at the Metropolitan Theater on September 18, 1854. For more than four decades thereafter Ferrer



Grand Opera House.

—OFFICIAL PROGRAMME.—

O. W. CHILDS, Proprietor.

McLAIN & LEHMAN, - - - - Lessees.

MEXICAN

TYPICAL ORCHESTRA

CARLOS CURTI ........................................DIRECTOR

PROGRAMME.

PART FIRST.

1. Overture—"Raymond,"..........................Thomae
2. Waltz.—"Friguette,"..........................Matra
3. "Danzae,"—"Los Pallos,"..........................Aguirre
4. "La Jota," danced by the most celebrated and efficient lady dancer of the Mexico, Sta. Poca Martinez and Sr. Antonio Martinez, who has attained many laurels in his country.

PART SECOND.

~~1. Solo of Saltario, a ninety-nine stringed instrument, by~~ [illegible] Sr. Prof. Encarnacion Garcia
2. Xylophone Solo, by the Director..........................Sr. Carlos Curti
The Xylophone King.
3. Clarionet Solo, by the Celebrated Aztec Clarionetist.......Sr. Adrian Galarza
Who will challenge the world on this instrument.

PART THIRD.

1. Waltz,—"Le Plui d'Or."..........................Waldteufel
2. Serenade..........................Shubert's
3. "El Jarabe Mexicano," the famous Mexican Dance that enclosed so much mystery and never yet solved. Danced by the Champions of the Republic of Mexico................Sta. Poca Martinez and Sr. Antonio Martinez

Gregorio E. Gonzalez..........................Manager
Donato Motta..........................Treasurer

Mexican Music for sale at Stoneman's Music Store, 30 South Spring St.

Concert program, Mexican Typical Orchestra, January 22, 1886. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Coronel Collection.*

took a leading role in concert life in the San Francisco Bay area. He was a member in its early years of the Bohemian Club, the San Francisco artistic and social club that sponsored the yearly High Jinks summer pageant/play with music. He made professional and personal contacts within the club that he maintained for a number of years. His *Alexandrina Mazurka*, published in San Francisco by Matthias Grey, was dedicated to his fellow members of the Bohemian Club.

Manuel Ferrer also taught several generations of guitar and mandolin students in San Francisco, including a number of his own children. His most illustrious pupil, however, was undoubtedly Vahdah (née Ethel Lucretia) Olcott Bickford Revere (1885–1980), an important early concert artist on the guitar in this century and founder in 1923 of the American Guitar Society.[90] Bickford continued to broadcast Ferrer's importance to her own musical development and to the history of the guitar in the United States.

Manuel Ferrer and his wife, Jesusita Zúñiga de Vivar (b. 1840), also a musician, had fifteen children. At least ten of them followed their parents' path into music, among them Jovita (soprano), Eugenia (soprano and pianist), Adela (guitar), Carmelita (mandolin), Amelia (music teacher), Leonora (piano), and Ricardo (violin).[91] Adela, Carmelita, and Ricardo toured the east coast in 1890 and 1891 under the patronage of Phoebe Apperson Hearst, playing for President and Mrs. Harrison at the White House, for Mrs. Hearst's musical salon in Washington, and at the Vanderbilt mansion in New York.[92] The three Ferrers performed several instrumental pieces for President and Mrs. Harrison and their distinguished guests at the first musical soiree held at the White House. Presentations included a string trio arrangement for violin, mandolin, and guitar of the "Bolero" from Giuseppe Verdi's opera *I vespri siciliani* and the *Valse espagnole* by Olivier Metra, as well as an arrangment by Manuel Ferrer for solo guitar of Stephen Foster's song "Old Folks at Home," and a solo violin version of "Ombra mai fu," from George Frederic Handel's opera *Serse* (also known as "Handel's Largo").

Manuel Ferrer's daughter Eugenia Ferrer made at least eighteen disc recordings for recording pioneer Emil Berliner in New York in September 1898 and August 1899, including "La naranjera," Mexican composer's Juventino Rosas's world famous waltz "Sobre las olas," and the song "El Zorzico de Bilbao." Eugenia also recorded her father's song "Los lindos ojos" and an arrangement of "El jaleo de Xeres" for the Berliner Company (probably in her father's arrangement); both songs were sung frequently in California in the 1870s and 1880s.[93] Because of her recordings for Emil Berliner (the inventor of the flat disc recording), Eugenia Ferrer was probably the first Mexican American musician to make recordings.

Manuel Ferrer, renowned instructor, musician, and composer. *Courtesy Ronald Purcell and the International Guitar Research Archive, California State University, Northridge.*

Though Manuel Ferrer spent most of his time in northern California, he also toured throughout the southern part of the state, giving concerts there in 1873 and possibly later. Ferrer's large collection of guitar arrangements and original compositions, *Compositions and Arrangements for the Guitar*, first published in San Francisco in 1882 by Matthias Gray (and later reprinted by Ditson in Boston), included works by Ferrer and two other Mexican-Californian composers, Miguel S. Arévalo and Vicente Quevedo.[94] Ferrer was assisted in compiling his collection by Mexican-born poet, pianist, and composer José María Paredes, who provided Spanish texts for some songs (notably "La noche está serena"), and David Nesfield (baritone, composer, pianist, and poet), who translated some foreign-language songs into English for Ferrer. Opera diva Inez Fabbri, singer Anna Elzer (a member of the Fabbri Opera Company), Ferrer himself, and other Mexican musicians such as singer Laura Morales de Mollá, performed these pieces in concert and as musical preludes, entr'actes, and after-pieces during theatrical and operatic productions in California during the 1870s and 1880s.[95] Ferrer's *Compositions and Arrangements for the Guitar* is an important musical collection and is representative of the salon music often heard in middle-class Hispanic and Anglo-American parlors at the turn of the century.

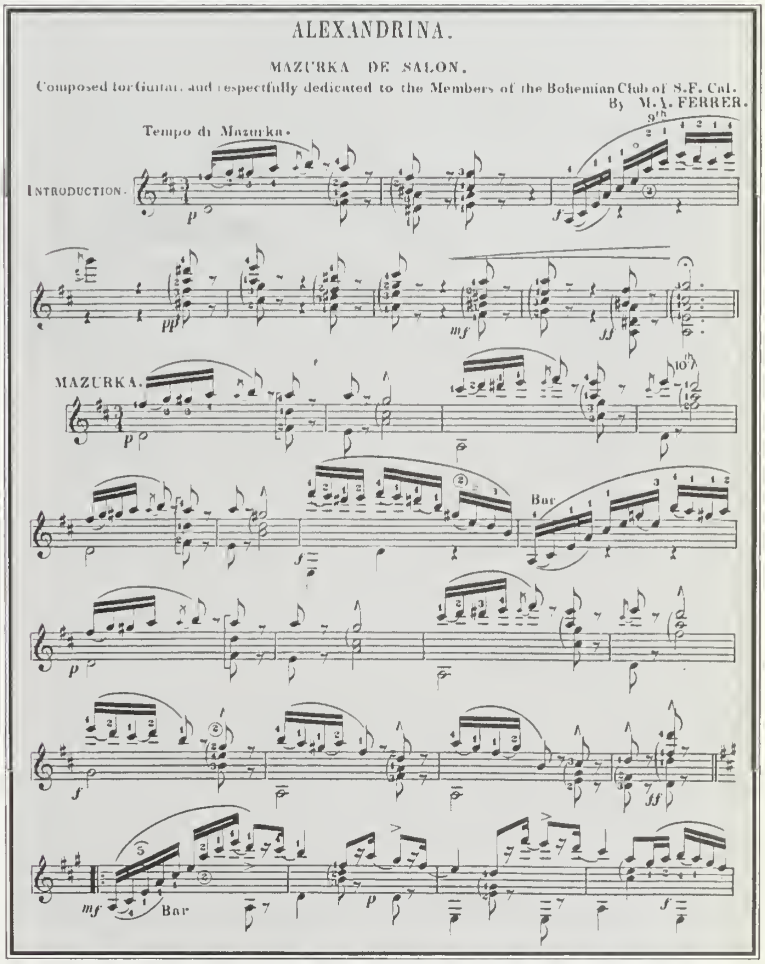
The other premier Mexican-Californian guitarist was Miguel Santiago Arévalo, who was born in

Guadalajara, Mexico on July 5, 1843, and who died in Los Angeles on June 28, 1900.[96] He began his musical studies at the age of fifteen in Guadalajara, where he was active in musical circles and where he also probably helped establish the Sociedad Filarmónica Jalisciense in 1869.[97] During Arévalo's formative years in Guadalajara in the 1860s, formal public concert and operatic activity had begun at the Teatro Degollado. Operatic and concert life at this important theater and elsewhere in the city was chronicled in such local newspapers as *La unión liberal* and *La prensa*, which published reviews and announcements of touring Italian opera companies, Spanish and Mexican opera and zarzuela troupes, visiting circuses, touring virtuosos, musical soloists, and local musicians.[98] Young guitarist Miguel Arévalo surely attended many of these events, and heard some of the best musicians Mexico had to offer during the turbulent decade of the 1860s. Miguel Meneses (composer of the operas *Agorante, rey de la Nubia*, *La reina de las hadas*, and *Luisa de la Valliere*) was an important performer and conductor active in Guadalajara and also an early director of the Sociedad Filarmónica.[99] Other local Guadalajara musicians and members of the Sociedad Filarmónica included clarinetist Adrián Galarza and Clemente Aguirre, an important composer, conductor, folksong collector, and bandmaster. Arévalo must have known Meneses, Galarza, and Aguirre, and others like them, and perhaps even collaborated with them in various musical activities in Guadalajara. Like Miguel Arévalo, some of these musicians also performed in California.[100]

Arévalo left Guadalajara for San Francisco sometime in 1870.[101] However, he apparently only stayed in northern California for a little more than a year, moving south to Los Angeles late in 1871 "on the solicitation of friends."[102] Since guitarist Manuel Ferrer was well established in San Francisco at the time of Arévalo's arrival in that city, the younger musician may have felt that Los Angeles offered him greater opportunities for performance and the potential for attracting a greater number of music students (a primary source of income). After his relocation, Arévalo quickly established his strong presence in local musical life. On November 14, 1871, the Los Angeles Musical Association was organized, with Arévalo as musical director.[103] He became the preeminent Mexican guitarist, voice teacher, and composer in Los Angeles and southern California through the 1890s.

One of few Hispanic professional musicians accepted by local southern California Anglo-American society, Arévalo was also active as a professional singer in concerts and in performances of sacred music in Los Angeles churches. Arévalo's musical activities were frequently mentioned in Los Angeles's Spanish-language newspaper *La crónica*, in which he was active in some capacity, most probably as a stockholder.[104] The references to Arévalo in the important Dobinson Theater Collection (at the Los Angeles Public Library) of local theatrical and musical programs (1870–1892) also chronicle his musical career. In addition, the frequent newspaper accounts of his activities in the local Spanish- and English-language press attest to his importance in the southern California musical scene.

Miguel Arévalo's significant contributions to local musical life included his efforts in promoting Mexican music; the performance of his own original compositions for guitar, other instruments, and voice; and his introduction of Italian opera arias to local audiences through his performances of arrangements for the guitar cast in theme and variations form. He often performed different variations on well-known tunes of the day on guitar (as did Manuel Ferrer and other local guitarists), including his own *Variations on the Carnival of Venice*. The musical requirements of


ALEXANDRINA.
MAZURKA DE SALON.
Composed for Guitar, and respectfully dedicated to the Members of the Bohemian Club of S.F. Cal.
By M.A. FERRER.
Tempo di Mazurka.
INTRODUCTION.
MAZURKA.
Bar
Bar

The first page of "Alexandrina Mazurka," from *Compositions and Arrangements for the Guitar*, composed by Manuel Ferrer. *Courtesy of the author.*

these variations point to what must have been a formidable guitar technique. Arévalo also frequently cooperated with fellow musicians and other individuals in various musical endeavors.

One example of this cooperation is the assistance he provided his friend Anna B. Picher in transcribing for her use music performed by Indian singer Luisa Serrano, the elderly Indian *capitana* (lay female leader) of Mission San Gabriel.[105] In her article, "The Captain's Song," published in *Land of Sunshine*, Picher gave an evocative picture of Luisa Serrano's singing and Miguel Arévalo's playing. Her article reveals that Picher enjoyed a long-standing and affectionate relationship with both the Indian singer and Mexican guitarist. Picher wrote:

> I . . . [have] had for some years in my possession a music score which I now hope is of the greatest historic value, namely, *La canción de capitán*, annotated for me by no less a musician than Professor Arévalo, of Los Angeles. Luisa Serrano, herself Capitana, the last Capitana of the Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, and one of its pathetic company of neophyte Indians, had remembered this song through the successive Spanish, Mexican, and American occupations of Indian California, and had more than once danced, sung, recited, and described it to me, in the patio, just off the Mission Road . . . Luisa is buried in the San Gabriel campo santo, near the "tall Capitan" who taught this song to her . . . To get the annotation of these fine songs, I met Professor Arévalo upon the Mission Road one morning . . . [Luisa] had made ready for us in her own way. There were three chairs placed about her table, set out under an old peach tree . . . The Señor Professor's chair was on one side [of] this table; hers and mine on the other side. Luisa on this day evidently proposed singing and dancing, under restrictions made by herself . . . When we were quite ready, Luisa sang: over and over, bar by bar, when asked to, she repeated the fine songs we had come to secure . . . When she finished singing the chant of El Capitan, she rose and danced it for us . . . Professor Arévalo took up the guitar, and I drew to one side of the table his pencil and paper, which, by his face, I knew he no longer needed . . . I watched alternately his Mexican face and the Capitana's Indian one, while the Song of the Cacique or Capitan first left the strings, and then grew and swelled, until it seemed to me all the Indians of Los Angeles County . . . stood around us with sonajas or rattles, accenting the rhythm of this one Spanish guitar.

Arévalo's transcription of "The Captain's Song," with a simple (but inauthentic) harmonization by composer and Pomona College music professor John Comfort Fillmore (1843–1898) was included in Picher's article along with photographs of San Gabriel residents Luisa Serrano and Jacinta Serrano.[106]

Another area in which Miguel Arévalo excelled was in promoting the careers of his musical protégés, the most significant of whom was guitarist and composer Luis Toribio Romero, who was perhaps born in Madrid in 1854, and who died in South Boston on November 19, 1893. Romero reportedly came to California from Spain as a child, and studied with Arévalo in the 1870s. He established his own music studio in San José and in San Francisco, where he also appeared as a recitalist in the 1880s. He later moved to Boston, continuing his career as a concert artist, until his death at a relatively early age from tuberculosis. Among his many compositions for the guitar are "Barcarolle" and "Lejos de tí" (the latter also published in his twelve-work collection *Guitar Recreations* [New York: Carl Fischer, 1889]), *Peruvian Air* (1889) and *Souvenir d'Amerique*. Several of his guitar works in manuscript are held by the Music Division of the Library of Congress.[107] These and other published works reveal Romero's mastery of the guitar and of idiomatic composition and transcription for the instrument.[108]

Other students and protégés of Miguel S. Arévalo who achieved a measure of local prominence in musical life in turn-of-the-century Los Angeles included the pianists María Pruneda and Ysabel del Valle. Pruneda made her debut in Los Angeles on September 9, 1876, and performed publicly thereafter during the late 1870s and early 1880s. She is listed in the first catalog of the newly-established University of Southern California (1880–1881) as one of two music teachers among a university faculty of fourteen. She probably retired from teaching and public performance upon her marriage to P. H. Boyd in San Francisco in April of 1885 (an all-too-common practice among women musicians at the time).[109]

Another of Miguel Arévalo's protégés, Ysabel del Valle, called "Belle" or "Ysabelita" by family and friends, frequently performed in public during her youth. She was the daughter of Ygnacio del Valle and Ysabel Varela, patriarch and matriarch of the wealthy and influential Mexican American landowning del Valle family of Los Angeles and Rancho Camulos. An undated dance program in the Antonio Coronel Collection, probably from the 1870s or 1880s, shows that Ysabel del Valle was an accomplished pianist.[110] At this dance she performed an arrangement of Franz von Suppe's *The Poet and Peasant Overture* (with small orchestra) and Leibach's *Grand Fantasie from La Sonambula*, and was followed by dances typical of the period (the quadrille, waltz, polka, lancers, and varsovienne). She also appeared in public as a featured performer in concerts in Los Angeles, often in collaboration with her teacher Miguel S. Arévalo (on September 6, 1876, February 21, 1877, May 6, 1881, and probably on other occasions); some of these performances were reviewed in *La crónica*. Del Valle probably gave up public performances upon her marriage to local businessman Carl Cram, on April 17, 1896. In

Child musicians in Sonoratown, Los Angeles, late nineteenth century. *Courtesy California State Library.*

1904 and 1905, she and several members of her family recorded a number of Mexican folksongs onto wax cylinders for Lummis in Los Angeles and at Rancho Camulos.[111]

Like many of his fellow musicians, Miguel Arévalo died intestate in genteel poverty, leaving no will or heirs. After his death, his personal belongings were inventoried and sold at auction on August 3, 1900. Probate records indicate that he had no savings or investments; consequently, he must have lived off his earnings as a music teacher and performer.[112] Though he was by no means destitute at the time of his death, Arévalo probably did not enjoy a great margin of comfort in his daily life, and must have lived rather modestly. His death record indicates that he had been married at one time, though no information about his wife has been found. Musical items among his possession at the time of his death included one guitar (sold to C. Walters for $18.00), two canvas guitar cases, a piano (sold to G. Wood for $22.00), one music stand, one box of guitar strings, and a large amount of printed and manuscript music (sold to C. Walters for $2.00).

Manuel Y. Ferrer arrived in San Francisco in the early 1850s at the very beginning of the public florescence of European-American secular cultural activities and for more than fifty years strongly represented both the Hispanic and European instrumental music traditions. Arévalo was the stalwart proponent of Mexican culture and music in Los Angeles for almost thirty years. According to musicologist Robert Stevenson, Arévalo "successfully upheld Mexican cultural prestige against the floodtide of German and Anglo musical immigrants who engulfed Los Angeles in the 1880s."[113] Both Ferrer and Arévalo's compositions and works by other local Mexican or Hispanic guitarist-composers are to be recommended to guitarists and singers in search of interesting and musically challenging repertory evocative of the late-nineteenth-century salon musical style.

Though Los Angeles without a doubt took a second place to San Francisco's dominant role in California's European-oriented professional concert life, amateur and professional musicians in southern California were often as active and as musically talented as any others in the state in the nineteenth century. The Mexican element in music was (and still is to some degree) stronger in the southern half of the state than in the northern part. Although San Francisco, a tiny hamlet during Mexican times, easily eclipsed all of southern California in general economic and artistic development within a short time after American annexation, it never outdistanced Los Angeles in the strength of its Mexican social and artistic connections. Knowledge of the secular musical traditions established and maintained by these and other nineteenth-century Mexican American musicians is important to the understanding of the historical continuum of Spanish/Mexican/Hispanic/Latino/Chicano music in the United States over the past five centuries. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 215.*

*John Koegel is asistant professor of music history at the University of Missouri-Columbia, where he teaches undergraduate and graduate classes in western music history and non-western music. Koegel has researched various areas of Mexican and Spanish music and music in the Southwest (since the colonial period) and has published articles and reviews on these subjects in books, journals, dictionaries, and encyclopedias in the United States, Mexico, Spain, and England.*

# SUMMERS OF WORRY, SUMMERS OF DEFIANCE

## San Franciscans for Academic Freedom and Education and the Bay Area Opposition to HUAC, 1959-1960

*by Joshua Paddison*

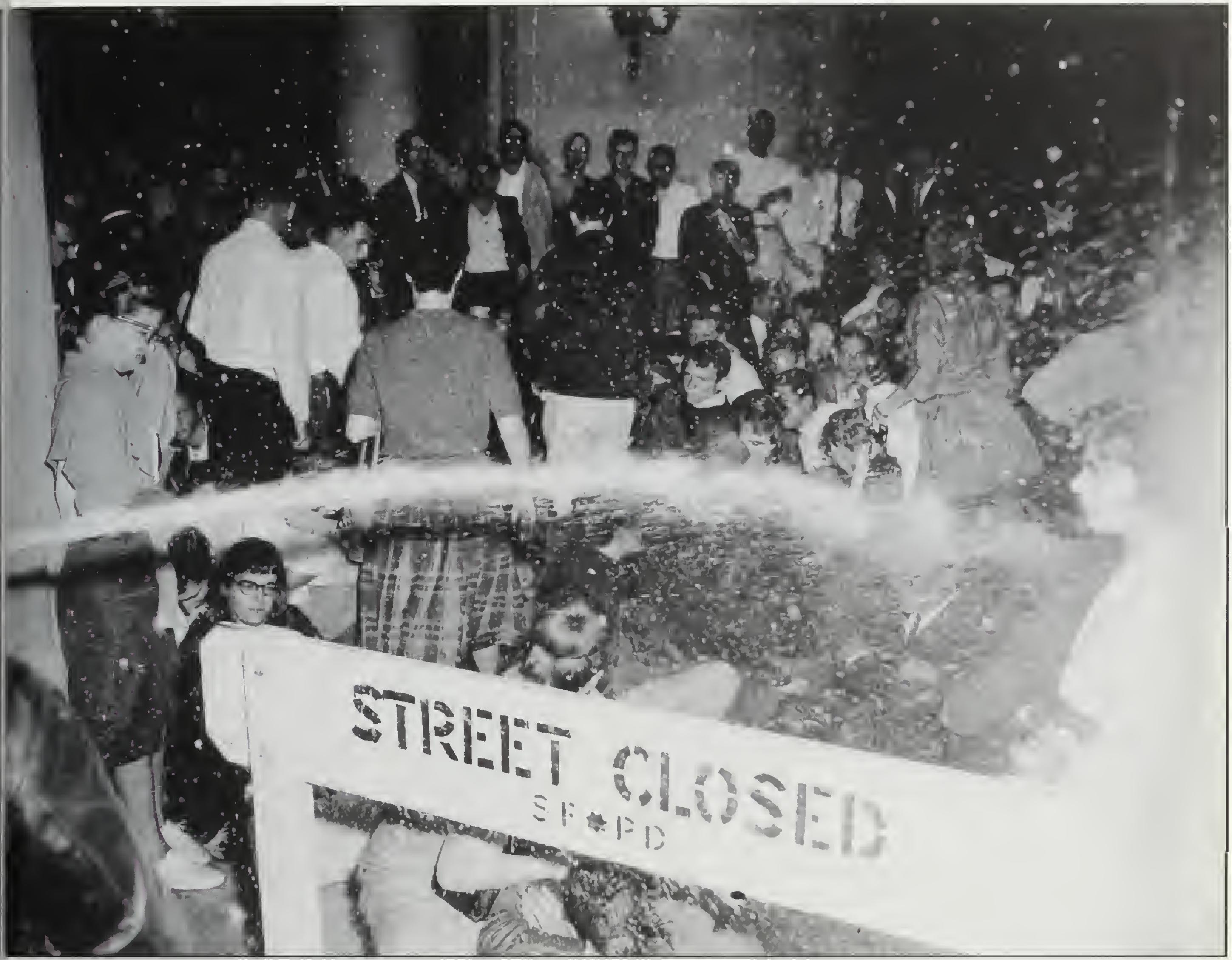
### INTRODUCTION

Lightning struck forty northern California public elementary and high school teachers on June 6, 1959, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) issued them subpoenas compelling their appearance at hearings to be held in San Francisco eleven days hence. They were accused of being "subject to the directives and discipline of the Communist Party."[1] Lurking unsaid was the committee's suspicion that "subversive" educators were indoctrinating California schoolchildren. Five days later, HUAC announced it was postponing the hearings until September 1 (later postponed again to October 14) because "the ramifications of the Communist operation in California are so extensive and malignant that additional investigating work must be done before the actual hearings can be held."[2] Ernest Besig, executive director of the ACLU of Northern California and San Francisco's most prominent anti-HUAC activist, responded: "The damage has already been done in a substantial number of the cases. Some of the names have been made public. The postponement merely gives the witnesses a summer of worry."[3]

The teachers' summer of worry swiftly became a summer of defiance as concerned individuals throughout the San Francisco Bay area organized opposition to the hearings. A prominent component of this network of resistance was the group San Franciscans for Academic Freedom and Education (SAFE), begun by San Francisco State College assistant professor Arthur K. Bierman in June 1959. SAFE's aim was to raise community opposition to HUAC in the hopes of forcing it to cancel its hearings later that summer. Bierman and his colleagues at SAFE were soon joined in their efforts by a variety of community organizations, unions, newspapers, religious groups, and student associations. They helped raise anti-HUAC sentiment to an unprecedented height; on August 21 the committee announced it was canceling the hearings.

The fledgling coalition's victory, however, was short-lived. Before retreating, HUAC turned its files over to local school boards; ultimately, six of the subpoenaed teachers either resigned or were fired. Furthermore, HUAC returned to San Francisco the following May, this time holding three days of hearings in city hall to investigate a new batch of local "subversives." This marked the committee's fourth visit to San Francisco in seven years (not counting the aborted hearings of 1959). SAFE and the Bay Area's anti-HUAC network, already organized and emboldened by the events of the previous summer, sprang back into action. On the first day of the hearings—May 12, 1960—more than one thousand people gathered in protest in Union Square. On the next day, soon dubbed "Black Friday," the protests exploded into mayhem as the San Francisco police turned high-powered fire hoses onto a crowd of mostly college students who had been jeering outside the hearings' doors. The grand stairway of city hall was transformed into a sudden river as water and bloodied students tumbled down and out onto Polk Street. Before the afternoon was over, almost four hundred police officers were summoned, sixty-four demonstrators were arrested, and twelve people (eight policemen) were hospitalized as a result of the so-called "city hall riots."[4]

The events in San Francisco in the summers of 1959 and 1960 marked the most dramatic clash between pro- and anti-HUAC forces in U.S. history. Therefore, an understanding of the Bay Area anti-HUAC movement is essential to an understanding of the decline of American anticommunism and the power of ordinary people to effect political change. The movement was almost entirely locally focused, funded, and organized. It included within its ranks activists from



Police hoses douse a group of anti-HUAC protestors (mostly college students) at San Francisco's city hall on Friday, May 13, 1960. The tumult of the so-called "city hall riots" heralded the beginning of the end of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and ushered in a new era of political activism in the Bay Area. *Courtesy* San Francisco Chronicle.

a variety of professions and backgrounds who possessed a diversity of political beliefs. It attacked HUAC using a multitude of tactics and arguments. Rather than being centrally organized, it was a shifting network of like-minded community organizations, religious groups, labor unions, student associations, and hundreds of individual activists. Its efforts ultimately culminated in the protests of Black Friday, an important turning point in the history of HUAC, the opposition to HUAC, and grassroots political activism in the San Francisco Bay area.

By analyzing the tactics and ideology of SAFE, this essay aims to document one important element of the grassroots opposition that arose to battle HUAC in the San Francisco Bay area in 1959 and 1960—an opposition mostly made up not of people subpoenaed or even likely to be subpoenaed by the committee but rather concerned civil libertarians organized in a web of interconnected groups. This essay also aims to illustrate the historical agency of individuals active in a political movement shaped by regional, national, and international events and trends—including a momentary thawing of the Cold War, an expanding civil rights movement in the American South, student unrest in Japan and Turkey, a changing American political mood, the emergence of a new political activism on U.S. college campuses, the longstanding presence of Leftists and radicals in the San Francisco

Bay area, and the dogged (some said obsessional) persistence of HUAC itself—that converged in May 1960 in the form of the city hall riots.[5]

When discussing opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, historians who have studied HUAC have largely neglected the role of organizations like SAFE, not to mention academia in general. Historians have tended to focus instead on individuals, especially those subpoenaed by the committee, thereby under-emphasizing the interconnected nature of the opposition. The two most detailed histories of HUAC, Walter Goodman's *The Committee* and Frank Donner's *The Un-Americans*, both reflect this to varying degrees. In his chapter covering the years 1957 to 1960, Goodman devotes only one sentence to anti-HUAC groups and quickly adds that the 1959 protests in San Francisco "did not represent quite the groundswell of indignation that publicists on the Left liked to pretend."[6] Donner paints a fuller picture of the many Bay Area groups involved in opposing the committee but under-emphasizes communication between those groups and mentions academia only in passing.[7] Even Jerold Simmons, author of *Operation Abolition: The Campaign to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, 1938–1975*, turns the vast majority of his attention to national groups like the American Civil Liberties Union, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the National Committee to Abolish HUAC; pauses only momentarily to mention religious groups or student organizations; and almost completely ignores community associations, organized labor, and academia.[8]

Of course, these works' lack of specificity regarding local groups is due in large part to their national scope. Historians in the last ten years have published numerous monographs examining HUAC, anti-HUAC groups, and anticommunism at the city, state, and regional level.[9] These case studies are important because they have begun to close gaps in historians' understanding of these topics and to test national generalizations with localized examples. M. J. Heale's recent book *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935–1965*, for example, examines how anticommunism campaigns in Michigan, Massachusetts, and Georgia were shaped by the complex interplay of international, national, and local factors (including politics, geography, demographics, patriotic ideologies, grassroots activism, media, and individual personalities).[10] However, most of these historians have chosen to examine anticommunist legislation and propaganda rather than to document the struggles of those who fought against it. One exception is a recent article by Martin Halpern in the *Journal of American Ethnic History*, which not only focuses on the anti-HUAC efforts of Detroit's African American community in the early 1950s, but also stresses that it was truly a community effort—even more so than San Francisco's relatively heterogeneous anti-HUAC coalition.[11] California has certainly not been neglected when it comes to HUAC-related studies—the experiences of blacklisted members of the Hollywood entertainment industry has been an especially popular topic for scholarship—but the specific contributions of SAFE to the anti-HUAC effort have never been chronicled.[12]

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Anticommunism has a long tradition in the United States, dating at least back to the Haymarket Affair of 1886–87 and the Palmer Raids of the first Red Scare of 1919–1920.[13] During the 1930s, however, the massive unemployment of the Great Depression, coupled with news of Japan, Germany, and Italy's totalitarian aggression overseas, created a heightened fear in the United States not of Communists but of Nazis and fascists. In 1934, liberal Democrat Samuel Dickstein from New York launched the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (a forerunner of HUAC) to investigate Nazis and other rightwing groups.[14] Meanwhile, the Communist Party U.S.A. was expanding dramatically, boasting a membership of about 65,000 in 1939 and presenting itself—for a time—as the left wing of the mainstream New Deal coalition.[15]

This surging Communist activity, along with the New Deal's growing unpopularity with the business elite and their increasing worry over organized labor's newfound militancy, helped trigger yet another political shift in the late-1930s. In 1938, the Dickstein Committee was reborn as the Dies Committee, named after its flamboyant chairman, conservative Democrat Martin Dies of Texas, who now used Dickstein's antifascist tactics to root out domestic Communism.[16] The committee soon grabbed headlines by taking on the nascent Congress of Industrial Organizations (whose president, John L. Lewis, did in fact employ Communists as organizers) and its west-coast director, Harry Bridges.[17] When Republicans regained eight governorships, eighty seats in the House, and eight seats in the U.S. Senate in the election of November 1938, the tide seemed to have turned away from New Deal liberals and toward conservatives like Dies. In fact, a month later, a Gallup poll showed that of the three out of four voters who were aware of the committee, 74 percent were in favor of continuing its investigations.[18]

The Dies Committee remained a temporary (though annually renewed) investigative body throughout the war years, when the United States' alliance with the USSR dampened the heat of anticommunism. Dies himself retired in May 1944, and most observers assumed his committee would not be extended by the House of Representatives the following January. However, conservative Democrat John E. Rankin of Mississippi unexpectedly proposed an amendment to turn the committee into a permanent standing investigative body, and the representatives, wary of alienating powerful conservative organizations such as the American Legion, approved the proposal.[19] The House Committee on Un-American Activities was born.

HUAC might have been created by Rankin's clever parliamentary maneuver, but the burgeoning Cold War guaranteed its survival during the late-1940s and 1950s. In fact, anticommunism rose to new heights in those years, encouraged by the opportunistic Republican senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy. Given the excesses of McCarthyism, it is tempting to dismiss anticommunism as merely the crusade of power-hungry, paranoid politicians; however, as historian John Patrick Diggins points out, anticommunism came to be regarded by many as a "legitimate component of American patriotism, an emotion deeply felt by first- and second-generation immigrant Americans."[20] Unlike American Communism, American anticommunism sprang not from a single ideology or organization but rather from a variety of sometimes conflicting motives and groups working at the local, state, and national level.[21] In short, anticommunism was an undeniable part of the fabric of most Americans' Cold War-era lives.

This was especially true in California, where more than one-third of HUAC's total number of hearings were held.[22] In addition, from 1940 to 1970, California had its own "little HUAC"—the state legislature's Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities. It was led in the 1940s by State Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney, like Martin Dies a conservative Democrat disillusioned with the New Deal. Although several states created "little HUACs," California's version was by far the most aggressive and notorious. "So disreputable did the committee become that anti-Communists in other states began consciously to avoid its example," notes M. J. Heale.[23] Why was California home to such red baiting? Historians have suggested a multitude of possible reasons. Heale points to the state's population boom of the 1930s, forties, and fifties, which "reinforced the pluralistic character of its society, in which a motley of interest groups and powerful individuals competed with one another. . . . In the Cold War years, as earlier, groups on both the far left and the far right flourished in the Golden State's fertile soil."[24] California was also home to Hollywood, which attracted a disproportionate amount of attention from both HUAC and "little HUAC." Jerold Simmons observes that "hearings which included prominent film personalities were bound to receive the kind of publicity which ambitious Congressmen could not resist."[25] Also, the state prospered from World War II and Cold War industrial and military expenditures, giving its citizens a "vested interest in the ideology of anticommunism."[26] Furthermore, California's soaring population did include thousands of Communists, socialists, and unabashedly radical unionists.

Home to Harry Bridges and a tradition of radicalism, San Francisco was a popular target for HUAC, though not as popular as Los Angeles, where the committee launched at least one probe each year between 1951 and 1960. HUAC conducted hearings in San Francisco in 1953, 1956, and 1957; significantly, public opposition increased each time the committee returned. The hearings in 1957 were especially controversial, in part because subpoenaed witness William K. Sherwood, a Stanford University professor, killed himself before being compelled to testify. He left a much-publicized note declaring, "I will be in two days assassinated by publicity. . . . I would love to spend the next few days in laboratories, and I would hate to spend them in jail."[27] When ques-

Jack B. Tenney (1898-1970), a pugnacious Democratic state assemblyman from Los Angeles, served as chairman of California's Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities from 1941 to 1949. Modeled after the federal House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Tenney Committee used highly publicized hearings to expose and punish "subversive" Californians, including fascists, Nazis, Communists, and Japanese Americans. This photograph of Tenney was taken on November 17, 1941, during one of his committee's visits to San Francisco. *Courtesy San Francisco News Call Bulletin newspaper photograph archive, Bancroft Library.*

tioned by the press, HUAC chairman Francis E. Walter replied brusquely, "Well, it is certainly unfortunate that we couldn't interrogate him."[28] These events prompted outraged editorials from both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *News-Call Bulletin*, but for the most part the opposition to HUAC remained unorganized and largely confined to the pages of leftwing newspapers, as it had been throughout the early 1950s.[29] This would not be true when the committee threatened to return in the summer of 1959.

### SAFE AND THE SUMMER OF 1959

On June 6, 1959, Chairman Walter announced that HUAC would be conducting a new set of hearings in San Francisco. This time, the forty witnesses subpoenaed by the committee were not activists, movie stars, or radical unionists, but public elementary and high school teachers. Later that month, many of the subpoenaed teachers gathered to meet each other at the American Friends Service Committee headquarters in San Francisco.[30] Also present at the meeting were two educators who had not been subpoenaed by HUAC: San Francisco State College professors Arthur Bierman and Herbert Williams, who days later founded San Franciscans for Academic Freedom and Education (SAFE).[31]

Arthur K. Bierman, SAFE's chairman and driving force, was born in Madison, Nebraska, in 1923. He grew up on his parents' farm, where, as an only child, he was treated as an adult at an early age. Politicized by the poverty and desperation of the Great Depression, Bierman—who at age ten persuaded his parents to vote for Democrat Franklin Roosevelt instead of Republican incumbent Herbert Hoover—grew up to become a liberal atheist despite his conservative Lutheran upbringing. His adult political beliefs were shaped equally by, on one hand, his Depression-era admiration for Roosevelt's social welfare programs and, on the other, the rural values of autonomy, individualism, and libertarianism. An ardent progressive, environmentalist, and socialist, he nonetheless rejected the conformity required by the Communist Party U.S.A. In 1955 he received a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Michigan and was soon hired as an assistant professor at San Francisco State College, where enrollment was swelling from California's postwar population boom.[32] Bierman had long questioned HUAC's goals and disapproved of its tactics; his disapproval turned into action when the forty teachers, whom he considered colleagues and a few of whom he knew personally, were subpoenaed in June 1959.[33]

Bierman and Williams founded SAFE to help raise community sympathy for the subpoenaed teachers and to encourage public opposition to HUAC in the hopes of pressuring the committee to call off its San Francisco hearings. Led by Bierman, it included several other San Francisco State professors, such as Mark

Angela Gizzi Ward (1910-1997) consults with her counsel, Norman Leonard, while testifying before HUAC during the committee's visit to San Francisco in June 1957. Targeted because of her membership in the Communist Party and her success as an organizer for the Office and Professional Employees Union, Ward refused to answer the committee's questions. *Courtesy San Francisco News Call Bulletin newspaper photograph archive, Bancroft Library.*

Arthur K. Bierman at home, March 1963.
*Courtesy Susan Bierman.*

Linenthal, Patrick Strauss, Leonard Wolf, Don Gibbons, and Don Garrity, whom he approached because they seemed "courageous and . . . willing to stick their necks out."[34] Its steering community consisted of a San Francisco State student and representatives from academia, organized labor, and local politics.[35] On July 22, SAFE issued a press release making explicit its four goals: to "demonstrate that there is no need for any visit" from HUAC; to "enlist the community support necessary to prevent the firing of teachers based on hearsay and hysteria"; to "enable San Franciscans to assert that students, teachers, and professors must have freedom to inquire into and express ideas"; and to "marshal sufficient community concern about the Committee's purposes and procedures to effectively confine the Committee to its proper legislative functions and to prevent any infringement of First Amendment rights."[36]

This "Statement of Our Position" illustrates the many important aspects of SAFE's ideology that shaped its tactics. First, the statement revealed that SAFE was not founded to attempt to abolish HUAC, as was the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, a Los Angeles organization led by Frank Wilkinson.[37] Instead, SAFE's concerns were localized and (implicitly) temporary. Second, it showed SAFE's emphasis on effecting change through organizing grassroots "community support" rather than attempting legislative reforms. It clearly believed the people of the San Francisco Bay area basically opposed HUAC and merely needed help to get organized. Third, it condemned HUAC using a variety of philosophical rationales: civil rights ("to prevent the infringement of First Amendment rights"), fiscal responsibility (it called the hearings "needless and expensive"), freedom of speech ("students, teachers, and professors must have freedom to inquire into and express ideas"), violation of due process ("the traditional American way of dealing with suspected illegal activities, SAFE contends, has been and should remain within the law and through the courts"), and states' rights, and even included a touch of anticommunism ("there is no need for any visit from the Un-American Activities Committee," which a conservative reader could choose to interpret as "we in California can root out our own Communists"). Outlining so many objections to the committee gave SAFE the ability to emphasize different aspects of its argument based on who it was trying to persuade. And fourth, the statement's cautious wording illustrated SAFE's centrist position, dispelling charges of radicalism with its reasonable tone and down-to-earth rhetoric. Communism is never mentioned. In fact, the statement makes clear SAFE aimed merely to "confine the Committee to its proper legislative functions."

The main tactic SAFE used in the summer of 1959 to accomplish these goals was a massive letter-writing campaign, conducted by Bierman, aimed at convincing community organizations and leaders to publicly endorse SAFE and condemn HUAC. Organized labor was an early target. Bierman started with traditionally liberal unions and proceeded to more conservative ones.[38] He contacted the San Francisco Labor Council and more than a dozen San Francisco Bay area unions, including local affiliates of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, National Education Association, Department Store Employees Union, and the building and construction trades. He also targeted prominent lawyers, religious figures, and state, local, and national politicians.[39] At first, Bierman found it difficult to even convince individuals to sign their names to a mildly anti-HUAC petition, let alone to publicly rebuke the committee. "It was practically impossible to get anyone to come out against [HUAC]," Bierman remembered later. "The fear was visceral. People would turn white. They would stutter."[40]

To help quell people's fears and to build as wide a base of support for SAFE as possible, Bierman utilized a variety of arguments against HUAC in his letters. When writing to a relatively conservative organization or individual, Bierman stressed SAFE's centrist position. "We are not a left organization; instead we are trying to get the center and right to take a stand," he assured the Building and Construction Trades Council.[41] He often emphasized HUAC's infringement on local control, citing the state's already-rigorous loyalty oath system and claiming that California school districts can "handle any 'subversive threats.' We . . . believe that school supervisors, fellow teachers, and parents, people who have constant contact, are in the best position to know whether there is really such a claimed threat. The action taken by Chairman Walter . . . constitutes interference in local affairs and presumes that he is a better judge of competent, honest teaching than those whose specific job it is pass on such matters."[42] In a letter to Mayor Christopher, he asked, "Don't you feel that the City can handle its teacher problems locally and that the Un-American Activities Committee is invading an area that is not their proper business?"[43] He also stressed HUAC's violation of local control in a short article he wrote for the conservative Junior Chamber of Commerce's newsletter condemning the committee.[44] When addressing an individual he assumed would be sympathetic with SAFE's goals, he more often used a civil libertarian argument. He told the executive secretary of the National Education Association that HUAC's postponement of the San Francisco hearings "constitutes hit and run, guilt by association tactics. . . . This kind of treatment discourages independent thinking and the lively debate which characterizes a free society. . . . We urge that the NEA Convention join our protest and go on record supporting the basic Constitutional freedoms as a necessary means to advance education in America."[45]

In each letter, Bierman almost always enclosed a copy of SAFE's "A Statement of Our Position," as well as the names of its endorsers. As the list lengthened, Bierman found it easier to convince individuals to speak out against the committee.[46] By August, SAFE boasted a list of endorsers that included president of the California Young Democrats Marylouise Allen, state assemblymen Phillip Burton and John O'Connell, religious leaders (including Episcopal Canon Harold V. Sheffer, Rabbi Alvin Fine, Fellowship Rev. Francis Geddes, and Unitarian Rev. Harry Scholefield), lawyers, professors, and union leaders.[47] In addition, Bierman helped convince San Francisco Labor Council Secretary/Treasurer George Johns, the Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike, San Francisco Mayor George Christopher, and mayoral candidate Russell L. Wolden to release statements disapproving of the hearings.[48]

Along with writing letters and issuing press releases, SAFE conducted a survey (directed by Herbert Williams) of ten northern Californians who had appeared as subpoenaed witnesses before HUAC in 1953 and 1957 as to the committee's effect on "individuals' employment history, family and other human relationships, and mental health."[49] "For most of them, the crucial issue raised by being subpoenaed and publicly interrogated was what work associates, friends, neighbors, and the community generally would think of them. . . ," concluded a SAFE press release. "Some have told interviewers they experienced family crises too in the wake of the hearings."[50] SAFE also held press conferences, planned a Community Conference on American Freedoms, and raised money to help defray the living expenses of subpoenaed teachers who feared losing their jobs.[51]

SAFE was only one part of the network of groups battling HUAC in the summer of 1959. Ernest Besig, founder and executive director of the ACLU of Northern California, was extremely active. He spoke to the press on a weekly basis, issued a stream of press releases, corresponded with state and national politicians, and provided legal help for the subpoenaed teachers.[52] The East Bay Community Forum, made up of subpoenaed teachers and East Bay community activists, conducted a letter-writing campaign, held public forums, sent a delegation to speak with local politicians and the South San Francisco School Board, and bought advertisement space in local newspapers.[53] Other groups active in this effort included the Northern California Teachers' Defense Committee, a Palo Alto committee, a Hayward committee, Students

Ernest Besig (1904-1998), founder and longtime executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California. Initially sent to San Francisco by the national ACLU to advocate for longshoremen in the waterfront strike of 1934, Besig spent the next thirty-five years striving to protect the civil liberties of northern Californians, including Wobblies in the 1930s, Oakies and Japanese Americans in the 1940s, Communists and poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti in the 1950s, and free speech demonstrators, prisoners, and immigrants in the 1960s. By his retirement in 1971, the ACLU of Northern California had expanded from sixty members to more than twelve thousand. *Photograph by Imogen Cunningham, courtesy American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California.*

for Civil Liberties at U.C. Berkeley, and the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms in Los Angeles. Although separate, these groups were in recurrent contact with each other throughout 1959 and 1960. Bierman frequently corresponded with the ACLU of Northern California, the Northern California Teachers' Defense Committee, and the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms; Besig at the ACLU of Northern California kept in touch with even more groups, including the East Bay Committee for Freedom in Education and the California Democratic Council, along with dozens of local, state, and national politicians.[54]

These small groups—with their localized focus and relatively low budgets—were free to act in ways that large, national groups like the ACLU could not. SAFE, for example, was financed through fund-raising parties and small donations from sympathetic organizations, unions, and individuals.[55] "We didn't collect a lot of money, but we didn't need a lot of money," Bierman recalled. "We mostly used the phone lines at San Francisco State, and I paid for stationery out of my pocket. . . . Everybody contributed."[56] With such low overhead, SAFE was free to devote most of its attention to activism—and because it was mostly financed through casual donations from like-minded groups, it could act without worrying about alienating its funders or even showing results. In contrast, throughout the 1950s the national ACLU repeatedly refused Frank Wilkinson's request to launch a significant, nation-wide anti-HUAC effort because it judged abolition of the committee not even "remotely possible" and any such campaign "pointless."[57] The ACLU chose to devote its attention to what were in its estimation more achievable goals. Tellingly, the smaller ACLU of Northern California had worked with Wilkinson to oppose HUAC as early as 1957.[58]

What began as a whisper of protest in June 1959 in the Bay Area became a shout by August. Prompted by groups like SAFE, more and more individuals and organizations spoke out in condemnation of HUAC: labor unions (California Labor Federation, San Francisco Labor Council, Building Trades Council, District Council of Carpenters, California Teachers Association, American Federation of Teachers, Local 61), campus organizations (U.C. Berkeley, San Francisco State College), churches (Episcopal Diocese of California, Society of Friends, Methodists), politicians and political groups (San Francisco Mayor George Christopher, the California Democratic Council, the California Young Democrats, the Friends Committee on Legislation), newspaper columnists and editorial boards (Herb Caen, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin*), and countless letters to the editor and paid advertisements.[59] Far from being a united front, these organizations and individuals acted with a variety of motives and—like SAFE—criticized HUAC on a variety of ideological grounds. Some, such as the Episcopal Diocese, sympathized with the teachers who were being "deemed guilty by association simply because they were subpoenaed, whether or not in fact they are guilty of subversive activities."[60] More liberal groups, such as the Society of Friends and the California Labor Federation, echoed SAFE's concern over the committee's trampling of democracy, civil rights, and academic freedom.[61] The centrist *San Francisco Chronicle*, taking note of the "growing chorus of protest" against the hearings, issued an unequivocal editorial on August 14 titled "Methods that Outrage the Public Conscience," which asserted, "The [committee's] uncertain, legally dubious, and legislatively useless investigation should in all conscience be abandoned."[62] Unthinkable just two months earlier, opposition to HUAC had become not only widespread but decidedly mainstream.

On August 21, 1959, Francis E. Walter announced that, for the first time in the history of HUAC, he was canceling its hearings.[63] It is difficult to ascertain exactly why Walter called them off. He claimed grandiosely that, by canceling the hearings and instead submitting the names of suspected subversives to local school boards, HUAC could move on to investigate "certain other aspects of the Communist operation" in California.[64] Jerold Simmons has suggested that Walter did so because he had no further reason to flex his investigative muscles after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld HUAC's power in *Barenblatt v. U.S.* on June 8.[65] Arthur Bierman, Ernest Besig, Frank Wilkinson, and the rest of the anti-HUAC network claimed victory, believing that the cancellation was the result of the summer's storm of public protest. Bierman wrote a few months later that "it was quite clear this summer that a large section of responsible San Francisco citizens" opposed the hearings, and that "the newspaper's and the public's protestations led the Committee to call off their scheduled exposure."[66]

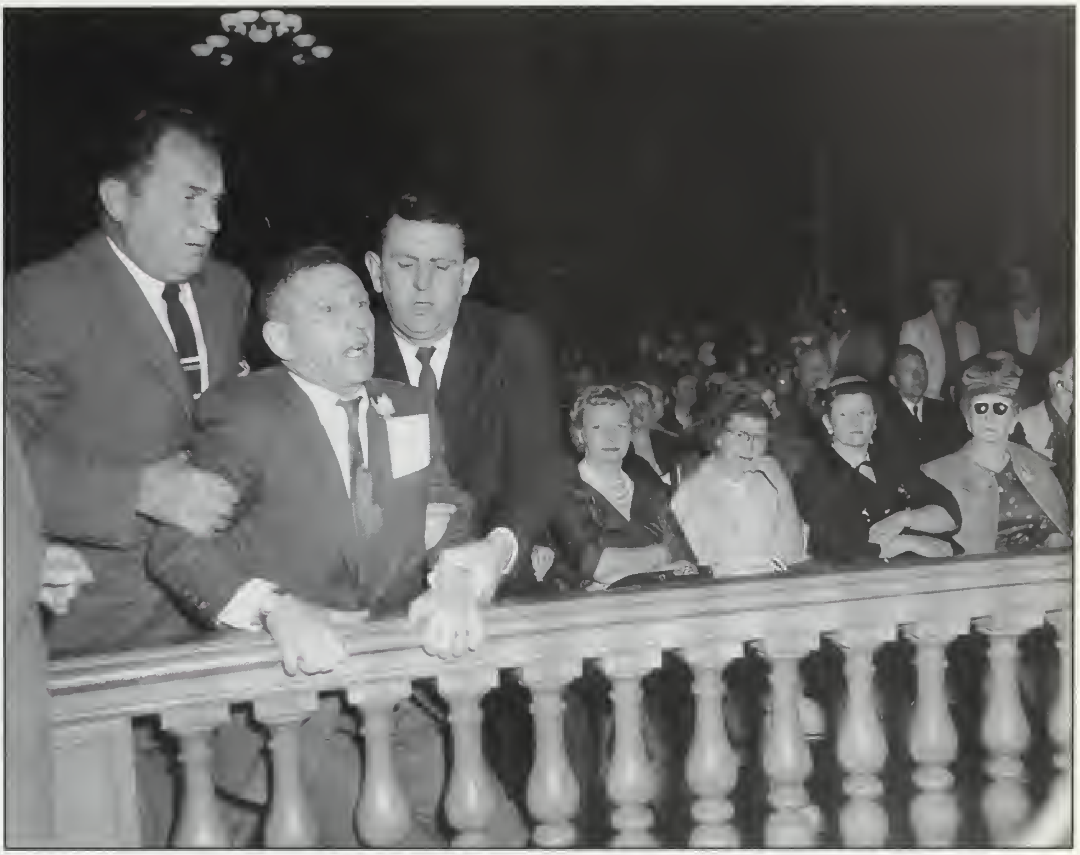
More than one person specifically credited SAFE with helping prompt HUAC's retreat. The president of the Northern California Teachers' Defense Committee wrote Bierman "to thank you personally and your group SAFE as a whole for a job well done. We lived through a tremendous experience together this summer. We know that many of the great voices that spoke up and routed HUAC did so as a result of your own quiet and efficient efforts."[67] (This letter also indicates the feelings of community that existed among members of the anti-HUAC coalition.) Frank Wilkinson's praise for Bierman was even more straightforward: "In my opinion, you had more to contribute to the success we've enjoyed in winning the cancellation of these hearings than any other single Californian."[68]

HUAC withdrew, but not before "unceremoniously dumping" the files it had accumulated on ninety-three California teachers into the hands of the state superintendent of public instruction, who passed them along to local district attorneys, who in turn gave them to local school boards.[69] Four of these teachers were ultimately fired, and two more resigned. Furthermore, as Frank Donner pointed out, "a substantial body of teachers lived, for a period of ten months, in the shadow first of a subpoena, then of a twice-postponed hearing, and then of a threat of discharge and disgrace."[70] Although SAFE's primary goal had been accomplished, it continued throughout the fall to raise money, complete its survey of former HUAC "unfriendly" witnesses, and write letters on the accused teachers' behalf (to state Attorney General Stanley Mosk and San Francisco United School District Superintendent Harold Spears, among others).[71] However, when asked by Frank Wilkinson to join the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom's newly rekindled effort to abolish HUAC once and for all, Bierman declined, writing on September 17, "I think that the abolition of the HUAC is probably the next step. As you know, SAFE was not organized for that effort and I cannot commit them to such a program."[72] SAFE's localized focus—clearly a benefit when it came to raising community opposition and retaining its autonomy—prevented it from attempting larger-scale legislative reform.

The winter of 1959 became the late spring of 1960 before HUAC reappeared in California. On April 28, Walter announced a new three-day hearing to be held once again in San Francisco and issued subpoenas to forty-eight northern Californians, most of whom were not teachers.[73] Why did the committee return to the Bay Area? Donner postulates that Walter felt compelled to return—"there were too many unsettled scores."[74] The chairman must have known there would be widespread opposition, especially after California Congressman James Roosevelt's rousing April 25 speech, entitled "The Dragon Slayers," which called for HUAC's abolishment on numerous grounds and condemned it as an "agency for the destruction of human dignity and Constitutional rights."[75] The late 1950s had brought a new political mood to the United States, a mood shaped by a burgeoning civil rights movement in the South, the marked decline of the Communist Party U.S.A. following confirmation in 1956 of Stalin's crimes, and a temporary easing of Cold War tensions, highlighted by Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev's amicable 1959 visit. However, according to Goodman, "the Committee's message was that nothing had changed, nothing could change except for the worse, Communism was Communism, revolution was perpetual. . . . Where sane men the world over breathed a bit more easily at every reduction in the long, dangerous international tension, Walter saw only new threats. . . . These were desperate years for Francis Walter."[76] HUAC's chairman refused to admit that the committee's era was coming to a close; the events of May 12-14, 1960, ensured that it would go out not with a whimper, but a bang.

After the announcement of the new hearings, Arthur Bierman and SAFE set about trying to rekindle anti-HUAC sentiment in the Bay Area. On May 11, he issued a press release striking in its forcefulness: "The Un-American Committee attempts to suppress and attack freedom of thought, speech, action, and religion. It is an irresponsible instrument for thought control. Such demagoguery is inexcusable. Therefore we join with the civic, religious, educational, and political groups and leaders all over the country who call for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee."[77] Gone was any notion of tolerating the committee as long as it conducted its investigations "properly"; now SAFE called for its outright abolishment, as did the ACLU of Northern California and the East Bay Community Forum.[78] These groups' new assertive rhetorical style reflected not a shift in ideology but rather a newfound confidence from the events of the previous summer and a recognition that public sentiment was by May 1960 increasingly against HUAC.[79] The list of groups publicly condemning the committee was double that of 1959, and equally politically diverse, including the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 6; the East Bay Jewish Community Center; the Berkeley YWCA; the San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers Guild; the Northern California Conference Board of Rabbis; and the newly formed San Francisco Committee Against HUAC.[80]

Academia was also much more outspoken that year than in 1959. Arthur Bierman joined 165 other San Francisco State faculty members who denounced the hearings in a full-page ad in the college student newspaper, and three hundred professors from U.C. Berkeley, two hundred from Stanford, and one hundred from San Jose State signed similar petitions.[81] Students at San Francisco State, U.C. Berkeley, and Stanford organized anti-HUAC groups, held mass meetings, and circulated petitions to abolish the committee.[82] While the fact that one of the subpoenaed witnesses was a U.C. Berkeley student undoubtedly bolstered their activism, there had already been an increased level of political activity among Bay Area collegians in the months leading up to May 1960, particularly at San Francisco State and U.C. Berkeley, led by the groups SCOPE and SLATE, respectively. Inspired by the Cuban Revolution and the southern desegrega-



Police inspectors eject Archie
Brown (1911-1990) from
HUAC's hearing in San Fran-
cisco's city hall on May 12, 1960.
A longshoreman, Abraham Lin-
coln Brigade veteran, and
unabashed Communist, Brown
as thrice ejected from the hear-
ngs for his angry denunciations
of HUAC and its refusal to
admit the hundreds of college
students waiting outside into
the audience. "Let those people
n!" shouted Brown before being
dragged away. "This committee
cannot come to San Francisco,
announce open hearings, and
then pick its attendance!" *Cour-
tesy San Francisco News Call Bul-
letin newspaper photograph
archive, Bancroft Library.*

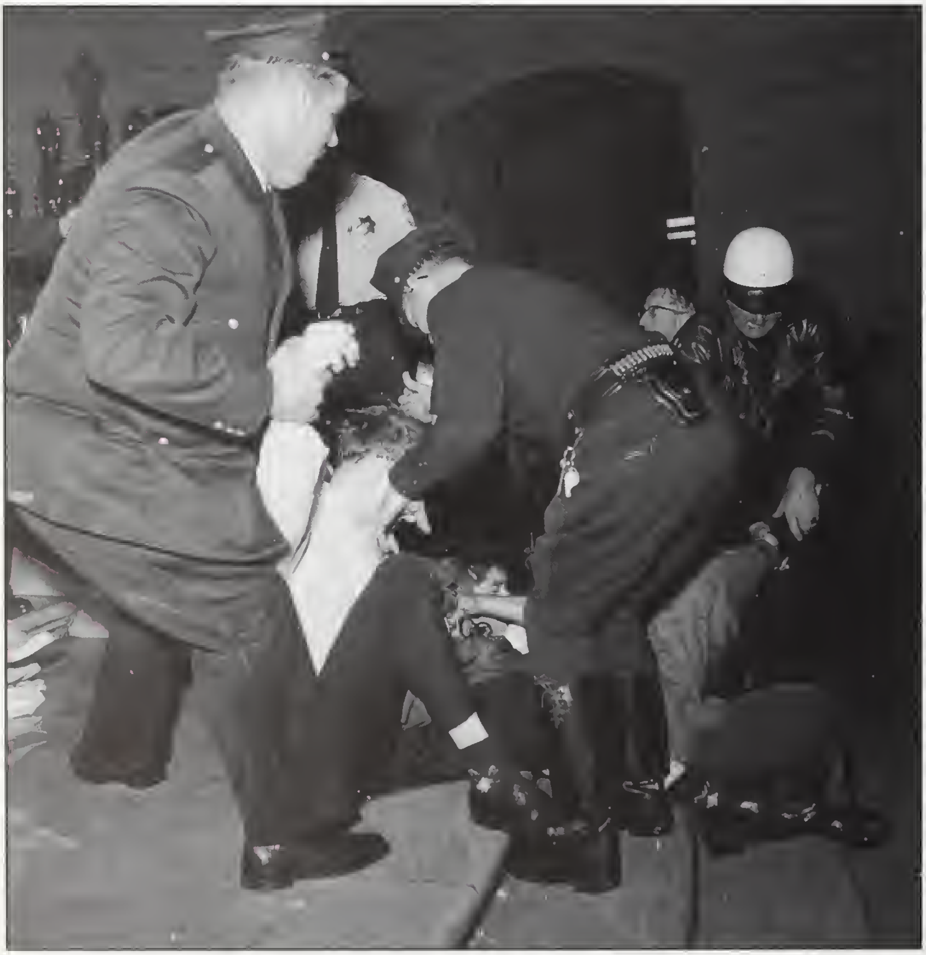
tion movement, students held a peace and disarmament rally in San Francisco's Union Square in May 1959 and walked across the Golden Gate Bridge to protest the pending execution of kidnapper Caryl Chessman in March 1960.[83] "There was a sense of things breaking loose for the first time," remembered Becky Jenkins, anti-HUAC protestor and a leader of SCOPE. "The fear and paranoia of the McCarthy years were beginning to break wide open."[84]

The students' activism was encouraged by the faculty, whom Jenkins described as "young, progressive. . . . There was not much of an age gap between students and professors."[85] Bernice P. Biggs, a professor in San Francisco State's English Department, recalled that she and many of her peers had been hired at about the same time in the early 1950s and represented a new, politically liberal generation of professors: "We had a hard time finding a Republican for debates."[86] She also remembered signing numerous faculty petitions (similar to the anti-HUAC advertisement in *The Golden Gater*) endorsing leftwing causes, such as an anti-war ad published in the campus newspaper in March 1959 signed by one hundred professors, including Biggs, Bierman, Williams, Linenthal, and Wolf.[87] It was this new generation of socially conscious professors and students, encouraged by community support, who initiated the protests that ultimately led to the city hall riots on May 13.

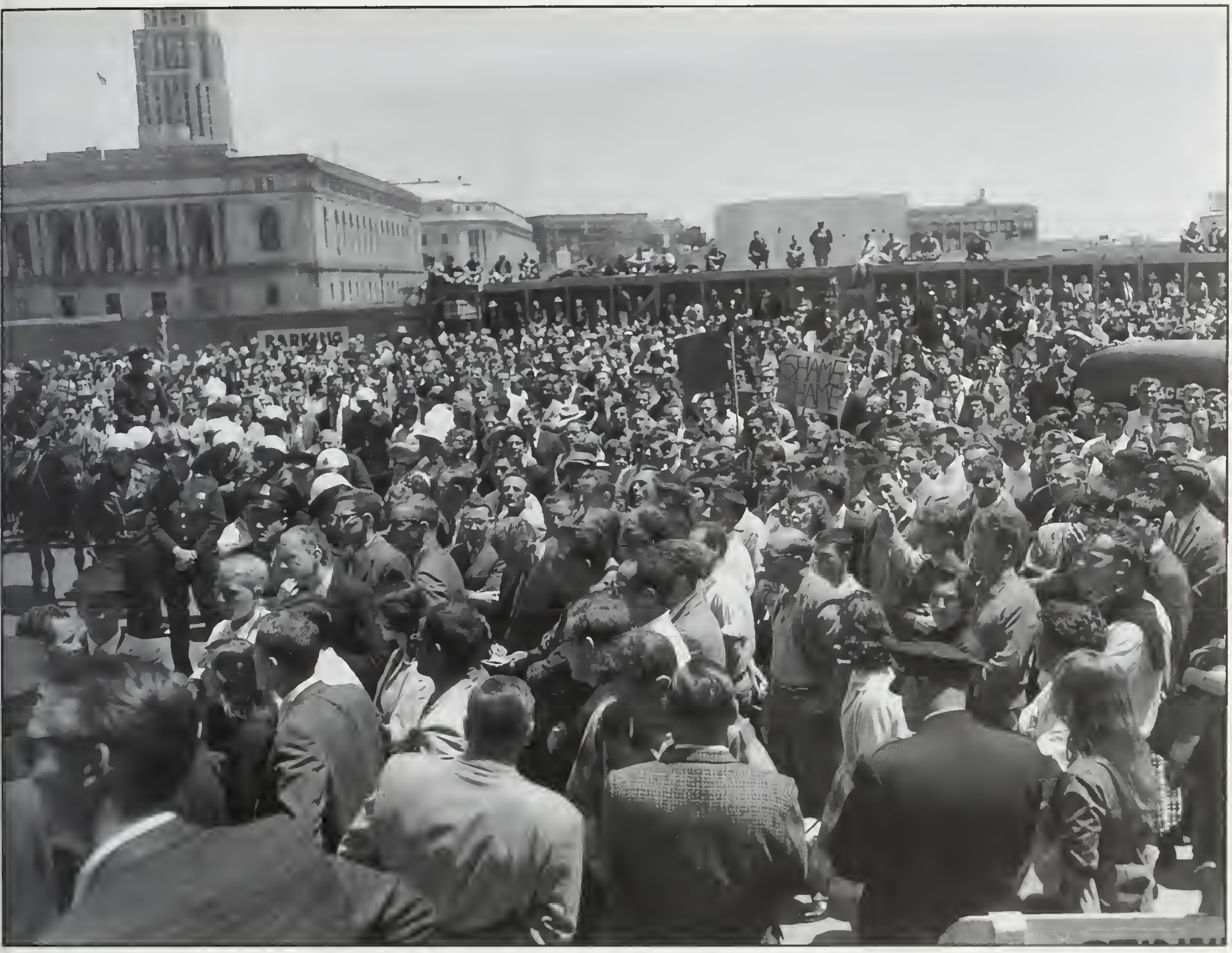
"We have not subpoenaed witnesses merely to put on a show," explained HUAC subcommittee chairman Edwin E. Willis,on May 12, the first day of the hearings. "Our task is to pursue the trails of Communists wherever they may lead. We are earnestly trying to discharge an important and arduous duty."[88] That duty became more arduous than expected when later that day more than one thousand protesters gathered in nearby Union Square. The rally was organized by students from U.C. Berkeley and San Francisco State, but—significantly—the crowd also included religious leaders, local politicians, labor unionists, high school students, and community activists. Like SAFE and the broader anti-HUAC network, speakers attacked the committee on a variety of grounds. "These unjustly conducted hearings not only damage individuals but also our society," said Canon Richard Byfield of Grace Cathedral, who stressed the ability of "the right, the left, and the center" to work together to "maintain a free society" without the intervention of HUAC. Assemblyman Phillip Burton condemned the committee for placing witnesses in the "calumny of the community" without due process of law. And Assemblyman John O'Connell defended a Communist's "right to hold a political view and say it aloud in public."[89] Meanwhile, inside city hall, a dozen spectators and witnesses were forcibly ejected for their shouts and "inappropriate" applause.[90]

The next day—Black Friday—began with another peaceful demonstration, but ended in mayhem. The hearings were being held in the Board of Supervisors chamber, which sat about 225 spectators. The committee reserved the majority of those seats each morning for members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Council of Christian Churches, and other sympathetic conservative groups by issuing them white cards. "I issued [the cards] to keep the Commies from stacking the meeting. We wanted some decent people in there," committee investigator William A. Wheeler remarked later.[91] After the white-card holders were ushered in on Friday afternoon, there remained only room for about twenty students, leaving several hundred standing outside the door, some of whom had been waiting since 7:30 that morning. They sang and shouted. The flustered police, who also had been standing around uneasily all day, unrolled fire hoses, pointed them at the crowd, and turned on the water. U.C. Berkeley graduate student Burton White later described the scene: "At the shock of the water, everyone stood up. Some of the hardier males formed a wall with their backs to the water to form a shield of protection for the others. After the hosing stopped, the people sat down again. All of a sudden the cops came pushing into a group of those sitting, trying to break them up. They swung their clubs freely and pushed the students all over a lobby and down to the main floor. . . . Cops came from the top and bottom of the stairs, dragging and punching and pushing and swinging with their clubs."[92]

Becky Jenkins, one of the several San Francisco State students hosed and arrested during the city hall riots, called the experience "terrifying." The next day—while a crowd of about five thousand gathered peacefully in downtown San Francisco to protest HUAC and the brutality of Black Friday—Jenkins's $210 bail was posted not by her parents or a friend but by San Francisco State professors Arthur Bierman and Leonard Wolf. "It made an enormous difference to know we had the support of the professors," she recalled. "This was the beginning of the Free Speech movement. After the 'riots,' things really started to cook."[93]



Police officers drag two wet teenagers down the steps of San Francisco's city hall on May 13, 1960. *Courtesy San Francisco News Call Bulletin newspaper photograph archive, Bancroft Library.*



A crowd of about five thousand anti-HUAC protestors peacefully gathers outside city hall in downtown San Francisco on Saturday, May 14, 1960. *Courtesy San Francisco News Call newspaper photograph archive, Bancroft Library.*

### LEGACIES

The turmoil of Black Friday made national headlines and proved to be a turning point in the history of HUAC. "Since its inception the Committee had blundered in and out of periodic short-term controversies," Simmons notes, "but rarely had its actions been sufficient to attract widespread and sustained public attention."[94] The city hall riots changed that pattern, especially after the committee confiscated news footage of the hearings and spliced together a "documentary" called *Operation Abolition*, which blamed the unrest on "well-trained, hardcore Communist agents [who] are able to incite and use non-Communist sympathizers to perform the dirty work of the Communist Party."[95] The forty-five-minute film was made available to churches and local government agencies, but was so rife with exaggerations and factual errors that its distribution harmed HUAC more than it helped. "Wherever [*Operation Abolition*] was shown it provoked local controversy, and through such controversy, many new adherents were ushered into the abolition crusade," writes Simmons. "The film was HUAC's greatest contribution to its own abolition."[96]

The *Washington Post*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Reporter*, the *Christian Century*, *The New Republic*, *New University Thought*, and the National Council of Churches all denounced the film.[97] The television program *The Today Show* aired portions of HUAC's film, followed by a rebuttal from an ACLU spokesman.[98] In fact, following the city hall riots, the ACLU—which during the 1950s had refused to initiate a campaign to abolish HUAC—became a leader in the fight to abrogate the committee.[99] Meanwhile, the ACLU of Northern California, which under Ernest

Besig's direction had for years been more stridently anti-HUAC than the national Union, reedited the same footage used in *Operation Abolition* to create its own rebuttal film, *Operation Correction*.[100] The committee's demise was also accelerated by two other California groups: the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, launched by Frank Wilkinson in Los Angeles in August 1960; and the Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of HUAC, organized the following month by a group of students arrested in the city hall riots.[101] HUAC remained in existence, though severely weakened, throughout the 1960s until changing its name to the House Internal Security Committee in 1969. Six years later, the committee—by now regarded as an embarrassing relic of a bygone era—was quietly dropped from the House's list of standing committees.[102]

SAFE disbanded after May 1960, but its members, particularly Arthur Bierman, remained active in the anti-HUAC cause. They bailed the San Francisco State student protestors out of jail, raised money for their legal defense (eventually charges were dismissed for all but one student, Robert Meisenbach, who was later also exonerated), circulated petitions to request an investigation of police brutality, signed statements urging Congress to abolish HUAC, and worked with the ACLU of Northern California in planning and publicizing an anti-HUAC conference in March 1961.[103]

The events of May 12-14, 1960, helped politicize the faculty of San Francisco State. Eric Solomon, who was hired by the college in 1964, called it "a liberal teacher's dream."[104] Bierman was personally involved in a variety of civil libertarian causes during the 1960s, including Californians Against State Executions, the Pacifica Foundation, and providing legal support for the defendants of the San Francisco sit-ins of 1964.[105] In 1963, Bierman helped organize a new, more militant faculty union, San Francisco State College Federation of Teachers, Local 1352.[106] Six years later, Bierman again made national headlines by helping to organize the college's first faculty strike.

The city hall riots also kicked off a decade of soon-to-be-famed Bay Area student activism. A *San Francisco Chronicle* survey conducted ten days after the hearings concluded, "A sudden student political reawakening—mostly on the left of center—is sweeping college campuses throughout California."[107] This was something of an exaggeration, under-emphasizing students' political activism prior to May 1960. Black Friday was simply the largest demonstration of that activism, although it did not remain so for long. "That morning when we went out to demonstrate against the House Committee, we had other things on our mind as well: capital punishment, integration, peace, and all the issues in which our lives were involved and which we had begun, as students, to think about again," wrote U.C. Berkeley graduate student David Horowitz in 1962.[108] A few years later, students in the San Francisco Bay area—especially at Berkeley—would lead a nationwide Free Speech and anti-war movement using many of the same tactics of the anti-HUAC activists: rallies, demonstrations, civil disobedience, nonviolent resistance.[109]

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Accused of attacking a police officer during the city hall riots, U.C. Berkeley senior Robert J. Meisenbach testifies during his trial in April 1961. A few days later, the jury found him innocent of all charges. "This verdict completely vindicates not only Robert Meisenbach but also all the other students who demonstrated in protest against the practices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities," declared defense attorney Jack Berman. "Twelve impartial jurors knocked *Operation Abolition* into the creek." *Courtesy San Francisco News Call Bulletin newspaper photograph archive, Bancroft Library.*

The efforts and ideology of SAFE illustrate many aspects of the Bay Area opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the summers of 1959 and 1960. SAFE, like the broader opposition, was not led by Communists or subpoenaed witnesses, but rather civil libertarians troubled by the committee's purpose and tactics. It, like most of the opposition, was a group of like-minded individuals in frequent communication with other groups. Its scope was determinedly local. It used a range of anti-HUAC arguments designed to appeal to the political left and right. It placed itself firmly in the middle of

ON STRIKE
AMNESTY
AND
DUE PROCESS
AFT AFL-CIO
LOCAL 1352
ON STRIKE
AUTONOMY
EDUCATION NOT REGIMENTATION

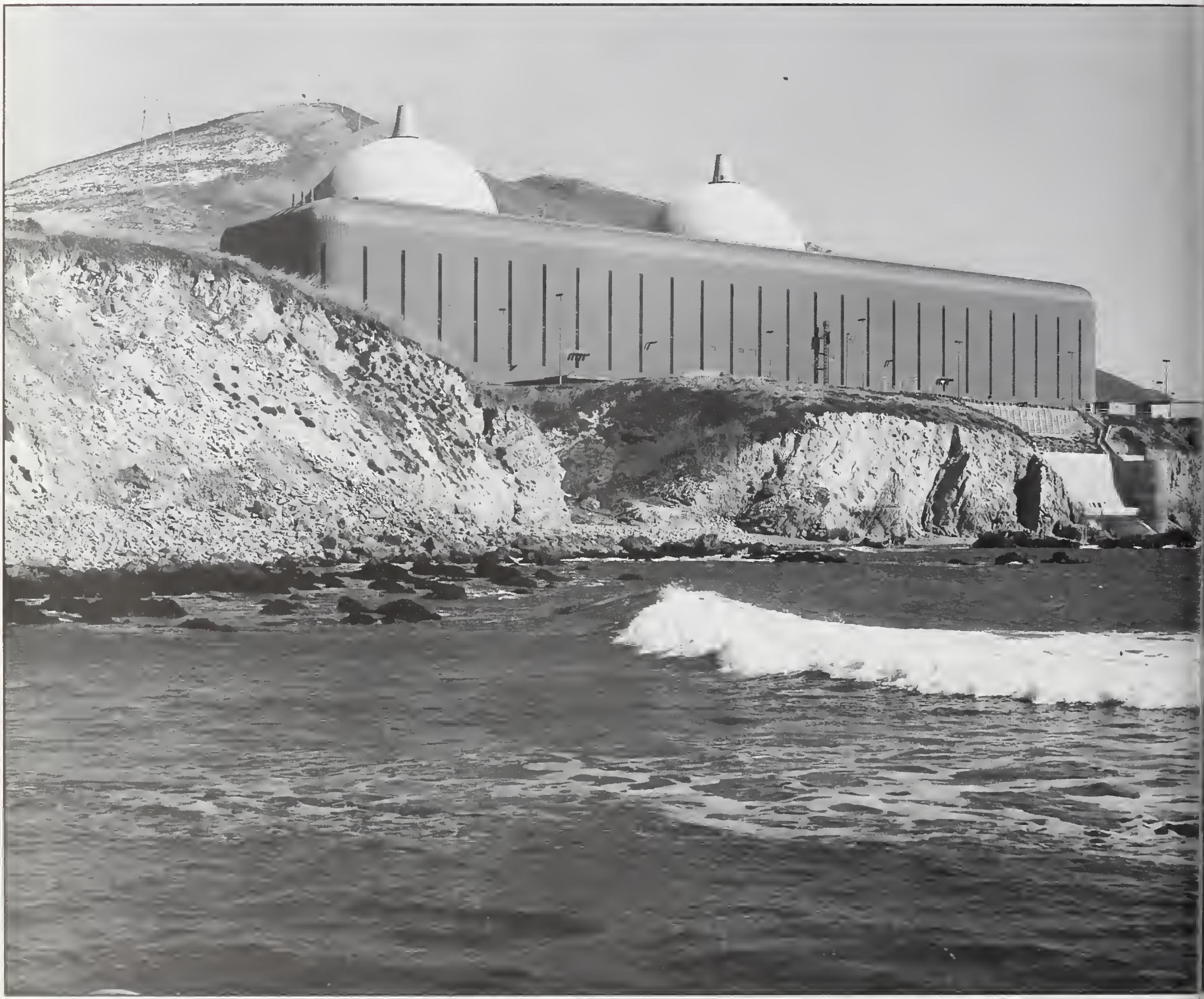
Arthur K. Bierman (left), Hank McGuckin, and Gary Hawkins lead a procession of picketing San Francisco State professors on January 6, 1969, the first day of their two-month-long strike. *Photograph by Phiz Mezey, courtesy Labor Archives and Research Center, San Francisco State University.*

the political spectrum ("we are not a left organization"), and as public sentiment turned against the committee, SAFE spoke more boldly. Its main tactic was a letter-writing campaign intended to help convince others to join the anti-HUAC cause. And its steering committee and list of endorsers reflected the diversity of the larger network of opposition, including academics, students, unionists, politicians, attorneys, religious leaders, and community organizers. Their grassroots activism helped change the course of politics and protest in the Bay Area and influenced national debates on anticommunism, academic freedom, and civil rights.

The opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the Bay Area was shaped as much by international events and national trends as by the organized actions of thousands of individuals. HUAC, initially created to combat the perceived radicalism of the New Deal, was sustained and encouraged in the late-1940s and 1950s by the tensions of the Cold War. However, by the late-1950s, national politics had begun to shift once again, influenced, on one hand, by de-Stalinization, improved relations with the USSR, and the decline of the Communist Party U.S.A., and, on the other hand, by desegregation, the civil rights movement, the Cuban Revolution, and the emergence of teen culture and rock-and-roll. In February 1960, African American college students conducted the first sit-in at a whites-only Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina; in November, liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy narrowly beat conservative Republican Richard Nixon for the presidency. That same year, the success of the film *Spartacus*—written by a formerly blacklisted screenwriter—heralded the demise of the Hollywood blacklist of former radicals. The political landscape that had created HUAC (and that HUAC had helped create) was disappearing, replaced by a new landscape. The San Francisco Bay area opposition to HUAC in the summers of 1959 and 1960, culminating in the city hall riots, was a dramatic illustration—and catalyst—of that change. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 219.*

*Joshua Paddison received a B.A. in journalism from the University of Oregon in 1996 and is nearing completion of an M.A. in U.S. history at San Francisco State University. He has worked as a writer, researcher, and archivist for a variety of historical institutions, including the Southern Oregon Historical Society, the California Council for the Humanities, the California Historical Society, and the San Francisco State Labor Archives and Research Center. He is editor of* A World Transformed: Firsthand Accounts of California Before the Gold Rush *(Heyday Books, 1999).*



Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant, San Luis Obispo County, California. Eager for a cheap, alternative power source, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E) began construction of Diablo Canyon in 1969, but design errors, the discovery of a nearby offshore earthquake fault, and the protests of anti-nuclear power activists delayed its opening for sixteen years. When it finally began producing full power in 1985, its cost had surpassed $2 billion (most of which was passed along to PG&E customers), convincing many that nuclear power was not the solution to California's energy shortage. *California Historical Society.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

## *Energy and the Making of Modern California.*

By James C. Williams. (Akron, O.: The University of Akron Press, 1997, xviii, 465 pp., $49.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

## *Critical Masses: Opposition to Nuclear Power in California, 1958-1978.*

By Thomas Raymond Wellock. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, xii, 333 pp., $49.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* William L. Cumiford, *assistant professor of history and director, Latin American Studies Program, Chapman University.*

Since the advent of the environmental movement in the 1960s, scholars have devoted increased attention to the questions of nature, technology, and energy. Two recent studies, *Energy and the Making of Modern California,* by James C. Williams, and Thomas Raymond Wellock's *Critical Masses: Opposition to Nuclear Power in California, 1958-1978,* take up the critical issues of energy and environmentalism in the Golden State.

Williams's work, part of the University of Akron Press series entitled "Technology and the Environment," is a sweeping narrative of energy use in California from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Drawing from nearly two decades of prodigious research, the author begins with a cogent analysis of California geography as a guidepost to unique energy requirements in the state, and relates the evolution of energy sources from the days of human and animal muscle power to the advent of hydroelectric projects and nuclear technology. Williams closes his study with the debate over energy and the environment. While he devotes much attention to hydroelectricity and the implementation of statewide electrification, Williams gives ample consideration to many other energy sources, including coal, water and wind power, steam engines, and oil and natural gas.

While the individual chapters concentrate on the specific needs and applications of energy in a growing and prosperous region, Williams effectively frames his narrative (in the introduction and conclusion) through broad national comparisons. For example, he calls attention to the state as a natural and technological utopia perceived by Californians and the nation as a land of unfettered abundance and growth. This image was shaken by the energy crisis of 1973, as California motorists queued up at filling stations and environmental activists protested against the construction of nuclear power plants in the state. In fact, Williams sees this period as a crucial turning point in undermining the old idea of California as a land of milk and honey and convincing many Californians of the need for a "soft energy" path leading to alternative resource use. The energy crisis, coming on the heels of the post-World War II population boom and the rise of environmentalism, forced California residents to reconsider their priorities. Massive influx of migrant and defense workers during and after the Second World War produced a California baby boom that seemed to symbolize the dream of an unbounded materialist America. The cumulative effects of population growth and the energy crisis of the seventies forced Californians to confront the harsh realities of dependence on foreign energy resources.

Fortunately, the diversity of California's population and economy enabled the state to retain its status as a national technological, social, and economic powerhouse. Aside from the economic downturn of the late eighties and early nineties, the solidity of the service, computer, and entertainment industries sustained California as a formidable presence in the national and world economy. Despite some disagreement over the nature and uses of energy (particularly the debate over nuclear power), California emerged over the past quarter of the century to resume its place as a national example of effective and diverse energy consumption.

Moreover, Williams correctly focuses on the adjustments made by the people of California relative to twentieth-century energy alternatives. He makes note, for example, of the uneasy transition from the individualism and spirited utopian visions of the mid-nineteenth century to the acceptance of a degree of regulation in accommodating contemporary energy priorities. Williams's introduction cites a number of important studies describing the effects of the capitalistic conquest of nature prevalent in the nineteenth century, and closes with a commentary on the compromises made in California between historic practices of unbridled consumption and modern environmental concerns. In brief, Californians of the 1990s have developed a new energy philosophy that questions the notion of boundless growth while envisioning a future that combines energy use with the environmental, economic, and technological realities of the twenty-first century.

*Energy and the Making of Modern California* is a major contribution to the literature on technology and energy in the United States. While most of Williams's black-and-white photographs are only mediocre in quality, his graphs, illustrations, and tables provide an abundance of data on the history and nature of diverse energy resources dating to the mid-nineteenth century. Twenty pages of appendices offer detailed statistics on diverse forms of energy production and consumption in California from 1850 to the 1980s. Williams has produced a comprehensive narrative on California energy and a superlative reference source for the history of technology.

Wellock's study highlights only a thin slice of California's energy panorama so effectively described by Williams—the controversy over nuclear power plants in California in the sixties and seventies. *Critical Masses* expands on the central points

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

alluded to by Williams, most specifically the effects of popular politics, shifting American values, and the growing challenge to modern science and technology that appeared in California's protest movements of this vibrant era.

*Critical Masses* is a convincing study on the sociology of California's energy politics of mid-century. Originating as a conservationist protest against the potential ruination of natural beauty in Bodega Bay at the hands of Pacific Gas and Electric, California's anti-nuclear campaign transcended geography, ideology, and interest-group focus in effectively derailing plans for nuclear power production in the state.

Wellock relates a tightly woven story of changing social attitudes, burgeoning political awareness, and institutional change. The author attributes the demise of nuclear power in California to several key developments, including well-organized protest movements, the unique regional flavor of various anti-nuclear causes, the effectiveness of grass-roots politics and organization, emergent anti-materialist values, the fading pro-nuclear rhetoric of the mid-Cold War era, and the defection from pro-nuclear ranks of some key scientists and technicians.

The strength of Wellock's analysis is in dissecting the institutional changes affecting California energy policies of this era. Early in the book, Wellock traces the developing schism in the Sierra Club as a crucial turning point in the history of the state's environmental movement. From a strictly nature-conservationist philosophy traditionally reflective of this key institution, the more environmentally oriented club members began to harbor suspicions of the growing nuclear power presence in California. Pacific Gas and Electric's attempts to install a nuclear plant at scenic Bodega Bay emerged as the initial struggle in an ongoing battle between the forces of environmentalism and the smugness of the nuclear power industry.

Wellock makes clear, however, that anti-nuclear protest was anything by a monolithic radical movement. As the contest over Bodega Bay developed, conservatives in southern California successfully prevented Lost Angeles's Department of Water and Power from erecting a nuclear site at Malibu. These mutual efforts, reflecting the respective political and social differences between northern and southern California, were greatly facilitated by growing public concerns over the safety and cost of domestic nuclear-based energy sources.

*Critical Masses* is a testimony to exacting research and Wellock's adroitness in tying institutional change to shifting social values and concerns. This work also reveals the haplessness exhibited by nuclear power advocates in their failure to estimate the potential of grassroots politics (such as the environmentalists' use of the California initiative in the early seventies) while relying on domestic variations of traditional Cold War rhetoric to promote nuclear energy. When scientists and technicians failed to seriously address growing public concerns over the cost and safety of nuclear power, public policy and support groups effectively used the media, sophisticated organizational expertise, and the legal system in exposing the disingenuousness of the big power companies and public utilities. As Wellock observes, "In just twenty-five years, nuclear power had gone from a fledgling technology protected by the federal government to a moribund industry whose fate rested with its enemies at the state and local level" (p. 249).

The least convincing argument advanced by Wellock is his argument for an emerging non-materialist ethos among Californians as an essential element in the environmental cause. Certainly the movement included visionaries from the Free Speech days as well as former anti-war protesters; also, few would doubt that many of the sixties generation found disfavor with traditional American capitalism. Still, as Wellock himself asserts, anti-nuclear opponents included a variety of individuals, groups, organizations, and interests. The fact that conservatives as well as liberals and radicals found common cause in opposing the installation of nuclear power plants attests to the difficulty in detecting a sea change in California values as a sustained factor in the anti-nuclear protest movement.

In fact, it is difficult to detect a lasting or permanent change in the value-orientation of Californians during the last half of the twentieth century. Asserting a hypothesis of definitive value reorientation would require a challenge greater than the 1973 energy crisis, one requiring Californians to confront a protracted sacrifice of the material amenities so intimately associated with life in the Golden State.

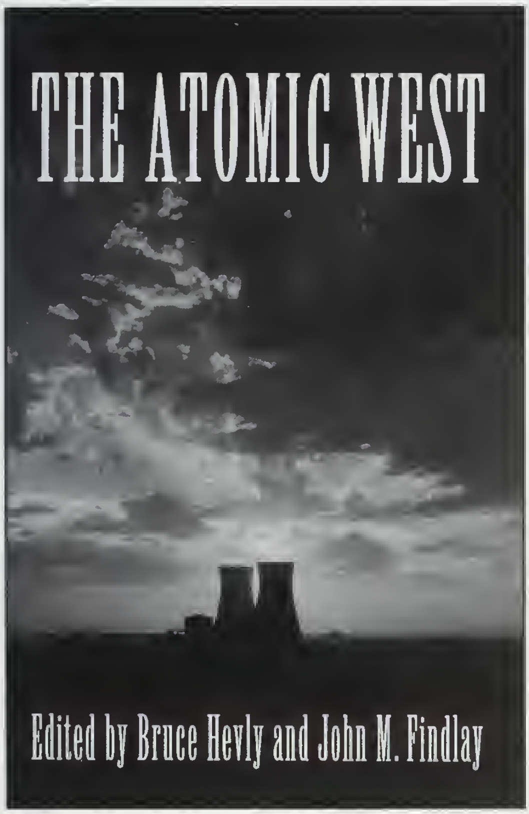
## *The Atomic West.*

### Edited by Bruce Hevly and John M. Findlay. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998, ix, 296 pp., maps, index, $19.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Gerald D. Nash, *distinguished professor of history, emeritus, at the University of New Mexico and author of many books on western history, and* Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth Century West *(University of Arizona Press, 1999).*

This volume grew out of a conference on the atomic West held at the University of Washington in 1992. The editors have divided the essays into three sections. Part I focuses on the federal presence. It includes essays on Hanford, Washington, on Gen. Leslie Groves (who supervised the building of the atomic bomb at Los Alamos, New Mexico, during World War II), and on the urban growth of atomic cities like Los Alamos and Richland, Washington. Part II deals with the Atomic Energy Commission at work. It contains selections about atomic weapons laboratories in California, about James Tuck, a prominent scientist at Los Alamos, and about nuclear fallout in Nevada. Part III includes essays on California's Nuclear Safeguards Initiative of 1976, on Edward Teller's plans for using nuclear explosions to alter Alaska's topography, on anti-nuclear activism and the Washington Public Power System, and on conflicts over MX missiles.

Students of California history will be especially interested in papers that deal directly with the state. Among these is the contribution of Greg Herken, which deals with the University of California and the federal weapons laboratories between 1940 and 1970. His essay traces the growing relationship between the university and the armed services as President Gordon Sproul and physicist Ernest O. Lawrence worked assiduously to secure government funds. Indeed, it was the "Big Four" of the Cali-



Courtesy University of Washington Press.

fornia science establishment—including Sproul, Lawrence, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and Edward Teller—who engineered a decided westward tilt for the nation's atomic establishment. After the 1970s, the connection came under increasing criticism. Some of this growing anti-nuclear sentiment was reflected in the Nuclear Safeguards Initiative before California voters in 1976. In an able essay Thomas Wellock explains the growing opposition to nuclear power between 1958 and 1978, drawing on his doctoral dissertation at the University of California in 1995 and his recently published book.

The essays in the book are of high quality. Each of the authors has expertise in a specialized field, reflected in the particular contribution to the volume. Footnotes provide appropriate documentation and are instructive in suggesting bibliographical information for those who want to learn more. As yet we do not know whether nuclear energy will be a live or a dead issue in the twenty-first century. But Californians at the millennium should be aware of the history and the context of atomic issues during the last fifty years, and this volume contributes to a better understanding.

## *California Place Names: The Origin and Etymology of Current Geographical Names.*

By Erwin G. Gudde. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged by William Bright. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, xxviii, 467 pp., $45.00 cloth.)

## *California's Geographic Names: A Gazetteer of Historic and Modern Names of the State.*

By David L. Durham. (Clovis, Calif.: Word Dancer Press, 1998, xiii, 1676 pp., $195.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Daniel B. Rosen, *emeritus instructor of history at Merritt College and coauthor of* El Presidio de San Francisco.

These two books are very different from each other despite the similarities suggested by their titles. Erwin Gudde's classic *California Place Names* has now appeared in a fourth edition, the first updating of its contents since the 1969 version. At the time of his death in 1969, Gudde was a retired professor of German at the University of California, Berkeley. This new and revised edition has been done by William Bright, an emeritus professor of linguistics and anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles, and changes in the work reflect his special interests. Professor Bright has enlarged the contents; new names have been added, and additional phonetic pronunciation guides have been provided for many place names that did not have them in earlier editions. Some earlier pronunciation guides have been made clearer for readers. American Indian names receive much more attention than in earlier editions. Professor Bright has eliminated some of Gudde's speculations and incidental information about some of the place names, material that I have rather enjoyed in the past. The typography in this new edition has been improved; the print is clearer and easier to read.

*California Place Names* is an important collection of geographic word origins; all of the state's major geographic features and many of the minor ones are included. It is a dictionary necessary for any serious study of California history. In addition, the book is wonderfully entertaining to read; it provides explanations and historical anecdotes for the curious mind. Whether one is a scholarly researcher, a curious traveler, or a casual reader of Californiana, all will find something of California's rich and varied heritage included in this useful volume.

Unlike the Gudde/Bright book, which is familiar to many people, *California's Geographic Names* is a brand new work. Its compiler, David L. Durham, is a retired government geologist who spent thirty-two years in completing his formidable project. This gazetteer lists more than 50,000 geographical places including topographical features such as peaks, ridges, canyons, streams, and waterfalls, and cultural places such as towns, localities, and even railroad sidings. Each item includes its general and very specific location and indicates on which United States government quadrangle map it appears. Many of the entries include information about how and when the place was named.

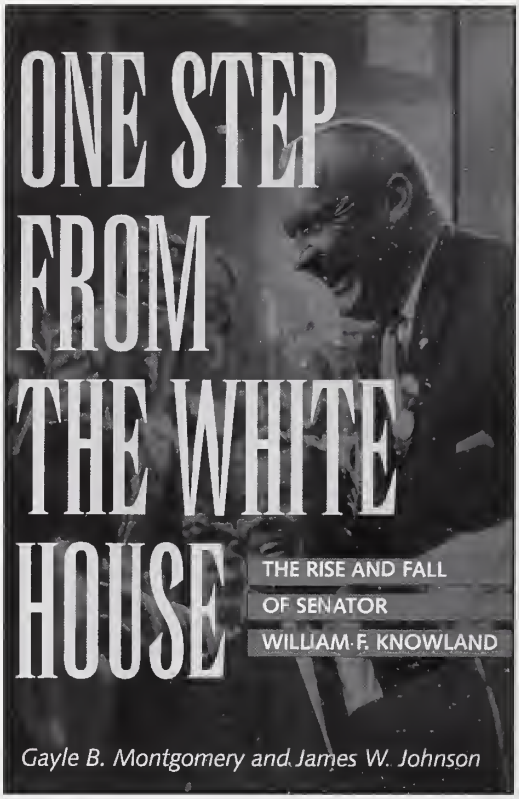
Alternative or obsolete names are often listed; it is amazing how many post offices were opened, closed, or had their names changed. Each item is documented by citations to books, maps, or other sources. The book is divided into eleven multi-county sections, which necessitates using the index first unless one already knows in which county or region a place belongs.

There is an incredible amount of information in this impressive reference work. It is an important source of material for historians, genealogists, writers, and cartographers. Its price and hefty size will probably limit its appeal for many individuals, but *California's Geographic Names* should be in every California library and in major out-of-state collections as well. This huge work is what it claims to be—the definitive gazetteer of California.

## *One Step from the White House: The Rise and Fall of Senator William F. Knowland.*

By Gayle B. Montgomery and James W. Johnson. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, ix, 361 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Bruce A. Khula, *instructor of American history at Ohio State University and assistant editor of* Diplomatic History.


ONE STEP FROM THE WHITE HOUSE
THE RISE AND FALL OF SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
Gayle B. Montgomery and James W. Johnson

Courtesy University of California Press.

Postwar political history has long concentrated on the president and the key policy-makers who surround him. As a consequence, the role of Congress and the giants who have dominated it is often overshadowed or forgotten. Aside from treatments of Joseph McCarthy and the anticommunist hysteria that bears his name, congressional leaders have often failed to rouse the interest of scholars. Fortunately, in recent years, good political biographies have appeared on such influential figures as Lyndon B. Johnson, William Fulbright, and Frank Church. Gayle B. Montgomery and James W. Johnson's new volume on William F. Knowland promises to add to this growing body of literature. Although both are journalists by training, Montgomery and Johnson have managed to pull together a biography that should provide historians with useful insights into the post-World War II period and the role played by one of its notable legislative leaders.

Montgomery and Johnson take pains to explore the entirety of Knowland's public and private life, but their most important contribution is their treatment of Knowland's twelve years in the U.S. Senate. While moving steadily up the Republican ranks, Knowland witnessed, and indeed influenced, some of the most important events of the early Cold War. Knowland began to earn his conservative reputation early, staking out a firmly anticommunist position and harshly criticizing Truman's handling of the Korean War and subsequent firing of Douglas MacArthur. Knowland also quickly became a darling of the China Lobby, Asia First, and rollback crowd. And even after he became majority leader in 1953, Knowland remained stubbornly committed to U.S. interventionism along the Pacific Rim, a stance that led him from one scrap to another with fellow Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower. Indeed, until his ill-fated decision to seek the governorship of California in 1958, Knowland played a central role in the national politicking of the era. Although the book's title exaggerates the degree to which Knowland's political star had risen (or was likely to rise), certainly the authors are correct to identify him as one of the more significant congressional figures of the time.

Montgomery and Johnson have written a sympathetic, though not uncritical, political biography. This is perhaps not surprising, given that both authors worked for Knowland at the *Oakland Tribune* after he left public service. Yet however much the authors focus on the integrity and professionalism Knowland displayed in public life, to their credit they also acknowledge his considerable failings. The book makes no effort to disguise Knowland's working relationship with the demagogic McCarthy or to paper over the senator's reckless and amateurish gubernatorial campaign. Neither does it shrink from admitting the excesses of Knowland's disheveled personal life, chronicling the former senator's descent into womanizing, gambling, and eventual suicide. The authors clearly view his sorry denouement as an unnecessary frittering away of one of the 1950s' more pivotal figures, a sentiment shared by this reviewer. Whether he was presidential timber or not, William Knowland clearly deserved a better end than he ultimately received.

Governor Ronald Reagan, shown here signing a welfare reduction bill in August 1975, embodied California's resurgent, post-World War II conservative movement (chronicled in *Triumph of the Right*). "The time has come to run a check to see if all the services government provides were in answer to demands or were just goodies dreamed up for our supposed betterment," Reagan declared in his first inaugural address in 1967. His themes of smaller government, lower taxes, and social conservatism struck a chord with voters not only in California but throughout the United States; after narrowly failing to win the Republican nomination for president in 1976, Reagan returned to beat incumbent Jimmy Carter for the presidency four years later. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center,* Sacramento Bee *Collection, Ward Shearer, photographer.*

## *Triumph of the Right: The Rise of the California Conservative Movement, 1945-1966.*

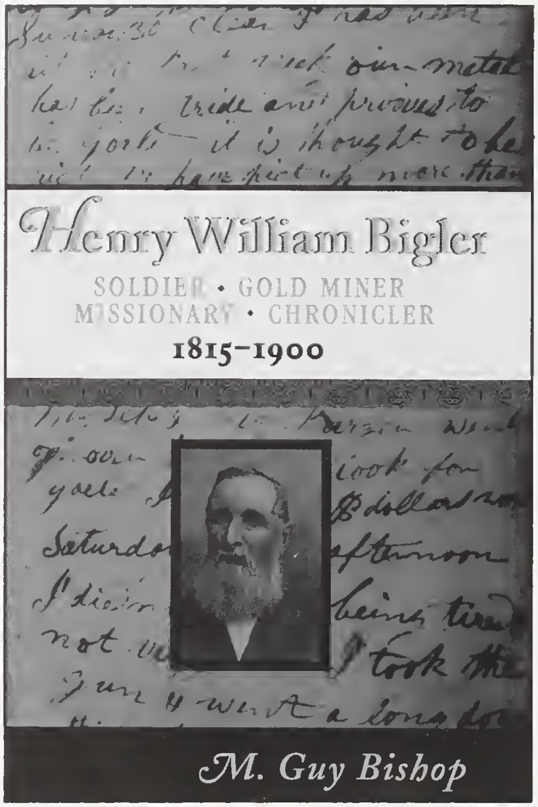
By Kurt Schuparra. (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998, xxiv, 221 pp. $29.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Martin Ridge, *senior research associate at the Huntington Library and author of* Westward Expansion.

The author of this brief and well-researched study is less interested in ideology than in political rhetoric and the internecine warfare within the Republican party. Kurt Schuparra's narrative is, in part, a refutation of the thesis that the post-World War II right embraced a paranoid style. Conceding that some members of the John Birch Society and followers of berry-farmer Walter Knott fit that image—some were fanatical anticommunists—he argues that most of the Republican right were white suburban home owners who feared racially integrated housing and the welfare state. There were a handful of wealthy conservatives who hated Communism, government regulation, and taxes. A minor fraction belonged to the anticommunist religious right who wanted school prayer but received lip-service and little else. Being pro-life had not yet emerged as a right-wing litmus test. Schuparra hints that if any group demonstrated a paranoid style, it was the left wing of the Council of Democratic Clubs, which denounced right-wing Republicans as "shoot from the hip" politicians who would dismantle the Democratic social programs. The CDC's left gave the Republican right plenty of ammunition.

Schuparra traces the rise of the right from the 1950s, when it attacked Earl Warren and pro-Eisenhower elements. William Knowland's gubernatorial campaign proved a defining moment; it gave the right an issue and a slogan—Freedom Versus Tyranny (tyranny defined as government regulation and the welfare state)—with which it would ultimately capture the party's machinery. The Knowland, Goldwater, and Nixon campaigns are examined in detail to show how and why the right grew in strength even when its candidates lost in primaries and in general elections. The internal party struggles between elections are skillfully analyzed. Schuparra's treatment of lesser-known right-wing candidates is first rate. He also explains the role of southern California's wealthy conservatives in selecting candidates and the reaction to the urban riots and the Rumford Fair Housing Act by Orange and Los Angeles County white suburban voters. Ronald Reagan's rise receives special attention. His personal charm, lack of ideology, movie-honed rhetorical skills, and subtle use of the "race card" to woo blue-collar voters made him an ideal candidate. Reagan's rhetoric made Goldwater's message acceptable. Moderate Republicans simply surrendered to Reagan, who really did little during his governorship but position himself for a presidential run. The Democrats, hopelessly fragmented by the Vietnam War, Rumford, and the abortion issue, self-destructed. Some may question Schuparra's contention that Reagan's California and national victories were conservative turning points in American politics.

Schuparra is best when working from unpublished sources. His treatment, often ironical, is critical of both parties and their factions. Despite his brevity, Schuparra has produced a significant and refreshing contribution to California history.



*Courtesy Utah State University Press.*

## *Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler, 1815-1900.*

By M. Guy Bishop. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1998, xiv, 208 pp., $36.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Henry H. Goldman, *associate professor of business and management at Touro University International and editor of* The Biography of Elder John Brush.

Guy Bishop has presented the historical community with an outstanding example of an overview of a difficult-to-obtain set of journals. Henry William Bigler was present at Sutter's Mill in 1848, when John Marshall discovered the gold that would lead to the California Gold Rush. Until now, being present at that event was Bigler's chief claim to fame. The present short volume provides an entirely different set of perspectives about this "voyager" to California.

Henry W. Bigler seems to have been everywhere in the American West. He was with the Mormons in Missouri during their difficult times, in Nauvoo, Illinois, when Joseph Smith, Jr., was murdered, and, later, in Utah. Bigler joined the Latter Day Saints' Church in 1836, when he was twenty-one years old. He became a fervent supporter and spokesman for the church and a longtime missionary. Bigler was part of the Mormon Battalion under the famous frontier soldier, Philip St. George Cooke, for whom he served as aide-de-camp on the march to California. Bigler's journals are cited by Otis Young in his biography of Cooke (*The West of Philip St. George Cooke, 1809-1895.* Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1955, pp. 204, 214).

Bishop has carefully scrutinized Bigler's journals and has culled the best and most interesting passages from them. This offers the reader and the researcher insights into the mind of a true pioneer, in the best sense of the word. Of particular interest to the researcher is Bishop's keen understanding of the entire set of Bigler writings and his overview of the contents therein (pp. ix-xiii).

Perhaps the most useful chapter in the book is the final one, "Chronicler." This chapter details Bigler's personal perspective on his own writings and how he saw those eyewitness accounts to be used in understanding the history that he saw being made.

This slender volume is a worthwhile addition to the primary documents of California and the American West. This reviewer hopes that Professor Bishop can find the necessary time and financial resources to edit and publish the entire Bigler collection, which is now spread over five distinct document groups in three archives located in two states (p. ix). To phrase the value of this work in the perspective of a Mormon missionary and historical observer is to add "line by line and precept upon precept" (Doctrine and Covenants, LDS Church, 98:11; RLDS Church, 95:3a) to the clarification of the history of the last half of the nineteenth century in California and western historiography.

## *Dancing Ghosts: Native American and Christian Syncretism in Mary Austin's Work.*

By Mark T. Hoyer. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998, xxvii, 211 pp., index, $34.95 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Douglas Firth Anderson, *associate professor of history at Northwestern College (Iowa) and author of many articles on Protestantism in California and the West.*

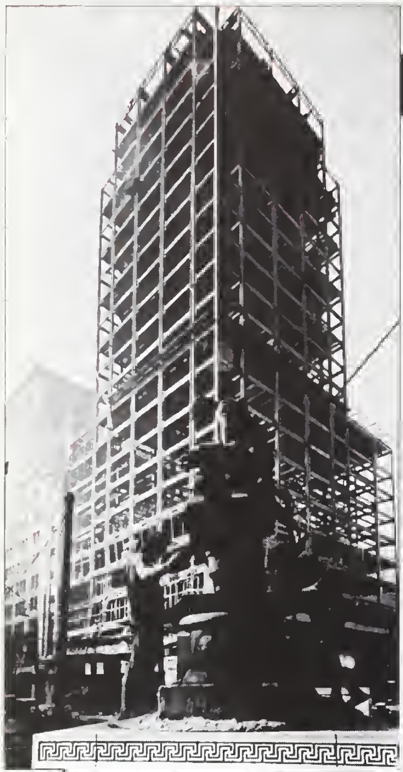
Mary Hunter Austin (1866-1934) has garnered enviable critical attention in recent years. Her twenty-some years of residence in California, particularly her years in the Owens Valley while married to a school administrator who dabbled in speculative schemes, "placed" much of the feminine-gendered nature writing for which she became (and remains) more widely known. Mark Hoyer's study of some of Austin's California-based stories and plays helps us to savor two interrelated and understudied elements in her work: her religious sensibilities and her indebtedness to regional Native American cultures.

Hoyer makes a persuasive case for Austin's considered and selective appropriation of Paiute, Shoshone, and Yokut myths, tales, natural lore, and religious perspective in constructing a blend of Christian and native spirituality. The analysis is grounded in *The Land of Little Rain* (1903), *The Basket Woman* (1904), *Lost Borders* (1909), *The Arrow-Maker* (1911), *Fire* (1914), and "The Coyote Doctor" (1912). However, the author has dug deeply into Austin's papers, the ethnography of southern California and Great Basin native peoples, and the written and oral resources and landscape of the Owens Valley and neighboring ocales to provide the best possible basis for teasing out the connections between Austin's texts and her varied sources.

The most problematic part of this book is Hoyer's episodic turn to autobiography. On the one hand, the author's own religious syncretism has obvious relevance to the burden of his analysis. A modicum of overt reflectiveness about authorial perspective enhances the integrity of the study. On the other hand, recurring self-reflection risks being taken as self-serving. The self-referencing, together with the introductory section on ethnography and story, distract more than they enhance an otherwise well-supported and intriguing analysis.

Austin emerges from Hoyer's study as, in effect, a mystically inclined storyteller who intuitively apprehended her southern California natural landscape and the native cultures that had adapted to that landscape. Raised in a pious Methodist home, the adult Austin blended Christian symbols with her understanding of native sensibilities to the land. The resulting syncretism from the cultural stance of a member of the dominant Euro-American culture inversely paralleled that from subordinated Native American cultures reflected in the Ghost Dance. The Ghost Dance itself was a mix of shamanistic spirituality with Christian eschatology. It was born among the Northern Paiutes at the precise time that the then Mary Hunter moved to the southern San Joaquin Valley. Hoyer not only delineates how Austin encountered it and appropriated it for her literary work; he also points out that her literary mediation between Euro-American and native cultures had significant parallels with that of Mourning Dove, a native author of another region but of the same era.

Austin was thus more than a regional naturalist and a feminist literary figure. She was also, as Hoyer shows, a white shaman of the word, aspiring "to re-create the earth and to restore healthy relationships among all its inhabitants...in a healing that is at once environmental and cultural" (138). Despite some problems, the book is an important contribution to understanding not only Austin but also some of the particularities of California as a religiocultural landscape. CHS



From *Imperial San Francisco*: The Shell Building with the Mechanics' Monument in the foreground (Courtesy San Francisco Public Library)

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urns, John R. *Sacramento: The Golden Heart of California.* Lori Parks, ed. Encinitas, Calif.: Heritage Media Corporation, 1999. $39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-886483-27-2. Order from: Heritage Media Corp.; 627 Encinitas Blvd.; Encinitas, CA 92024.

amp, Charles, ed. *John Doble's Journal and Letters from the Mines: Mokelumne Hill, Jackson, Volcano, San Francisco.* Volcano, Calif.: Volcano Press, 1999. $24.95 (paper) plus $4.75 shipping ISBN: 1-884244-18-1. Order from: Volcano Press; Post Office Box 270; Volcano, CA 95689-0270.

hávez, John R. *Eastside Landmark: A History of the East Los Angeles Community Union, 1968-1993.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998. $49.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8047-3333-3. Order from: Stanford University Press; Stanford, CA 94305-2235.

ole, Olen, Jr. *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps.* Gainsville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1999. "Evaluates the educational and recreational experiences of African-American CCC participants, their efforts to combat racism, and their contributions to the protection and maintenance of California's national forest and parks." $49.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8130-1660-6. Order from: University Press of Florida; 15 NW 15th St.; Gainsville, FL 32611-2079.

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Davis, Olive. *Stockton: Sunrise Port on the San Joaquin.* Sun Valley, Calif.: American Historical Press, 1998. $28.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-892724-00-6. Order from: American Historical Press; 10755 Sherman Way, Suite 2; Sun Valley, CA 91352.

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Grayson, Stan. *Engines Afloat, from Early Days to D-Day.* Marblehead, Mass.: Evéreux Books, 1999. 2 vols. "The vital contribution of California engineers and engine-building companies is featured in the first-ever comprehensive history of the American marine engine industry." $49.95 (cloth); $39.95 (paper), plus $4.50 shipping for one book, or $7.00 for boxed set. Order from: Evereux Books; Post Office Box 503; Marblehead, MA 01945.

Hicks, Patricia Johnsen. *Pioneer Records of Trinity County, California: A Century of Facts, 1850-1950.* Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1998. $46.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-7884-1028-8. Order from: Heritage Books; 1540 E. Pointer Ridge Place; Bowie, MD 20716-1800.

Holmes, Steven J. *The Young John Muir: An Environmental Biography.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999. $55.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-299-16150-1; $22.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-299-16154-4. Order from: University of Wisconsin Press, 111030 S. Langley Ave.; Chicago, IL 60628.

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Kiyama, Henry (Yoshitaka). *The Four Immigrants Manga: A Japanese Experience in San Francisco, 1904–1924.* Translated by Frederik L. Schodt. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1998. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-880656-33-7. Order from: Stone Bridge Press c/o SPD; 1341 Seventh St.; Berkeley, CA 94710-15403.

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Mosier, Dan L., and Earle E. Williams. *History of Tesla: A California Mining Town*. Fremont: Mines Road Books, 1998. $29.95 (paper), plus $4.55 postage and handling. ISBN: 1-889064-04-1. Order from: Mines Road Books; Post Office Box 3185; Fremont, CA 94539. (Corrected listing.)

Noy, Gary, ed. *Distant Horizon: Documents from the Nineteenth-Century American West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. $22.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-8032-8371-7. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 312 N. 14th St.; Lincoln, NE 68588-0484.

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Russell, Amy Requa, Andrew Rolle, and Marcia Russell Good, eds. *Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick*. San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 1998. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87328-165-9. Order from: Huntington Library Press; 1151 Oxford Road, Suite 6C; San Marino. CA 91108.

Schwartz, Stephen. *From the West to the East: California and the Making of the American Mind*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998. $29.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-684-83134-1. Order from: Simon & Schuster Trade; 200 Old Tappan Rd.; Old Tappan, NJ 07675.

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Walker, Clifford James. *One Eye Close the Other Red: The California Bootleggi Years*. Barstow, Calif.: Back Do Publishing, 1999. $25.00 (cloth) ISB 0-9673141-0-0; $18.00 (paper) ISBN: 9673141-1-9. Add $3.50 shipping an handling, Calif. residents add 7.75 sales tax. Order from: Back Do Publishing; 1204 Gen Court; Barsto CA 92311.

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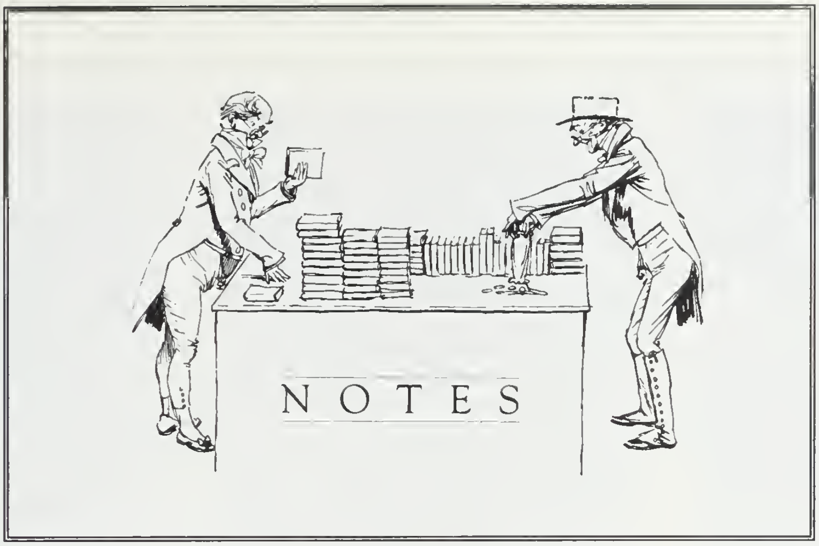
Wrobel, David M., and Michael Steiner, eds. *Many Wests: Place, Cultur and Regional Identity*. Lawrenc University Press of Kansas, 199 $45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-7006-0861- $19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-7006-0862- Order from: University Press Kansas: 2501 W. 15th St.; Lawrence, K 66049.

Zinkin, Harold. *Remembering Musc Beach: Where Hard Bodies Began*. Sant Monica: Angel City Press, 1999. $26.9 (cloth) ISBN 1-883318-01-7. Orde from: Angel City Press, 2118 Wilshir Blvd., Suite 880; Santa Monica, C 90403-5784.



# NOTES

### almers, "French Women-Adventurers," pp. 138-153.

Among many good general histories of the nineteenth-century political upheaval in France, see Léon Lemonnier, *La Ruée vers l'Or en Californie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1944). Two Frenchwomen left journals of their gold-rush adventures: Françoise de Saint-Amant, *Voyage en Californie, 1850-1851* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1851), and Fanny Loviot, *Les Pirates Chinois* (Paris: A. Bourdillat & Cie, 1860). De Saint-Amant was the wife of a self-described parisian merchant and bourgeois, a master at chess, and a politically active Bonapartiste; Loviot, although she came later with a convoy of the Golden Ingot Lottery, an altogether different sort of immigration, retained in her account of her voyage the flair and panache characteristic of earlier emigrants. All three volumes are at the Bancroft Library.

Passenger Lists, Archives Départmentales, Rouen, France.

Alphonse Délépine, "A mes Enfants, Simple Récit de mes Voyages" (unpublished manuscript, California State Library, Sacramento). Indeed a Mlle. Marie Gaucher died aboard the ship *Maria*, from the southern port of Sète, which reached San Francisco without her in July 1851. L.J. Rasmussen, *San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists* (Colma: San Francisco Historic Record & Genealogy Bulletin, 1965-1970).

De Saint-Amant, *Voyage en Californie*, 57. Unless noted, all translations are the author's. Albert Bénard, *Journal de Voyage en Californie à l'époque de la Rué vers l'Or,* edited by Sylvie Chevalley (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1980), 83-85; partially translated by Clarkson Crane, *Last Adventure: San Francisco in 1851* (San Francisco: Westgate Press, 1931).

According to the ship's passenger lists, Lucienne Carpentier (actually Rose Virginie Carpentier) was twenty-six years old; Marie Chalas, a pianist, was twenty-five; Claudine Sapin, a seamstress, was thirty-two; Fanny Borel, from Switzerland, twenty-five.

. This nineteenth-century term was used to describe the women who walked the streets near the elegant area of Notre-Dame de Lorette in Paris.

7. Bénard, *Journal*, 84.
8. Stanislas de Lapeyrouse, *Misères Oubliées: Californie 1850-1853, Aventures et Souvenirs d'un Chercheur d'Or* (Paris: Dreyfous, 1886), 28-29.
9. "The Golden Immigration," *Alta California*, August 31, 1849; Aimée Eudes, letter dated February 25, 1850, published in the newspaper of the immigration company *Le Mineur*, September 15, 1850, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Frank Soulé, Frank Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855). The census of 1850 confirms these figures as it reflects that the proportion of women was less than three in one hundred. Cited in Malcolm Rohrbough, *Days of Gold* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 94.
10. *Le Californien, Journal de l'Industrie et du Commerce*, September 5-20, 1849; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. There were four single women named on the passenger list of the *Jacques Lafitte*, but no record of Mlle. Fonsalles. Eliza Farnham came to San Francisco with only two women.
11. Alexandre Holinski, *La Californie et les Routes Inter-Océaniques* (Bruxelles, 1853), 109. Holinski's remark concurs with other testimonies found in various contemporary San Francisco newspapers. Frenchwomen were mentioned more than any other group, with the possible exception of the notorious Chinese woman, Ah Toy. He also comments: "Adored like goddesses, women flaunt the most striking fashions of the moment. Hats from Paris, crepes from China, embroideries from England, etc., they take each country's specialty and with all of these, create a harmonious and rich whole. Countless jewelers from the United States or France labor for them to set, in beautiful native gold, imported diamonds. How could they not appear seductive, considering the luxury they are surrounded with?" 125.
12. Bénard, *Journal*, 205, Clarkson Crane, trans.; Alexandre Achard, "Voyage de Paris à San Francisco," *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris: 1850), 700, reports forty to fifty respectable women in San Francisco in March 1850.
13. Eliza W. Farnham, *California, In-Doors and Out; or, How we Farm, Mine and Live Generally in the Golden State* (New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1856; reprint, Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands: B. DeGraaf, 1972), 75.
14. *Marysville Herald*, March 13, 1851.
15. *Alta California*, August 11, 1851.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., December 14, 1851; Elizabeth Gunn, in Sonora, noted in her journal in August 1851: "A Frenchman and his wife live in the nearest tent, and they dig gold together. She dresses exactly like her husband—red shirt and pants and hat"; cited in Jo Ann Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Archon Books, 1990), 112.
18. Eléonore Alphonsine Dumant is one of the better-known French women-gamblers, and later prostitutes, of the gold region. She was twenty-three when she left France aboard the ship *Seine*. A native of Nemours, France, she was a "plumassière," preparing and selling feathers (to milliners, for example.) Passenger Lists, Archives Départementales, Rouen, France.
19. Suize came to San Francisco on the ship *La Ferrière*. A native of Thomes, in Haute Savoie, she was twenty-three years old in June 1850; Passenger Lists, Archives Départementales, Rouen, France.
20. Loviot, *Les Pirates Chinois*, 43-44.
21. Achard, "Voyage," 700. Achard reported in March 1850: "Among them, forty or fifty [women] at most who are respectable, but their spending is exorbitant."
22. Théophile de Rutté, *The Adventures of a Young Swiss in California (1846-1856)*, Mary Grace Paquette, trans. (Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1992), 30. He continues: "Now, in 1849 and 1850, women were as rare in California as they were plentiful in Europe, so rare than when one of them appeared on a street in San Francisco, everyone stopped and turned to watch her as long as possible! There were of course, here and there a few wives of immigrants who had come overland and crossed the Rocky Mountains on foot, but these were hardworking wives and mothers who came with what was indispensable and to whom everything that was not strictly necessary

# NOTES

seemed superfluous. There were also a number of Chinese women with obliquely slanting eyes and olive skin, but they wore their national costume: a blue silk damask blouse and wide black cotton pants. For shoes their tiny feet were imprisoned in Cinderella slippers. And for headwear they contented themselves with their long flowing blue-black hair."

23. Soulé et al., *Annals,* 364; 463.
24. "The Coming of the Forty-Niners," in *The Course of Empire, First hand Accounts of California,* Valeska Bari, ed. (New York: Coward & Mc.Cann, 1931), 42. There was, in early San Francisco, a well-attended *maison close* called Lyonchamps, kept by a Frenchman from Lyon. See Etienne Derbec, "Lettres de Californie," *Journal des Débats,* Collection Jacques Perilhou, Carcassonne, France, and A.P. Nasatir, trans., *A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush: The Letters of Etienne Derbec* (Georgetown, Calif.: The Talisman Press, 1964).
25. Bénard, *Journal,* 205.
26. Ibid.
27. William Perkins, *Three Years in California: William Perkins' Journal of Life at Sonora, 1849-1852* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 303.
28. Consular Correspondence, Patrice Dillon to French Foreign Ministry, April 1851, Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris.
29. Quoted in Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1933), 24-25; Bénard, *Journal,* 205.
30. Cited in Lemonnier, *La Ruée vers l'Or en Californie,* 295.
31. Perkins, *Three Years in California,* 310.
32. Fernandez in Bari, *The Course of Empire,* 42; Bénard, *Journal,* 205.
33. The French were very active in providing some of the rare forms of entertainment available in San Francisco and California at the time, such as the theater and the *café-chantant,* an invention they were credited for. See Ernest de Massey, "Les Argonautes du XIXe siècle à la Recherche de la Toison d'Or en Californie" (unpublished manuscript, Los Angeles Public Library), translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush: The Journal of Ernest de Massey, Argonaut of 1849* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1927).
34. *The Evening Picayune,* January 6, 1851.
35. Bénard, *Journal,* 207.
36. Bancroft Library, Papers of the Vigilance Committee. Eugène Delessert to Mme. Eléanore Florentine [sic], April 15, 1852. Eléonore left California for France in July 1855; *Alta California,* July 22, 1855. Another French woman, the grisette Mme. Louis, was said to have actively participated in the riotous events of the "French Revolution," as reported by Friedrich Gerstacker, *California Gold Mines* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1946).
37. Bénard, *Journal,* 207. In May 1850, Eléonore and Racine were thirty years old, Adalbert thirty-one; Passenger Lists, Archives Départementales, Rouen, France. In her book *They Saw the Elephant,* 165, historian Jo Ann Levy appropriately wondered if the Eleonore whom Bénard named in his journal could be the notorious Nevada City gambler Eleonore Dumont [Dumant.] She was not; Bénard was referring to Eléonore Florentin, the actress. See note 18.
38. Holinski, *La Californie,* 121.
39. *The Evening Picayune,* October 31, 1851. In the November 3, 1851, column, he continues in that lyrical manner, after the performance: "Mme. Koska sang like a true artiste, not only with talent, but better yet, with heart. She enunciates well, sings in an expressive way, with soul, with fire; her voice has every quality required for dramatic scenes and is possessed of a rare beauty in the lower scales, a rare occurrence among women singers."
40. Eudes, letter, February 25, 1850.
41. Theodore A. Barry and Benjamin A. Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the "Spring of '50"* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Company, 1873), 54.
42. Bénard, *Journal,* 205.
43. Holinski, *La Californie,* 110; *Alta California,* June 29, 1854.
44. *Marysville Herald,* May 13, 1851. Stephen Massett, co-owner and editor of the *Herald* at this time, was likely the author of these columns. He was called California's first troubadour and was perhaps the first professional entertainer in San Francisco; see *The Shirley Letters* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998), xxvii.
45. *Marysville Herald,* May 29, 1851.
46. Ibid., June 10, 1851.
47. Bénard, *Journal,* 84.
48. Holinski, *La Californie,* 116; Holinski reports that Mme. Touchard was also a businesswoman who kept for a time the mansion Touchard; and Mme. Huerne, the wife of a French architect, sat at a dice table.
49. *Evening Picayune,* January 20, 1852.
50. Bénard, *Journal,* 182.
51. Seventeenth-century French writer and a marquise. Her voluminous correspondence with her daughter-in-law and with friends throughout Europe provide a major, intimate description of life in France during the Sun King's reign.
52. Françoise de Saint-Amant, *Voyage en Californie,* 28.
53. *Alta California,* December 3, 1850.
54. Françoise de Saint-Amant, *Voyage en Californie,* 35.
55. Charles de Saint-Amant, *Voyages en Californie et dans l'Orégon* (Paris: L. Maison, 1854), 469.
56. Françoise de Saint-Amant, *Voyage en Californie,* 7.
57. Consular Correspondence, Patrice Dillon to French Foreign Ministry, December 3, 1851, Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris.
58. *Alta California,* January 21, 1853: "Of the foreign population within our borders, the French is the preponderating element and its influence upon the community, into which it infuses something of the national vivacity and fondness for the enjoyable relaxations of life, and to which it imparts the impress of peculiar habitudes, is sufficiently marked. The Germans are numerous and intelligent, convivial and co-operative."
59. Ibid., February 10, 1853.

### Watts, "Photographer and Railroad Man," pp. 154-159.

The author gratefully acknowledges the following people for their assistance: Weston Naef, Curator of Photography at The J. Paul Getty Museum, suggested the topic for this essay. Carolyn Davis at Syracuse University provided invaluable reference service leading to the discovery of the Watkins letter. Dan Lewis tracked down every lead in the Henry Huntington Papers and offered many helpful suggestions for further research. Thanks as well to Bill McMorris and Susan Haas at The Society of California Pioneers. Finally, special thanks to the friends and colleagues who never tire of talking about the life and times of Carleton Watkins: Peter Palmquist, Doug Nickel, James Eason, Jack von Euw, and Bill Deverell.

1. *Camera Craft* 1 (September 1900) : 273.
2. David Lavender, *The Great Persuader* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970), 4-5.
3. Elizabeth Huntington remarked that in New York she and Collis met "Carlton and Mr. S we were very glad to see so many of our Oneontians." Elizabeth Stoddard Huntington to Elizabeth Vincent Huntington and Phoebe Huntington Pardee, June 24, 1851, Henry E. Huntington Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California (hereinafter HEH) 5097.
4. Nanette Sexton, "Carleton E. Watkins: Pioneer California Photographer (1829–1916): A Study in the Evolution of Photographic Style, During the First Decade of Wet Plate Photography" (Ph.D diss., Harvard University, 1982), 3-4, 50. Other important works on Watkins include two by photographer and historian Peter E. Palmquist: *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: Published by the Amon Carter Museum and the University of New Mexico Press, 1983) and *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer, 1861–1874* (San Francisco: Fraenkel Gallery in association with Bedford Arts, 1989). See also Amy Rule, ed., *Carleton Watkins: Selected Texts and Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1993). Another excellent addition to the field is the recent exhibition catalog by Douglas R. Nickel, *Carleton Watkins: The Art of Perception* (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1999).
5. Collis P. Huntington to Solon Huntington, October 11, 1851, HEH 491. Elizabeth Stoddard Huntington to Phoebe Huntington Pardee, January 1, 1853, HEH 5098.
6. Carleton E. Watkins to Collis P. Huntington, February 3, 1887, Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University (Microfilm Series 1, Reel 44).
7. Watkins's friend and first biographer, Charles Turrill (who also did photography and exhibition work for the Southern Pacific for many years), claimed that the photographer did work *gratis* for the railroad purely on the basis of his friendship with Huntington. But the February 1887 letter from Watkins to Huntington reveals that he neglected to bill his clients: "I am not going to present any bills to your Co but if I were I should be ashamed (as I am ashamed to

have conducted my affairs in such a manner)"; ibid, 2.; Charles B. Turrill, "An Early California Photographer: C.E. Watkins," *News Notes of California Libraries* 13 (January 1918): 36.

Collis P. Huntington to Carleton E. Watkins, February 11, 1887, Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University (Microfilm Series 1, Reel 44).

Collis P. Huntington to Alban N. Towne, February 11, 1887, Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University (Microfilm Series 2, Reel 27).

Collis P. Huntington Letter Book Index No. 4, July 1894 to December 31, 1894, Henry E. Huntington Papers.

Collis P. Huntington Letter Book Index, July 1, 1895–December 31, 1895, Henry E. Huntington Papers; Henry E. Huntington to Collis P. Huntington, June 22, 1896, HEH 6716.

Collis P. Huntington to Henry E. Huntington, June 18, 1896, HEH 3944. At this time Watkins's rail passes were also restricted to "lines in California only"; see Watkins's rail passes at Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco. This may have been because Henry warned his uncle that Watkins was "talking of going out on the road again"; HEH 6708. Watkins never did relocate to the Capay Ranch despite Huntington's urgings. Ironically, and tragically, his failure to do so cost him his studio and negatives a second time. Watkins lost everything in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. Shortly thereafter, he was committed to the Napa State Hospital, where he died in 1916.

. In 1875–1876, Watkins went bankrupt due to a number of circumstances, including the consequences of the 1874 financial panic and difficult relations with his financial partner, John J. Cook. As a result, San Francisco portrait photographer Isaiah W. Taber (1830–1912) obtained Watkins's negatives and photographic equipment. Palmquist, *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West*, 51-52.

. George Edward Gray (1818–?) was an engineer with the Central Pacific Railroad from 1865 to 1885. See Salvador A. Ramirez, ed., *The Octopus Speaks: The Colton Letters* (Carlsbad, California: The Tentacled Press, 1982).

5. Photographer Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) was a contemporary and rival of Watkins. See Mary V. Hood and Robert Bartlett Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867–1872," *California Historical Quarterly* 42 (March 1963), 5-26.

6. Willard V. Huntington (1856–1915), a nephew of Collis P. Huntington, helped manage his uncle's San Francisco real estate holdings. See correspondence in Collis P. Huntington Papers, Syracuse University. Willard interviewed Watkins in 1905 about their hometown of Oneonta, New York, for his twelve-volume reminiscences, "Old Time Notes Concerning the Pioneers and Progress of Oneonta, New York, Before 1915"; Willard V. Huntington Papers, Upper Susquehanna Historical Society, Huntington Memorial Library, Oneonta, New York.

7. Alban N. Towne (1829–1895) was a top official with the Southern Pacific Railroad.

18. In January 1883, Watkins made a trip to Monterey to photograph the Southern Pacific's posh Hotel Del Monte. This journey was most likely made at the behest of the railroad; woodcuts of Watkins's photographs were used to illustrate Major Ben C. Truman's *Tourists' Illustrated Guide to the Celebrated Summer and Winter Resorts of California: Adjacent to and upon the Lines of the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads* (San Francisco: H.S. Crocker, 1884). Palmquist, *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West*, 69.

### Koegel, "Canciones del país," pp. 160-187.

Thanks are due to Roland Jackson, César López, Ronald Purcell, William Summers, Ralf Wessel, Craig Russell, Paul Charosh, and Carol Hess for assistance with this study. Thanks also to Kim Walters and Michael Wagner, Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum. The award of a Haynes Foundation Research Fellowship at the Huntington Library permitted concentrated work on this project.

1. William Heath Davis wrote that "in almost every family there were one or more musicians, and everywhere music was a familiar sound. Of course, they had no scientific and technical musical instruction." William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1929), 61.
2. I am presently preparing a musical edition of some 300 Spanish-language songs from the Lummis Wax Cylinder Collection for the *Music in the United States* series (A-R Editions and the American Musicological Society) as well as a history of music in California's Mexican community in the nineteenth century. My preliminary studies on this topic include: "Spanish and Mexican Dance Music in Early California," *Ars Musica Denver* 7 (Fall 1994): 31-55; "Mexican-American Music in Nineteenth-Century Southern California: The Lummis Wax Cylinder Collection at the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Claremont Graduate University, 1994); "Preserving the Sounds of the 'Old' Southwest: Charles Lummis and his Cylinder Collection of Mexican-American and Indian Music," *Association for Recorded Sound Collections Journal* 29 (April 1998): 1-29.
3. Manuela García lived from December 8, 1869, until March 24, 1930. She died in Los Angeles.
4. Manuela García's mother, Rosario Díaz, married German-born Felipe Rheim (ca. 1813–ca. 1859) on April 23, 1850, in the Plaza Church, Los Angeles. He was remembered many years after his death by Harris Newmark as the proprietor of "Los Dos Amigos": "Philip Rheim . . . had a little store and saloon, before I came, called 'Los dos amigos,' ["The Two Friends"] as the proprietor of which he was known as Don Felipe. Nor was this title amiss, for Felipe married a native woman [Rosario Díaz] and, German though he had been, he gradually became, like so many others who had mated in the same way, more and more Californian [Mexican] in manners and customs." "On the evening of December 31st, 1853 . . . I was in our store at eight o'clock when Felipe Rheim . . . gloriously intoxicated and out for a good time, appeared on the scene, flourishing the ubiquitous weapon [a gun]. His celebration of the new year had apparently commenced, and he was already six sheets in the wind. Like many another man, Felipe, a very worthy German, was good-natured when sober, but a terror when drunk . . . " Rheim's drunken entrance into Newmark's store passed to an uneventful conclusion. See Harris Newmark; Maurice H. and Marco Newmark, eds., *Sixty Years in Southern California* (Los Angeles: Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, 1970), 58-59, 64. For information about Díaz and García's marriage, see Los Angeles County Hall of Records, Norwalk, California; marriage registers.
5. Ygnacio García's letters to Ygnacio del Valle (dated 1864–1869) are in the del Valle Collection, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. They generally treat of financial arrangements and dealings, but occasionally speak of current political and poignant personal events such as southern California's support of Lincoln during his second bid for the presidency (# 1572, November 10, 1864); a murder viewed firsthand by García in a dance at the Bella Union Hotel in Los Angeles (# 1584, July 7, 1865); and the tragic death of one of García's (unnamed) children, who died as a result of burns received when his nightshirt caught fire (# 1570, August 18, 1868).
6. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 66.
7. In 1860, Manuela García's mother, Rosario Díaz, owned real estate to the value of $3000, probably inherited from her first husband Felipe Rheim. By the time of Díaz's death in 1895, her real estate holdings had increased in value to $8830, $7000 of which was the value of the house plot at 1115 South Olive Street (1860 Federal Census; Los Angeles County Hall of Records, probate records).
8. H. D. Barrows, who interviewed Ygnacio García in or before 1894 about John Temple, stated that García paid $10,000 for the "Temple Block and lot" ("Recollections of the Old Court House and its Builder," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 3 (1894): 45. Newmark gives $16,000 as the purchase price. This lot was probably located on the site of the present Los Angeles County Courthouse. Had García retained ownership of the lot, his financial position would have been secured, but he sold the property a few weeks later to Temple's brother, Francis Temple, at his cost. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 67.
9. Manuela García's father, Ygnacio, was one of the few Mexican American residents of early Los Angeles to be involved in large-scale banking activities. Landowner Juan M. Sánchez, who like García lost his entire investment in the Temple-Workman Bank failure, was another. See Robert Glass Cleland and Frank B. Putnam, *Isaias W. Hellman and the Farmers and Merchants Bank* (San Marino: Huntington Library), 41-42.

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10. Martin Cole, *Pío Pico Miscellany* (Whittier: Governor Pico Mansion Society, 1978), 78.
11. Dr. Fernández (first name unavailable), a leading member of the Mexican American community in Los Angeles, maintained connections with the García family for many years. He was attending physician at the death of Ygnacio García in 1896. He was also a singer who performed in public for Hispanic audiences.
12. *La crónica*, 7 April 1875.
13. A photograph of Miguel S. Arévalo, now in the Security Pacific Photograph Collection, Los Angeles Public Library, was given to Ygnacio García on the occasion of Arévalo's acceptance of the duties of *padrino* of García's son Bernardo Arturo.
14. *Los Angeles City Directories*, 1894–1896.
15. Information about Mercedes García was supplied by Elizabeth P. Matthews of Torrance, California, wife of Charles Gordon Matthews, and daughter-in-law of Mercedes García. Rosario Rheim, b. 1854, was noted as the *poseedora de una voz sonora y arrogante* ("the possessor of a spirited and sonorous voice") in the issue of the Santa Barbara newspaper *La Gaceta* of January 10, 1880.
16. See *The Los Angeles State Normal School: A Quarter Centennial History* (Los Angeles, 1907), and *General Catalogue of Pupils in the State Normal School, 1882–1899*, entry of August 1884; Manuela García, entered the "junior" class, listed as student number 298 (University Archives, University of California, Los Angeles).
17. *The Los Angeles State Normal School*. Manuela García is listed in the Los Angeles City Directory for 1886 as a "student at Normal School."
18. Guadalupe V. Baca, class of December 1890; Guadalupe López, class of June 1899; Ylaria Machado, class of June 1902; and Manuela H. Ornelas, class of January 1905, all graduated from the Los Angeles Normal School before 1907. See *The Los Angeles State Normal School*.
19. Robert Domínguez (class of 1882) was the sole graduate of Los Angeles High School with a Spanish surname during the ten-year period between 1875 and 1885. "Los Angeles High School Graduates, 1875–1885," *The Searcher* (Southern California Genealogical Society) 24 (March 1987): 58-59.
20. Lummis's diary quoted in Turbese Lummis Fiske and Keith Lummis, *Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 133.
21. Lummis Diary, 12 January 1904, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.
22. Farwell, "Wanderjahre of a Revolutionist," *Musical America* (April 24, 1909): 11-12. See Arthur Farwell, Thomas Stoner, ed., *"Wanderjahre of a Revolutionist" and Other Essays on American Music* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1995).
23. All translations are the work of the author.
24. Madame [Frances Erskine] Calderon de la Barca, *Life in Mexico During a Residence of Two Years in That Country* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1931), 507.
25. Like other presidial soldiers, José Clemente Cordero was illiterate and consequently signed his cross mark instead of his signature on the *filiación* (regimental register) on July 24, 1833. Doris Marion Wright, *A Guide to the Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo Documentos para la Historia de California, 1780–1875* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), 89. His daughter, Adalaida, was baptised in Sonoma, California, July 8, 1839, and died in Ventura, California, June 7, 1919. For Harold Kamp, see Yda Addis Storke, *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo and Ventura, California* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1891), 566-67; Libera Martina Spinazze, *Index to the Argonauts of California* (New Orleans: Polyanthus Press, 1975), 394; and C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1890).
26. These verses sung by Adalaida Kamp are among the song texts collected by Lummis. They are identified as "Additional verse to 'Jota de los indios de California' Improvised in 1856 by Doña Adalaida Kamp for General Mariano Vallejo (her uncle)." No proof that Vallejo was Adalaida Kamp's uncle has yet been found. However, she may have considered him her *padrino*.
27. Farwell, "Wanderjahre of a Revolutionist" (May 8, 1909): 23.
28. Kamp's songbook is now in the Southwest Museum. Lummis presented some of Adalaida Kamp's recordings at a social event at the San Buenaventura Mission in Ventura in October 1904. This may have been the first time Adalaida Kamp's singing had been heard in public outside her extended family (other than when she recorded for Lummis or when she sang in church). "The Garden Party given at the Mission grounds last evening by the ladies of the Catholic church was very largely attended . . . A feature of the splendid literary and musical program was the reproduction of folk-lore songs by Miss Adalaide Kamp." Unidentified Ventura city newspaper clipping, October 1904, Lummis Scrapbook, Lummis Collection, Southwest Museum.
29. Vicente T. Mendoza, *El corrido mexicano* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954).
30. José María Telesforo de la Rosa was born January 5, 1802, in Puebla, Mexico. See *Registros parroquiales. Libro de bautismos, 1800–1804*, El Sagrario Metropolitano, Puebla. He died in 1891 in Ventura.
31. For information about the two Puebla printers both named Pedro de la Rosa (father and son?), identified in Puebla imprints as Don Pedro de la Rosa and Ciudadano Pedro de la Rosa, see José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles, 1640–1821* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1908), and Florencio Gavito and Felipe Teixidor, *Adiciones a la "Imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles"* (Mexico: privately printed, 1961). Historian John E. Baur mistakenly stated that de la Rosa never married. See John E. Baur, "José de la Rosa, Early Ventura's Centenarian Printer," *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1973): 14-25. For additional information about José de la Rosa, see Mary M. Bowman "The First Printer in California," *Land of Sunshine* 3 (June 1895): 30-31.
32. Agustín Janssens; William H. Ellison and Frances Price, eds. *The Life and Adventure in California of Don Agustín Janssens 1834–1856* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1953), 12. One such musician and member of the Híjar-Padrés company wa José Rosas López, age 20, known as "el clarín López" ("López, the trumpet player"). See C. Alan Hutchinson, "An Official List of the Members of the Híjar-Padrés Colony fo Mexican California, 1834," *Pacific Historica Review* 52 (August, 1973): 407-418.
33. The *padrón* (census) of Monterey taken in 1836 by William Hartnell lists among the members of Agustín Zamorano's household: "José Maria de la Rosa, age 34, born Puebla; wife, Dolores López, age 20, born Puebla; daughter, María de la Luz de la Rosa, age 2, born Mexico; daughter, María Estanislada de la Rosa, age 8, born Puebla all residing in the house of Agustín Zamorano." Thomas Workman Temple California mission registers and civil census (Family History Library, Salt Lake City, microfilm number 0944282); Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *Index to the Padrones [at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley* (copy at Family History Library); Wayne Dell Gibson, ed., *1836 Mexican Census [of Alta California]* (Santa Ana: Santa Ana College Foundation Press, 1976).
34. George Laban Harding, in *Don Agustín V Zamorano, Statesman, Soldier, Craftsman, and California's First Printer* (Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1934), completely fails to mention José de la Rosa's important contributions to the history of printing in early California.
35. Several of the imprints bearing José de la Rosa's name (or attributed to him) have survived and have been published in facsimile by the Zamorano Club and by others, including the song *Al bello secso*, printed for "Los empleados de la aduana marítima" (Monterey, 1836), reprinted by the Zamorano Club in 1953; *Bótica general de los remedios esperimentados* (Sonoma, 1838), reprinted with an introduction by Viola L. Warren (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1954).
36. The Ventura County Museum of History and Art has a book of novenas and religious devotions (call number 240.0)—some printed in Puebla by Pedro de la Rosa between 1795 and 1828—which must have belonged to José de la Rosa. The typography of these religious imprints is similar in some ways to that of the early Zamorano imprints, leading one to the idea that José de la Rosa brought boxes of type with him to California. Two of the seven printed religious devotions or novenas bound together in this small leather-bound volume are listed in Medina, op. cit.: *Quinario o devoción de cinco días . . .* (Puebla: Oficina de D. Pedro de la Rosa, 1795) [Medina entry: 1130]; and *Novena de S. Emygdio Obispo Martyr* (Puebla: Real Colegio de S. Ignacio, 1768) [Medina entry: 835]. I am indebted to Charles Johnson, librarian at the Ventura County Museum of History and Art, for alerting me to this book of novenas.

7. See Wright, *A Guide to the Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo Documentos para la Historia de California*, 170.

8. Fred B. Rogers, *Bear Flag Lieutenant: The Life Story of Henry L. Ford [1822–1860]* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1951), 14.

9. The photographs of Mexican-era documents used in this case were made by Robert Vance, renowned pioneer San Francisco daguerreotypist of the 1850s. Duayne J. Dillon, "Pioneer Photography and Document Experts in a California Land Grant Case," *Bancroftiana* 106 (August 1993): 4-6.

0. Bowman, "The First Printer in California."

1. Ibid.

2. For accounts of de la Rosa, see *Ventura Free Press*, June 13, 1890, pp. 2, 8; *Ventura Vidette*, January 11, 1890, p. 4; *Ventura Weekly Democrat*, May 31, 1890, p. 3; June 7, 1890, p. 3; *San Francisco Morning Call*, May 12, 1890, p. 8; *Sacramento Union*, May 25, 1890, p. 2; *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1890, p. 4; *Los Angeles Evening Express*, June 10, 1890, p. 6. These notices were later reprinted in *Ventura Star*, March 9, 1928; *Ventura Daily Post*, November 24, 1923, August 10, 1924.

3. Rosendo Uruchurtu's death date is taken from his death certificate at the Los Angeles County Hall of Records, Norwalk, California.

4. The California Institution for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind was first established in San Francisco in 1860; in 1869 it moved to a site in Berkeley. These buildings were destroyed by fire in 1875, and were rebuilt in 1878. In 1897–1898, the school had 15 teachers and 171 students; probably among the students was the blind Rosendo Uruchurtu. See "Accurate California Statistics," *The Land of Sunshine* 14 (January 1901): 53-54. The 1900 federal census lists Rosendo Uruchurtu as a student at the California Institution for the Deaf and Blind.

5. *The Los Angeles Star/La estrella de Los Angeles* of April 2, 1853, carried the elder Rosendo Uruchurtu's advertisement for music lessons on "piano, arpa o vihuela" ("piano, harp, or guitar").

6. Ramón Corral, the author of a history of Sonora, was governor of the state of Sonora and later vice president of Mexico under Porfirio Díaz. Though an unpopular figure in Mexican national politics, he was remembered as a poet and a great music lover. See Ramón Corral, *Obras históricas* (Hermosillo: Biblioteca Sonorense de Geografía e Historia, 1959); Delmar Leon Beene, "Sonora in the Age of Ramón Corral" (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1972). For information on Ricardo Uruchurtu, see Federico García y Alva, *Mexico y sus Progresos: Album-Directorio del Estado de Sonora* (Hermosillo: Antonio B. Monteverde, 1905).

7. Manuel R. Uruchurtu, *Apuntes biográficos de Don Ramón Corral* (Mexico: E. Gomez de la Puente, 1910; revised ed., Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1984).

8. See Rosemary Gibson, "The Beginning of Theatre in Sonora," *Arizona and the West* 9 (1967): 356-57. Also see *Teatro Alcaldada* (Ures: Imprenta del gobierno a cargo de J. Jofre, 1872), broadside in the Bancroft Library.

9. For information about Mateo Uruchurtu's dispute with the Seris, see *Alegato de buena prueba presentado por el Ciudadano Mateo Uruchurtu* (Guaymas: Imprenta de R. J. Taboada, 1875), copy in Bancroft Library.

50. A search of the CD ROM version of the *International Genealogical Index* (Family History Center, Salt Lake City), revealed the baptisms and marriages of many Uruchurtus in Hermosillo.

51. In addition to his musical abilities, Rosendo Uruchurtu was also remembered for his mechanical skill, for a story was told of his working later in life on Ford Model T automobile engines, quite a feat for a blind man. Personal communication from Dr. Michael Heisley. This story was apparently told to Heisley by Gabriel Ruiz, a local musician who knew Rosendo Uruchurtu quite well.

52. Previewed and reviewed in the *Los Angeles Times*, June 12 and 19, 1904.

53. Letter from Lummis to Rosendo Uruchurtu of December 29, 1905; Lummis Correspondence Collection, Southwest Museum.

54. Tulita Wilcox Miner's Mexican American mother was a member of the wealthy Estudillo family of San Diego; her Anglo-American father was the ship's captain Henry Wilcox, who shipped many of the earliest lighthouses on the Pacific Coast to their destinations in the 1850s, and who ran a steamship company on the Colorado River.

55. Letter from Lummis to Mrs. Randolph [Tulita Wilcox] Miner, March 26, 1916; Lummis Correspondence Collection.

56. Lummis Correspondence Collection, March 14, 1908.

57. Singer Luisa [Ronstadt] Espinel [Kassler], wife of Denver artist Charles Kassler, daughter of Tucson bandmaster and merchant Federico José María ("Fred") Ronstadt, and aunt of popular singer Linda Ronstadt, included a version of "Las golondrinas" in her song collection *Canciones de mi padre* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1946), which Espinel indicated had been given to her by her father. See Federico José María Ronstadt; Edward F. Ronstadt, ed., *Borderman: Memoirs of Federico José María Ronstadt* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993). "Las golondrinas" was first published in Becquér's collection *Rimas*.

58. Tomás Villa , brother of Miguel Villa (1842-ca. 1916), probably accompanied him to California from Mulegé, Baja California. Tomás later lived in the gold-rush town of San Andreas, California. (Information supplied to John Koegel by Frances Erickson of Sacramento, California, great-granddaughter of Tomás Villa.)

59. "Don Miguel Villa acaba de abrir una carniceria de primera clase, arreglada con el mejor gusto, en esta ciudad, en la calle de Los Angeles entre San Pedro y Primera, donde estaba antes la carnicería del Sr. Botello." ("Miguel Villa has just opened a butcher shop of the highest category, arranged with the best taste, in this city, in Los Angeles Street between San Pedro and First Streets, where Mr. Botello previously had his shop.") *La crónica*, May 31, 1873.

60. Thanks are due to Corry Lockhart, archivist of the San Francisco Opera, for providing information about Noé Villa.

61. See Nancy D. W. Moure, *Dictionary of Art and Artists in Southern California Before 1930* (Los Angeles: privately printed, 1975), 258; *A Collection of Paintings by Hernando Villa* (Los Angeles: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1972 [auction catalog]); and Doris O. Dawdy, *Artists of the American West: A Biographical Dictionary, Artists Born before 1900* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, 1985), 449.

62. Program for Southwest Museum Fiesta at the Casa de Adobe, 1 May 1938 (Southwest Museum).

63. Rubén M. Campos mistakenly attributed *Guarda esta flor* to Mexican composer Melesio Morales in his book *El folklore musical de las ciudades* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1930), 303.

64. Jack Swan's building was originally used as a sailor's boardinghouse and saloon, and, beginning in 1847, for theatrical entertainments. This building still stands today in Monterey and is appropriately used from time to time for theatrical entertainments.

65. Nicolás Kanellos, *A History of Hispanic Theater: Origins to 1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 2.

66. J. M. Guinn, "Historic Houses of Los Angeles," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 3 (1896): 67.

67. Guinn, "Historic Houses of Los Angeles," 68. Los Dos Amigos was probably the saloon and dance hall owned by the German-born Felipe Rheim, first husband of *mexicana* Rosario Díaz (mother of singer Manuela García profiled in this study).

68. José Arnaz; Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez, ed. and trans., "Memoirs of a Merchant," *Touring Topics* (September, 1928): 14-19, 47-48; (October, 1928): 37-41, 46-47.

69. José Abrego (1813–1878) was reputedly the owner of one of the first three pianos in California not connected with the Franciscan missions—the other two belonging to Guadalupe Mariano Vallejo and Eulogio de Célis. Though Abrego's piano has long since disappeared, the piano once owned by Eulogio de Célis is presently owned by the California Historical Society and was most recently on loan to the Fiske Museum of Musical Instruments, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California. See Cornel Lengyel, ed. "Music of the Gold Rush," *History of Music in San Francisco Series* I, January, 1939, p. 12.

70. For information about musical theater in southern California, see Sue Wolfer Earnest, "An Historical Study of the Growth of the Theatre in Southern California, 1848–1894" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1947).

71. Guinn, "Historic Houses of Los Angeles," 67.

72. Herbert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 5 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 732-33.

73. The Mexico City newspaper *El Siglo* chastised the youthful actor Isidoro Máiquez for initiating his theatrical career at the Teatro Principal in José Zorrilla's *El Zapatero y el Rey* in June 1848, appropriating to himself the name of the greatest Spanish actor at the turn of the century. Particularly offensive did *El Siglo* rate his performing *El Jaleo de Jérez* on Christmas Eve, 1848, cross-dressed as a *chula* (lower-class woman). On 22 February 1850, he quit the company at the

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Teatro Nacional for a season in Puebla. On 5 July 1867, back in the capital, Máiquez at the Teatro Principal did an English dance, six knives in each foot. On 18 July 1867, he and Pepita Pérez joined in an allegorical dance, *La América libre sosteniendo al Pabellón Nacional*, honoring Benito Juárez's triumphant return to Mexico City. In the fall of 1868, Máiquez, Mariano Osborno, and a female dancer drew crowds to a little theater (*teatrito de América*) where they played a series of "scandalous farces." See Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica del teatro en México* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1961, 3rd ed.), 469, 470, 479, 496, 732, 735, 773.

74. H. D. Barrows, "Recollections of the Old Court House and its Builder," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 3 (1894): 42.
75. Gerardo López del Castillo (1833–1902) studied at the Escuela Lancasteriana and Seminario in Mexico City before becoming a typographer for *El monitor republicano*. At age fifteen he enlisted in the Guardia Nacional, returning to typography after the end of the war with the United States. In December 1849 he made his theatrical debut in Anastasio García Gutiérrez's *El paje*, played at the newly-opened small theater called the Pabellón Mexicano. The first Mexican actor to take his company abroad, he toured the Antilles, Central America, and California. Two of his daughters became famous sopranos. Although recognized as a consistent patriot and dean of Mexican actors, he died in want (obituary in the issue of the Mexico City newspaper *El Imparcial* for July 24, 1902).
76. Barrows, "Recollections of the Old Court House and its Builder," 42.
77. See Robert Christopher Huber, "The Merced Theater of Los Angeles: An Analysis of its Management and Architecture, 1870-1879" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1980).
78. Actress and singer Laura Morales, actor Ángel Mollá's future wife, joined him in 1869 at the Teatro Iturbide in Mexico City. Members of the Sociedad lírico-dramática, they appeared together June 19 in Luis Eguilaz's drama *La payesa de Sarria*. However, the newly-formed company did not survive, the public that season applauding only *zarzuelas* and *revistas*.
79. See *Diamond Jubilee, 1871–1946, Los Angeles Turners: The History of the Turners in Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: L.A. Turners, 1946).
80. The Arcaraz Company toured throughout Mexico in the 1880s and 1890s. Led by orchestra director Luis Arcaraz, with leading tenor Pedro Arcaraz, the company toured throughout Mexico, including appearances in areas as far afield as Mérida, Yucatán.
81. Lee's Circus, the Circo Mexicano (with the Manzo Brothers), and Bartholomew's Rocky Mountain Circus visited Los Angeles in the 1850s and 1860s. Newmark recalled: "On January 10th [1860], Bartholomew's Rocky Mountain Circus held forth on the plaza, people coming in from miles around to see the show. It was then that the circus proprietor sought to quiet the nerves of the anxious by the large-lettered announcement, 'A strict Police is engaged for the occasion!' " Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 262, 453.
82. Robert Stevenson, "Teresa Carreño in Nevada: Fresh Data from Primary Sources," *Inter American Music Review* 11 (Spring-Summer, 1991): 25-40.
83. For information about Espinosa, see Robert Stevenson, "California Sheet Music Collection, 1104 (UCLA Research Library, Special Collections)," *Inter-American Music Review* 8 (Fall-Winter, 1986): 78. Espinosa's *Grande Caprice Polka* for piano was published in 1877 by San Francisco music publisher Matthias Gray.
84. See Robert Stevenson, "Spain's Musical Emissary in San Francisco: Santiago Arrillaga (1847–1915)," *De musica hispana et aliis: Miscelánea en honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Calo, S. J., en su 65o cumpleaños*, Emilio Casares and Carlos Villanuea, eds. (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 287-306.
85. Albert Friedenthal, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern, Tänzen, und Charakterstücken* (Berlin: Schlesinger'sche Buch-und Musikhandlung, 1911).
86. Albert Friedenthal, *Musik, Tanz und Dichtung beiden Kreolen Amerikas* (Berlin: Hans Schnippel, 1913).
87. Ibid, 44-45.
88. Ferrer's death was reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1904 (p. 12:7), and his obituary was published on June 5, 1904 (p. 31:7). See *The Bay of San Francisco: The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and its Suburban Cities, A History* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1892): vol 2, pp. 258-59.
89. A profile of Ferrer and his photograph are included in Peter Danner, ed., *The Guitar in America: A Historical Collection of Classical Guitar Music in Facsimile* (Melville, New York: Belwin Mill, 1976), 10. Claiming Manuel Ferrer as a native son of Baja California, the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California in 1990 published a facsimile edition of Ferrer's *Alexandrina Mazurka* and in 1989 released *Manuel Ferrer, Compositor mexicano del siglo XIX*, a LP recording of his compositions and arrangements recorded by guitarist José Alberto Ubach. See Robert Stevenson, "Special California Issue," *Inter-American Music Review* 8 (Fall-Winter, 1986): 41, 62-63, 78-79, 80-85, 87-88.
90. Impressed by her musical talent and promise, Ferrer invited Bickford to become his pupil and to live with him and his family in their home. His death the following year cut short their musical relationship. See A. P. Sharpe, *The Story of the Spanish Guitar* (London: Clifford Essex Music, 1954, later eds., 1959, 1963, 1968), 35. Among other accomplishments, Bickford was the first woman guitarist to give a performance in Town Hall (New York). An indefatigable promoter and champion of the guitar, she edited and arranged hundreds of works for her instrument; she owned an important collection of manuscript and printed guitar music, which she gave to the International Guitar Research Archives (IGRA), founded by Ronald Purcell at California State University, Northridge. The IGRA is one of the most important repositories in the world of guitar music. Address: Department o Music, California State University, North ridge, 18111 Nordhoff Street, Northridg California 91330; Website address: http //www.csun.edu/~igra/igra/igra.html.
91. At the San Francisco Public Library ar bound programs from theatrical and musi cal events in nineteenth-century San Fran cisco. Volume 2 (1882–1885) contains a num ber of programs in which Jovita Ferre participated as vocal soloist (March 4, 1880 September 16 [no year indicated]).
92. *The Bay of San Francisco*, 258-59.
93. Singer Anna Elzer probably gave the firs public performance of Ferrer's song "Los lin dos ojos" accompanied by the composer or the guitar at Pacific Hall on October 15 1875. A reviewer for the *Sherman & Hyde' Musical Review* (issue of November 1875 called Ferrer's song "a very pleasant Cuba dance melody [habanera], which was ver pleasantly received." Paul Charosh own what is probably one of few extant copies o a Berliner recording by Eugenia Ferrer, he recording of the song "Dodo" (beginning "A la puerta del cielo"); this song appears in M H. Sturgis and William P. Blake's collectio *Songs of the Pyrenees* (Boston: Carl Prüfer 1877; later eds., Boston: Arthur P. Schmidt 1887, 1904, 1918). For a listing of Ferrer' eighteen known recordings see Richard K Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records: A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced i the United States, 1893 to 1942, Volume 4 Spanish, Portuguese, Philippine, Basque* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990) 1869–70; and Paul Charosh, *Berliner Gramophone Records: American Issues, 1892–190* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995).
94. See Robert Stevenson, "Compositions an Arrangements for the Guitar," *Inter-American Music Review* 8 (Fall-Winter 1986): 119-30. Among guitarist-composer Vicente Quevedo's compositions is his romanza *Una primavera en el sur* ("A Spring in the South") of 1873. Quevedo is listed in San Francisco city directories for 1866 and 1868–69. In 1873 he was teaching music in San Luis Obispo, California. In 1883 he was back in San Francisco, where he gave music lessons to musicians from various backgrounds (both Spanish- and English-speaking). One of his pupils was Nora Archibald Smith, who years later fondly remembered her San Francisco teacher (Nora Archibald Smith, letter to Charles Fletcher Lummis, January 27, 1925; Lummis Collection, Southwest Museum). In 1883 Vicente Quevedo was one of only five male and three female music teachers with Spanish surnames listed in San Francisco city directories. These included Quevedo, Spanish pianist and composer Santiago Arrillaga, Guatemalan pianist Miguel Espinosa, Manuel Y. Ferrer, Mexican poet and musician J. M. Paredes, Virginia Arriola, Germanica Gallardo, and Clothilde Herrera.
95. On Fabbri, see John Emerson, "Madame Inez Fabbri, *Prima Donna Assoluta*, and th Performance of Opera in San Francisco during the 1870s," *Music in Performance and Society: Essays in Honor of Roland Jackson*. Malcolm Cole and John Koegel, eds. (Warren Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 325-

54. Mexican actress and singer Laura Morales de Mollá first met Manuel Ferrer during one of her visits to San Francisco. A frequent performer in California's concert halls and Spanish-language theaters, she performed at Ferrer's benefit concert at Pacific Hall in San Francisco on April 29, 1875.

6. For information about Arévalo, see *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (1986), s.v. "Los Angeles," by Robert Stevenson; Stevenson, "Local Music History Research in Los Angeles Area Libraries: Part I," *Inter-American Music Review* 10 (Fall/Winter, 1988): 21-23, 28-33; Stevenson, "Music in Southern California: A Tale of Two Cities," *Inter-American Music Review* 10 (Fall-Winter, 1988): 60; Stevenson, "Bibliographical Note," *Inter-American Music Review* 8 (Fall-Winter, 1986): 118, and *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1889), 287. Arévalo's death date is taken from *Register of Deaths, Los Angeles County, Volume V, March 1900–December 1902* (Los Angeles County Hall of Records, Norwalk, California).

7. *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California*, 287. Arévalo's advertisement as a music teacher in the Los Angeles paper the *Evening Express* (January 5, 1872, p. 1, col. 3) mentions his membership in the Musical Academy of Guadalajara.

8. My recent search in Guadalajara newspapers from the late 1860s, such as *La unión liberal* and *La prensa* (held at the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco, Guadalajara), failed to uncover a mention of Miguel Arévalo. However, a performance by Agustina Arévalo (perhaps a relative of Miguel Arévalo) was mentioned in *La unión liberal* of January 29, 1868.

9. For information on the Sociedad Filarmónica Jalisciense, see Luis Pérez Verdia, *Historia Particular del Estado de Jalisco*, 3 vols. (Guadalajara: n.p., 1952), vol. 3, p. 644.

00. The Guadalajara native Adrián Galarza performed in Mexico and the United States. In October 1878, "el artista Galarza" gave a concert in the hall of the Sociedad Netzahualcóyotl at the same time that Edison's phonograph made its public debut in Mexico City at the Teatro Principal. The Mexican Typical Orchestra, directed by composer and xylophone and mandolin soloist Carlos Curti, with the "Celebrated Aztec Clarionetist" Adrián Galarza as clarinet soloist, appeared in Los Angeles at the Grand Opera House in January 1886. The Mexican Orquesta Típica (with clarinet soloist Adrián Galarza) was organized by the government of President Porfirio Díaz to play at the New Orleans Cotton Exposition. It debuted in Mexico City on September 20, 1884, and later toured throughout Mexico, the United States, and Europe. It was the predecessor of the modern Mexican orquesta típica ensemble, made up of instruments typically Mexican, or played in a typically Mexican way (salterio, violin, guitar, etc.).See Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica del teatro en México, 1538–1911* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1961), 990.

101. Langley's 1871 *San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: G. Langley, 1871) lists Miguel S. Arévalo, music teacher, residing at 914 Stockton Street.

102. *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California*, 287. An advertisement for "Miguel S. Arévalo, Professor of Music," placed in the *Los Angeles Evening Express* for October 19 1871, indicates the guitarist's presence in Los Angeles from at least that date.

103. *An Illustrated History of Southern California*, 287.

104. Ibid., 801, erroneously states that "La crónica, a Spanish newspaper was founded in 1872, by M. S. Arévalo, a native of Mexico." Though Arévalo was certainly involved with the management of *La crónica* in some way, it is not clear exactly what role he played. (An undated "Lista de accionistas de la compañia publicista de La Crónica" in the Antonio Coronel Collection, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History; Gen Col 1001 #525, does not list Arévalo as a financial supporter of *La crónica*.) The extremely positive reviews of his performances and frequent notices of his activities in *La crónica* support the view that he had some personal connection with the newspaper.

105. Anna B. Picher was the first curator of the Antonio Coronel Collection, and a writer on local California historical topics; she had a strong interest in local California Indian culture and society and was a collector of California Indian baskets. In 1888-89 she organized a series of important Art Loan Exhibits for the benefit of the Pasadena Public Library Building Fund, where she exhibited California basketry. Local basket makers such as Luisa Serrano (singer of the "Song of the Capitan") gave demonstrations of their artistry at these exhibits. See Marvin Cohadas, *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press and The Southwest Museum, 1997), 184. For Serrano and Arévalo, see Auguste Wey [pseudonym of Anna B. Picher], "The Captain's Song," *The Land of Sunshine* 6 (December, 1896): 3-8.

106. For information about John Comfort Fillmore and his harmonizations of Indian music, see James C. McNutt, "John Comfort Fillmore: A Student of Indian Music Reconsidered," *American Music* 2 (Spring 1983): 61-70; Hewitt Pantaleoni, "A Reconsideration of Fillmore Reconsidered," *American Music* 3 (Summer 1985): 217-28.

107. Luis T. Romero is profiled in Christine Merrick Ayars, *Contributions to the Art of Music in America by the Music Industries of Boston, 1640–1936* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1937), 228. *Lejos de tí* was reprinted in Peter Danner, ed., *The Guitar in America: A Historical Collection of Classical Guitar Music in Facsimile* (Melville, New York: Belwin Mill, 1976).

108. Turn-of-the-century American guitar virtuoso William Foden attended Luis T. Romero's last guitar recital (on which he performed a danza by his teacher Miguel Arévalo) sometime shortly before Romero's death in 1893. On his copy of the undated recital program, Foden noted that Romero was a fine and sensitive artist. William Foden Scrapbook, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

109. Marriage notice in *San Francisco Call*, April 8, 1885. For additional information about María Pruneda see Robert Stevenson, "Music in Southern California: A Tale of Two Cities," 60-61, 65.

110. Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Seaver Center for Western History Research; Coronel Collection, no. 780.

111. For information about Ysabel del Valle's recordings of Mexican folksongs, see Koegel, "Mexican-American Music in Nineteenth-Century Southern California."

112. Case 3888, date of filing: July 7, 1900; Los Angeles County Hall of Records, Los Angeles, California.

113. Stevenson, "Music in Southern California: A Tale of Two Cities," 60.

### Paddison, "Summers of Worry," pp. 188-201.

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1. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 June 1959: 1.
2. Ibid., 7.
3. Ibid., 7.
4. Ibid., 14 May 60: 1.
5. The goal of the social historian, according to Charles Tilly, is to "reconstruct ordinary people's experience of large structural changes"; i.e., to document how ordinary people lived—and shaped—society's "big changes." See Charles Tilly, "Retrieving European Lives," *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, Olivier Zunz, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 11-52.
6. Walter Goodman, *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1968), 426.
7. Frank Donner, *The Un-Americans* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1961), 192-98.
8. Jerold Simmons, *Operation Abolition: The Campaign to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, 1938-1975* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986).
9. See, for example, Ronald E. Magden, "The Schuddakopf Case, 1954-1958: Tacoma Public Schools and Anticommunism," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 89 (1997-1998): 4-11; M. J. Heale, "The Triumph of Liberalism?: Red Scare Politics in Michigan, 1938-1954," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 139 (1995): 44-66; Kate Weigand, "The Red Menace, the Feminine Mystique, and the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission: Gender and Anticommunism in Ohio, 1951-1954," *Journal of Women's History* 3 (1992): 70-94; and Sarah Hart Brown, "Congressional Anticommunism and the Segregationist South: From New Orleans to Atlanta, 1954-1958," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 785-816.

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10. M. J. Heale, *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935-1965* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998).
11. Martin Halpern, "'I'm Fighting for Freedom': Coleman Young, HUAC, and the Detroit African-American Community," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 17 (1997): 19-38.
12. Studies of HUAC and Hollywood include Victor S. Navasky, *Naming Names* (New York: Viking Press, 1980); Bernard F. Dich, *Radical Innocence: A Critical Study of the Hollywood Ten* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1989); Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1980); and Nancy Lynn Schwartz and Sheila Schwartz, *The Hollywood Writers Wars* (New York: Knopf, 1982).
13. See M. J. Heale, *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990).
14. Goodman, *The Committee*, 3-10.
15. John E. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?: American Communism and Anticommunism in the Cold War Era* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 12.
16. Ibid., 65-69.
17. Goodman, *The Committee*, 28-32.
18. Ibid., 51-53.
19. Simmons, *Operation Abolition*, 32-36; Goodman, *The Committee*, 167-69.
20. John Patrick Diggins, *The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941-1960* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988), 165.
21. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?*, 3; Heale, *McCarthy's Americans*, 281.
22. Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 190.
23. M. J. Heale, "Red Scare Politics: California's Campaign Against Un-American Activities, 1940-1970," *Journal of American Studies* 20 (1986): 14. See also Ingrid Winther Scobie, "Jack B. Tenney and the 'Parasitic Menace': Anti-Communist Legislation in California, 1940-1949," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (1974): 188-211; and Robert L. Pritchard, "California Un-American Activities Investigations: Subversion on the Right?," *California History* 49 (1970): 309-27. Sealed for almost thirty years, portions of the California Joint Fact Finding Committee of Un-American Activities's voluminous hearing transcripts were made available to researchers in November 1999.
24. Heale, "Red Scare Politics," 7.
25. Simmons, *Operation Abolition*, 49.
26. Heale, "Red Scare Politics," 7.
27. Quoted in Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 175.
28. Quoted in ibid., 177.
29. Ibid., 184-86. See notably *The People's World*.
30. East Bay Community Forum press release, January 1960, American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California (ACLU-NC) papers, California Historical Society (hereinafter CHS), box 30, folder 638.
31. Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, San Francisco State University Labor Archives and Research Center (hereinafter LARC), interview by Peter Carroll, 1992, 2.
32. Arthur K. Bierman, personal interview by author, 16 August 1999; Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, LARC, 1-10.
33. Arthur K. Bierman, personal interview, 16 August 1999.
34. Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, LARC, 56.
35. SAFE's steering committee consisted of Bierman, Williams, California Young Democrats President Marylouise Allen, machinist Merton Dushkes, secretary Rosemary Bloomgarden, and student Trent Brady.
36. "A Statement of Our Position," 22 July 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 4.
37. See Jerold Simmons, "The Origins of the Campaign to Abolish HUAC, 1956-1961: The California Connection," Southern California Quarterly 64 (1982): 141-57.
38. Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, LARC, 55.
39. Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folders 4, 5, 8.
40. Arthur K. Bierman, personal interview, 16 August 1999.
41. Letter to Daniel Del Carlo, Building and Construction Trades Council, 22 July 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 4.
42. Letter to Stanley Mosk, 4 September 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 5. California did in fact have a quite stringent loyalty oath system, adopted in September 1950. See David P. Gardner, *The California Oath Controversy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
43. Letter to George Christopher, 28 July 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 4.
44. Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, LARC, 59.
45. Telegram to William G. Carr, 30 June 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 4.
46. Arthur K. Bierman, personal interview, 16 August 1999.
47. Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, 20 August 1959, box 2, folder 5.
48. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 August 1959: 15; Arthur K. Bierman, personal interview, 16 August 1999; Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, LARC, 56-57.
49. "Specific Plans," 22 July 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 4.
50. Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 10.
51. Ibid., box 2, folders 4-5.
52. ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 33, folder 686; box 31, folder 642.
53. East Bay Community Forum press release, January 1960, ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 30, folder 638.
54. Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folders 4-10; box 3, folders 1-5; ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 30, folder 638; box 31, folder 642; box 33, folder 686, 698.
55. "SAFE Party" invitations, 1 August 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 5; "Finances," box 2, folder 6.
56. Arthur K. Bierman oral history, LARC, 56.
57. Simmons, "The Origins of the Campaign to Abolish HUAC," 144.
58. ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 33, folder 686.
59. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 June-21 August 1959; San Francisco News-Call Bulletin, 21 August 1959: 16; *The Golden Gater*, 28 September 1959: 1; Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 192-94.
60. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 August 1959: 7.
61. Ibid., 16-18 August 1959.
62. Ibid., 14 August 1959: 32.
63. Ibid., 22 August 1959: 1.
64. Associated Press clipping, 21 August 1959 Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 4 folder 1.
65. Simmons, "The Origins of the Campaign t Abolish HUAC," 148-49.
66. Letter to Harold Spears and Irving Breyer 20 November 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 5.
67. 29 August 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 3, folder 5.
68. 26 September 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 5.
69. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 September 1959 1; 15 September 1959: 1; 26 September 1959 6.
70. Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 195.
71. Letter to Stanley Mosk, 4 September 1959 letters to Harold Spears and Irving Breyer 20 November 1959, 23 November 1959 Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2 folder 5.
72. Letter to Frank Wilkinson, 17 September 1959, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC box 2, folder 5. Bierman later explained tha he felt that had he joined Wilkinson's abolition campaign, he "would have gone beyond my legitimacy, my authority. [SAFE's endorsers] signed up on the basis of a statement that did not include abolition." Arthur K. Bierman, personal interview, 16 Augus 1999.
73. *San Jose Mercury News*, 29 April 1960: 3.
74. Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 196.
75. James Roosevelt, "The Dragon Slayers,' *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 86th Congress, Second Session* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office 1960), 11.
76. Goodman, *The Committee*, 400, 401.
77. Press release, 11 May 1960, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 5.
78. ACLU-NC press release, May 1960, ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 31, folder 642.
79. Bierman later confirmed that he favored HUAC's abolishment long before May 1960—he believed it was "stifling free speech in America, cowing people and taking away their dignities"—but had pragmatically used moderate rhetoric in 1959 to garner as much anti-HUAC sentiment as possible. Arthur K. Bierman, personal interview, 16 August 1999; Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, LARC, 53-54.
80. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 May 1960: 40; Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 198; Norman Leonard, *Life of a Leftist Labor Lawyer: An Interview Conducted by Estolv Ethan Ward in 1985* (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, 1986), 76.
81. *The Golden Gater*, 10 May 1960: 4; Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 198.
82. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 May 1960.
83. *The Golden Gater*, 20 May 1959: 1; William Barlow and Peter Shapiro, *An End to Silence: The San Francisco State Student Movement in the 60s* (New York: Pegasus, 1971), 37.
84. Becky Jenkins, telephone interview by author, 10 April 1999.
85. Ibid.
86. Bernice P. Biggs, telephone interview by author, 14 April 1999.
87. *The Golden Gater*, 11 March 1959: 4; Bernice P. Biggs, telephone interview, 14 April 1999.
88. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 May 1960: 1, 5.

9. Ibid.
0. Ibid.
1. Donner, *The Un-Americans*, 201.
2. "Black Friday," *The Californian*, July/August 1960: 9.
3. Becky Jenkins, telephone interview, 10 April 1999.
4. Simmons, "The Origins of the Campaign to Abolish HUAC," 151.
5. Quoted in Donner, The Un-Americans, 207.
6. Simmons, "The Origins of the Campaign to Abolish HUAC," 153.
7. Ibid., 152.
8. Simmons, *Operation Abolition*, 202.
9. ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 18, folder 367; Simmons, "The Origins of the Campaign to Abolish HUAC," 153-54.
100. See "Operation Correction," ACLU-NC papers, CHS.
101. National Committee to Abolish HUAC press release, 15 August 1960, ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 31, folder 642; Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of HUAC press release, 11 September 1960, ibid., box 33, folder 698.
102. Simmons, *Operation Abolition*, 295-303.
103. Students Legal Defense Fund press release, 1 June 1960, Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 2, folder 5; San Francisco Chronicle, 19 May 1960: 6; 20 March 1961: 8; Education Committee and Committee on HUAC minutes, 18 October 1960, ACLU-NC papers, CHS, box 18, folder 368.
104. Eric Solomon, oral history, LARC, interview by Peter Carroll, 1992, 4.
105. Arthur K. Bierman collection, LARC, box 4, folders 6-9.
106. Ibid., box 1, folders 1-12.
107. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 May 1960: 6.
108. David Horowitz, *Student* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1962), 17. Ironically, Horowitz in middle-age became an outspoken conservative. For his reconsideration of the city hall riots, see David Horowitz, *Radical Son: A Journey Through Our Times* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 106-108.
109. Bierman later called the events of the summers of 1959 and 1960 "all a prelude, you see, to the student activism in '68 . . . and the Free Speech movement in '64. . . . I believe the committee being forced to call off its hearings here was the event that changed the course of politics in the country because people were now . . . no longer afraid to speak up and say, 'Well, you can beat those guys. . . .' [It] made the Bay Area into a kind of fulcrum for the rest of the country." Arthur K. Bierman, oral history, LARC, 60.

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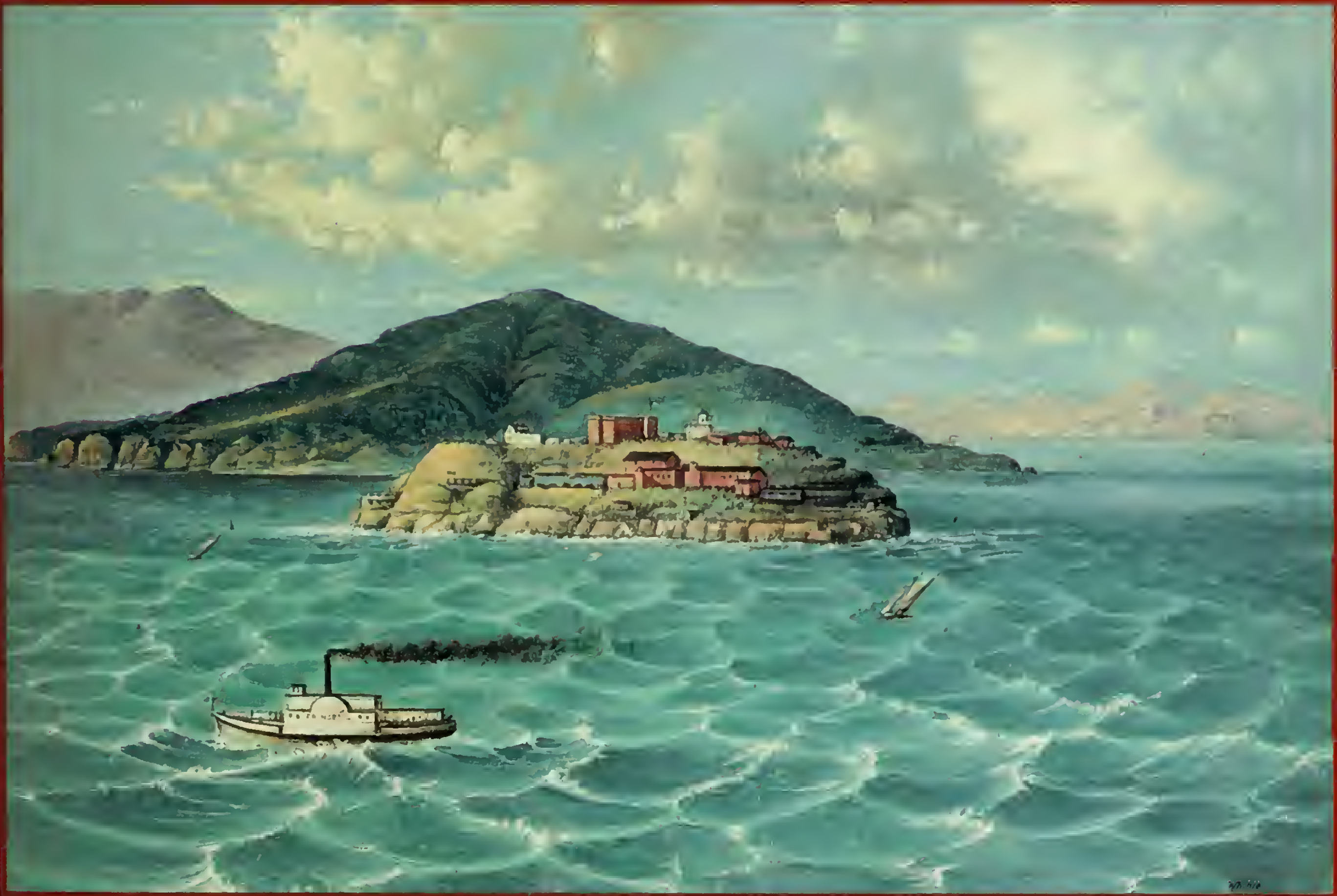
THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA

# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

WINTER 1999/00



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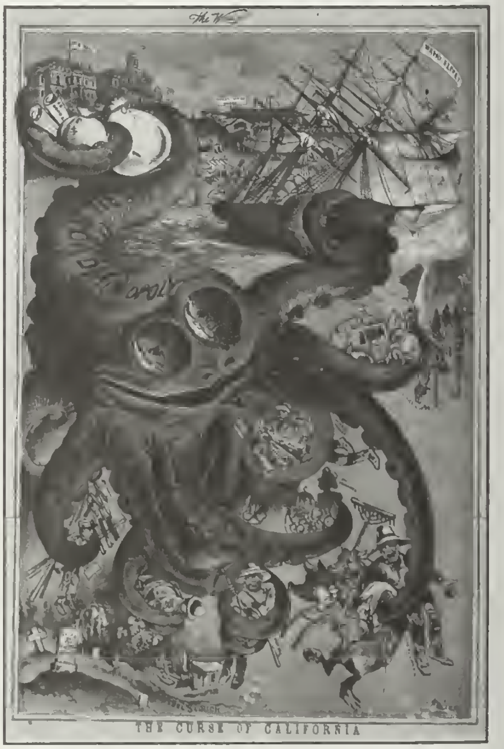
# *Milestones—*
# Frank Norris's *The Octopus* (1901) — Fiction as History

*Few works of fiction have been more accepted as fact, and thus have had greater continuing influence on a century of popular historical understanding, than has Frank Norris's muckraking novel* The Octopus: A Story of California, *published in 1901. Ostensibly based on a true event of 1880—the infamous Mussel Slough incident, a deadly shootout between rival groups of claimants to tracts within the Southern Pacific Railroad's federal land grant in the San Joaquin Valley—the novel, in vigorous, blood-boiling prose, indicts the Southern Pacific —"the Octopus"—for tricking honest pioneers into moving onto its lands before they were open for sale and then raising the asking price to outrageous levels and, when the settlers were unable or refused on principle to pay, selling the land out from under them to outside buyers. In the course of the story, Norris also condemns the railroad monopoly for confiscating wheat ranchers' and other farmers' profits with high freight rates and unfair traffic procedures, as well as for corrupting politicians into doing the company's dirty work. In Norris's vivid imagery, the railroad was the "leviathan with tentacles of steel clutching into the soil, the soulless force, the ironhearted power, the monster, the colossus, the octopus." Its far-flung network of rail lines, he likened to "bloodsuckers. . . . red arteries of the monster . . . swollen with lifeblood, reaching out into infinity, gorged to bursting; an excrescence, a gigantic parasite fattening upon the lifeblood of an entire commonwealth."*

*Many such lurid passages in the novel made for exciting reading. Unfortunately, Norris, in a rush to publish the book quickly to pay for his impending wedding, had done only scanty research, instead relying on propaganda pamphlets Mussel Slough settlers had distributed to defend their cause, popular folklore that had grown up in the generation since the battle, and his quick reading of error-filled accounts in the* San Francisco Chronicle, *which were further tainted by that newspaper's overt hostility toward the Southern Pacific. In the end, the novel misstated almost all important facets of the Mussel Slough conflict, as well as the larger economic and political issues it raised. Norris misrepresented Southern Pacific land sales policies, advertising practices, and the actual prices the settlers were being charged for the land; constructed a preposterous model of freight rates and traffic movement on the state's rail lines; misunderstood how wheat was grown, shipped, and marketed; confused the chronology of settlement on the railroad's land grant; ignored the complex legal questions surrounding the railroad's title to its lands; and overlooked the fact that most of the claimants were squatter-speculators who had from the beginning been contesting the company's land title and who had no intention of ever paying the railroad for the land, no matter the price. Norris then embellished his misinformation with the colorful language and hyperbole of the French naturalist literary school that he admired.*

*Nevertheless,* The Octopus *became a best-seller in the early twentieth century. The book's powerful message reflected, and also further inflamed, popular passions against monopolies, particularly exemplified by the Southern Pacific in California and other railroads across the West, and it helped pave the way for public regulation of utilities and other businesses in the state and nation during the Progressive era. Reading it reputedly led the great Progressive president, Theodore Roosevelt, to conclude that business depredations "were worse in California than elsewhere." To this day, Norris's fiction continues to be mistaken for fact, and some historians routinely cite it and assign it to students as a valid social document of its era, an accurate portrayal of corporate irresponsibility and the necessity of political reform.*

RICHARD J. ORSI
*Editor*
*Professor of History,*
*California State University, Hayward*



Frank Norris's *The Octopus* (1901) developed from a long tradition of opposition to the Southern Pacific Railroad in California. Long before he published his popular novel, the "Octopus" metaphor for the unpopular Southern Pacific railroad monopoly was already well established in California. In this well-known cartoon, "The Curse of California," published in San Francisco's satirical magazine *The Wasp* on August 19, 1882, Frederick Keller, one of the great cartoonists of his day, depicted the railroad as a giant monster with tentacles grasping the state's producers, including the Mussel Slough settlers, whose graveyard appears at the lower left. At least one other book, entitled *The Octopus* and attacking the Southern Pacific, had already been published in 1894. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

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FRONT COVER: Joseph Whittle, *San Francisco Bay with Alcatraz and Steamship Princess*, ca. 1860, oil on canvas, 36 x 51 cm. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

BACK COVER: Norton Bush, *Chagres River*, ca. 1875, oil on canvas, 18 x 24 in. *Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Colin D. Campbell.*

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# CALIFORNIA HISTORY

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# CROSSING THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA, 1849
# The Letters of Dr. Augustus Campbell

*Introduced and edited by*
*Colin D. Campbell*

Forty-niners had a choice of two sea routes to California from their homes in eastern states. They could either round South America by one of three passages or take a steamer to Panama, cross the isthmus, and then take another ship up the west coast.[1] To go by land involved crossing the prairie and the Rocky Mountains on rugged trails. The first Forty-niners went by the two sea routes partly because the rush began in the winter months, when travel across the continent was particularly difficult.

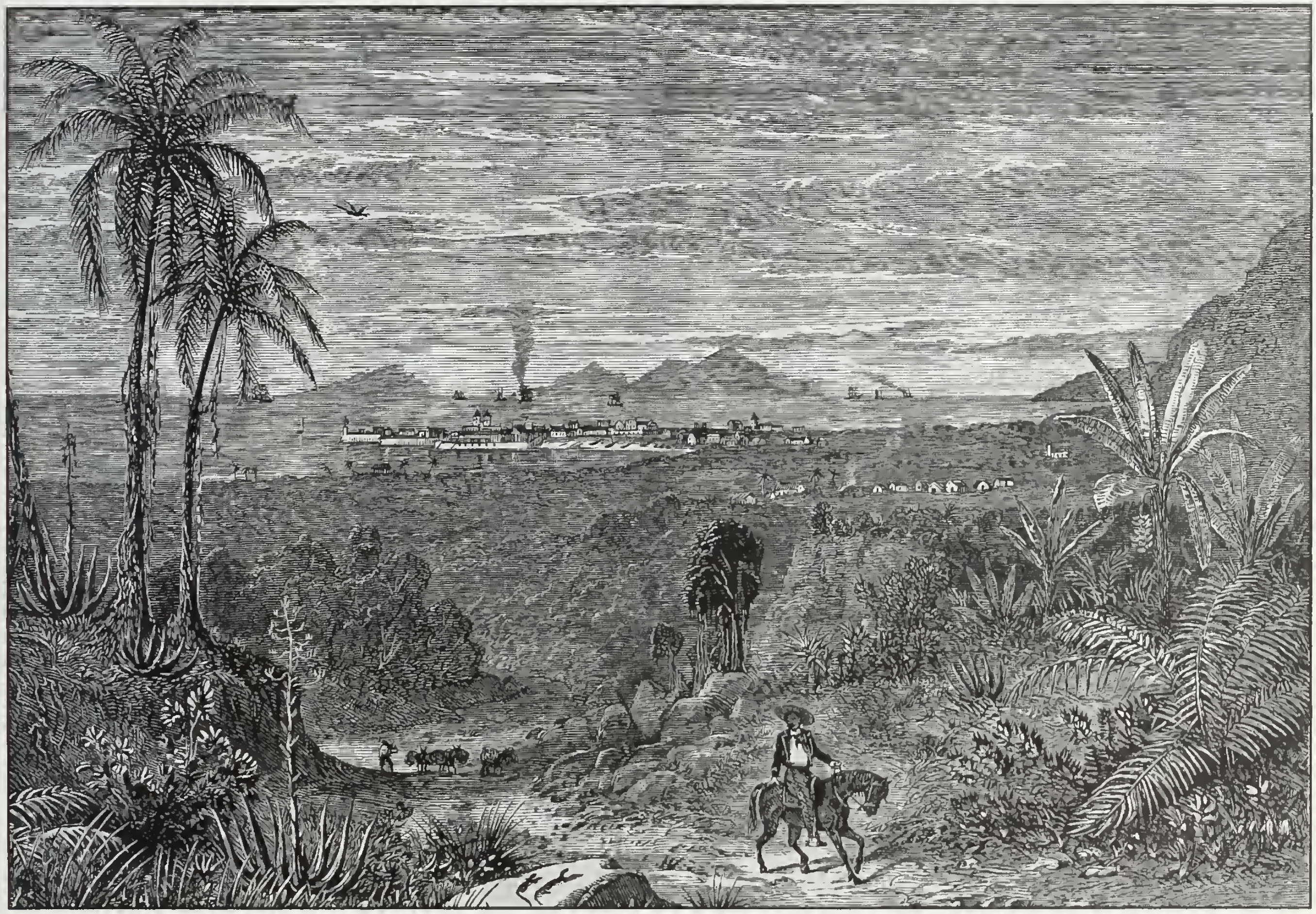
The 17,000-mile voyage around South America took at least five months. The distance via Panama included a 2,000-mile voyage (taking about thirteen days) from New York to Chagres, the Panama port on the Atlantic side of the isthmus of Panama. After crossing the fifty-mile-wide isthmus, travelers faced a 3,300-mile voyage from Panama City to San Francisco, which took an average of twenty days. Despite the much shorter distance to San Francisco by way of Panama, it was not always the quickest and best route. Getting across the isthmus could be hazardous. Also, the ocean-going ships had no regular schedules in the early years of the Gold Rush. Passengers could encounter long delays in Panama City, as Augustus Campbell, a New Yorker bound for California in 1849, did, waiting for transportation to take him north to San Francisco.

Augustus's letters from Panama, stored with other papers in the attic of an old homestead in Cherry Valley, New York, were recently given to the library of the New York State Historical Association in nearby Cooperstown.[2] Four of the letters were written to his mother, Sarah Elderkin Campbell, who was living on the family farm, and one was to a brother-in-law in Laurens, New York.[3] An articulate member of a mining company traveling together, Augustus's detailed account of being stranded for nearly eight weeks in Panama is presented here. Never before published, these letters and simple sketches record an aspect of the gold-rush experience shared in varying ways by thousands of men and women until late 1851, when the Panama railroad began to operate. In general discussions of the Gold Rush, especially those of the late twentieth century, the account of the "Panama crossing" is omitted or relegated to brief mention that strips it of much intriguing historical detail.

The Campbell family had lived in eastern upstate New York for four generations. A great-grandfather of Augustus, James Campbell, was one of the original settlers of Cherry Valley in 1741, and the farms there had been Indian hunting grounds before the settlers arrived.[4] Augustus's grandfather had been a patriot and colonel in the Tryon County Militia during the American Revolution. Cherry Valley is remembered as the site of a bloody massacre in 1778, at which time the grandmother of Augustus, Jane Cannon Campbell, and four of her children, were taken as prisoners. In the next generation, Augustus's father inherited the family farm, where Augustus and his siblings—six older brothers and one older sister—grew up.

Augustus had attended Albany Medical College, interned at Bellevue Hospital in New York City, and, when he joined the mining company headed for California, was practicing medicine in Gloversville, New York.[5] He was twenty-seven years old and unmarried.

A neighboring New Yorker who would soon rise to international prominence happened to share the steamers that took Augustus to California. In his letters, Augustus mentions Collis P. Huntington, the later railroad magnate and major figure in early Cal-

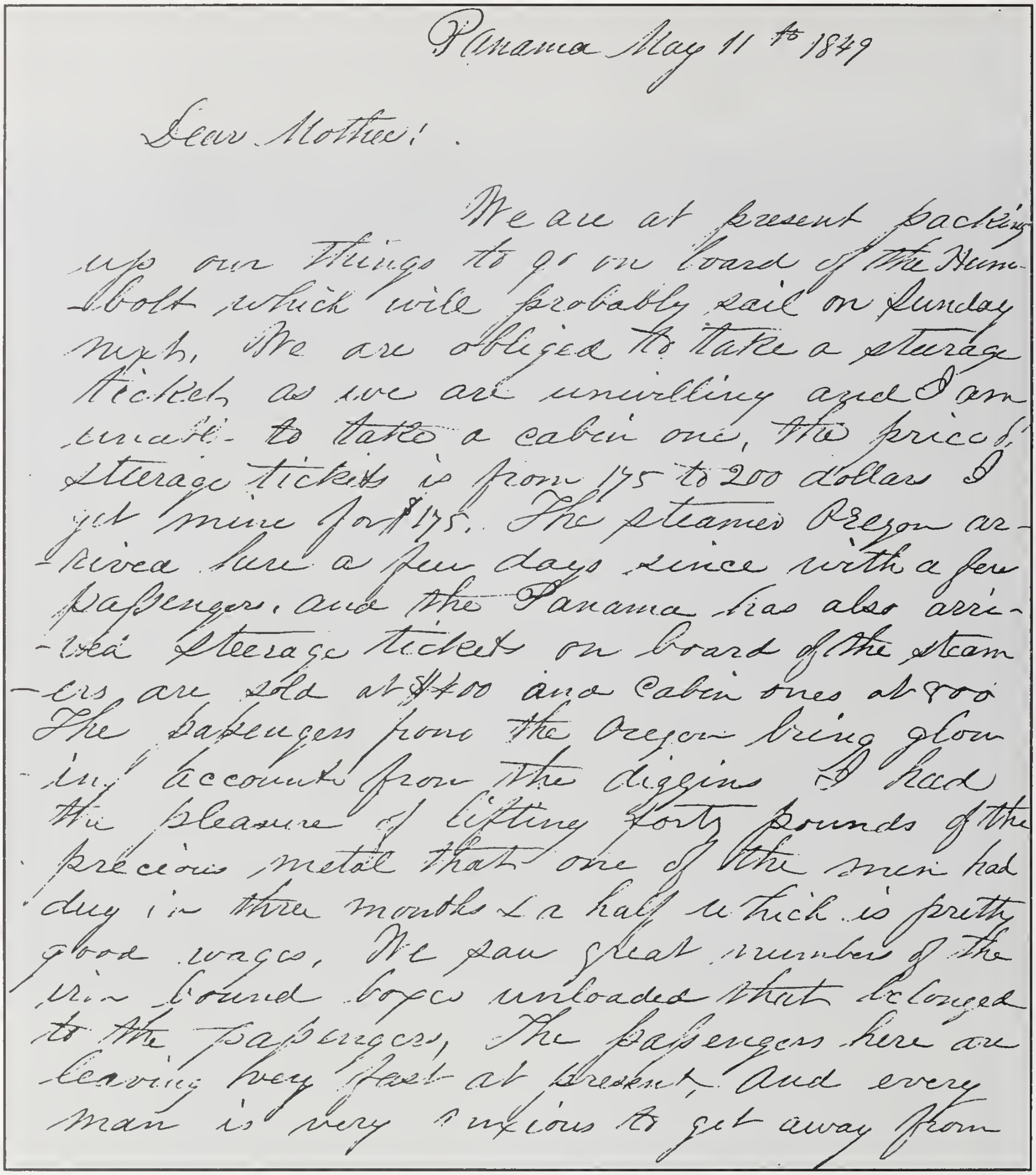


This lithograph, entitled *View of the City of Panama,* shows the central American city (looking from the east) as it appeared in the late 1840s. Writing in 1949, historian Oscar Lewis remarked that by the nineteenth century, the Atlantic port of Panama, once "the axis of Spain's New World empire," had become a relic of its former glory. After landing at Chagres, Panama, on the Caribbean, making their way up the Chagres River to Gorgona, and then following jungle trails into Panama City, exhausted Argonauts arriving at the ancient walled city sought food and lodging, which grew progressively more scarce as gold-seekers arrived there in throngs. Even by mid-1849, Lewis wrote, the perimeter of Panama City was a "vast encampment" of tents and campfires, smoky, dusty, and overrun with tropical insects and lizards. Luck, as much as anything, saved the lives of those squatters who did not succumb to cholera, malaria, or yellow fever in the crowded, unsanitary seaport. *Author's collection.*

ifornia.[6] Huntington was from Oneonta, New York, about twenty miles from Cherry Valley. Huntington headed another group also going to California in 1849. The comments about Huntington in these letters show that his ability as a business executive already stood out.

Three years after Augustus had been in Panama, travelers ceased crossing the isthmus the way they had in 1849. The Panama Railroad was organized in 1849, and construction was begun in 1850. When the first eleven-mile segment was completed in December 1851, travelers arriving from the east coast of the United States began disembarking at Colon, which became the Atlantic terminus of the railroad, rather than at Chagres, and then taking the railroad as far as it went. In 1855, when the railroad was completed, travelers could cross the isthmus entirely by train.

To Augustus, and to most of the other Forty-nin-



Panama May 11th 1849

Dear Mother! .

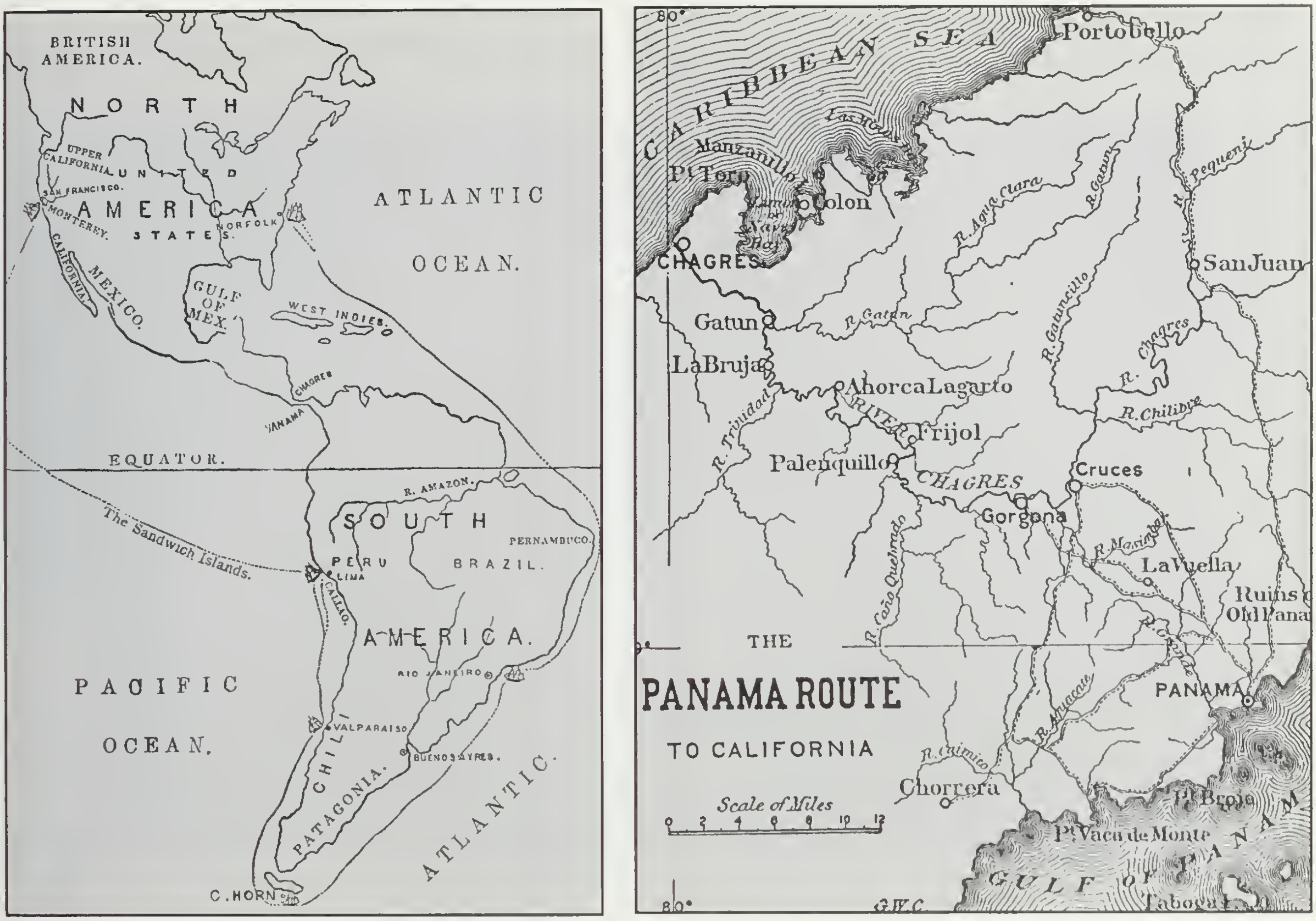
We are at present packing up our things to go on board of the Humbolt which will probably sail on Sunday next, We are obliged to take a steerage ticket, as we are unwilling and I am unable to take a cabin one, the price of steerage tickets is from 175 to 200 dollars I got mine for $175. The steamer Oregon arrived here a few days since with a few passengers, and the Panama has also arrived. Steerage tickets on board of the steamers are sold at $400 and Cabin ones at 800 The passengers from the Oregon bring glowing accounts from the diggins I had the pleasure of lifting forty pounds of the precious metal that one of the men had dug in three months & a half which is pretty good wages, We saw great numbers of the iron bound boxes unloaded that belonged to the passengers, The passengers here are leaving very fast at present, And every man is very anxious to get away from

The first page of Augustus Campbell's last letter home from Panama is shown here, written just before he boarded the San Francisco-bound *Humbolt*. He paid $175 for a steerage compartment, while cabins went for $300. *Courtesy New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York.*

ers, crossing the isthmus of Panama via the Chagres River and the jungle trail from Gorgona to Panama City was an extraordinary experience. Their reactions to it varied. Some were repulsed, some became gravely ill (and some of those died), and others, including Augustus, were fortunate healthwise and found the challenge interesting and enjoyable.

In late March 1849, the steamer *Crescent City*, on which Augustus traveled, arrived in Chagres, Panama. His letter of April 2, in which he enclosed a diagram of Fort San Lorenzo, at Chagres, describes the circumstances immediately faced by several mining companies that were on the ship. Rough seas prevented them from landing at Chagres, and other complications began to arise. Augustus regretted that the enjoyable passage out of New York had dissolved into "an affair [that] spoilt it all."

Augustus wrote:


BRITISH AMERICA.
NORTH AMERICA
UPPER CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO.
MONTEREY.
UNITED STATES
NORFOLK
ATLANTIC OCEAN.
GULF OF MEX.
WEST INDIES
MEXICO.
CALIFORNIA.
CHAGRES
PANAMA
EQUATOR.
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Colon
Navy Bay
CHAGRES
Gatun
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R. Pequeni
San Juan
R. Chagres
R. Chilibre
AhorcaLagarto
Frijol
Palenquillo
R. Trinidad
CHAGRES RIVER
Cruces
Gorgona
R. Caño Quebrado
LaVuelta
Ruins of Old Panama
PANAMA
R. Caimito
Chorrera
Pt. Vaca de Monte
GULF OF PANAMA
THE
PANAMA ROUTE
TO CALIFORNIA
Scale of Miles
0 2 4 6 8 10 12
G.W.C.

Left: This map of the western hemisphere, showing the Cape Horn route from the East Coast to California, with the Central American cities of Chagres and Panama also labeled, was drawn for inclusion in Walter Colton's book of his 1845 voyage, *Deck and Port; or, Incidents of a Cruise in the United States Frigate Cypress to California . . .* (1886). Right: This nicely detailed map of the forty-mile stretch between Chagres and Panama accompanied an account by Július H. Pratt of his 1849 crossing, published in *The Century Magazine* in April 1891. *Courtesy of the author.*

---

Panama April 2, 1849

Dear Mother!

In my last letter to you, which I wrote on shipboard, I told you that we had arrived at Chagres and were preparing to unload. This was on Saturday the 24th of March. We arrived at Chagres in the morning. The steamer Orus came out to meet us, but the sea was so rough that we were obliged to move to "Navy Bay" [now called Limon Bay] ten miles up the coast so that the Orus could board us . . . .[7] The [mining] companies drew lots to see in what order we should leave the steamer. The four first companies that drew lots and those who would not come into the arrangements started in the Orus to land at Chagres. The Orus did not return [for the others] till near evening and we got our baggage on board, and expected to run down to Chagres that night but after we had got on board, she [the Orùs] moved a short distance from the steamer and commenced letting off steam, and [they] were going to make about 150 persons sleep on board of the Orus without any beds, blankets, or any thing else to make us comfortable. They had also sent on a quantity of provisions and were going to make us pay fifty cents for our supper. The Crescent City [Campbell's ship] had agreed to land us at Chagres, and we were determined that she should keep her bargain.[8] We called a meeting of the passengers and appointed a committee to go on board of the Crescent City and ask an explanation of Capt. Stoddard, during the meeting some of the persons became very much excited, and Capt. Tucker of the Orus became frightened and begged of Capt. Stoddard to take us on board stating that he feared his boat would be riddled of her machinery and every thing else.

The committee went on board and the Capt [Stoddard] made a lame apology and invited us on board, and ordered the fires to be kindled and a warm supper to be prepared. I, for one, was very sorry that any thing of the kind should have happened, for the passage out was very pleasant and the officers very attentive but this last affair spoilt all and will, I think, injure the Crescent City very much in the estimation of the public.

The next day, Sunday the 25th, we ran down to Chagres and pitched our tent on the south side of the river opposite the town. The town of Chagres contains between two and three hundred huts made of bamboo poles and covered with the leaves of the palm. There is one frame house which was brought out from New York and which has been christened the Crescent City and is kept as a sort of a hotel. . . . Every house is a sort of groggery where you can get some poor rum and a kind of stuff they call brandy and cakes of the cane sugar. Also, cocoa, cocoa nuts, oranges, bananas, plantains, & etc. can be purchased.

The inhabitants are a mixture of Spanish, Negro, and Indian, speaking the Spanish language. They are honest but will drive a hard bargain. They go almost naked, some of them with simply a rag tied round the waist. I saw some in the upper ten thousand [the upper class] dressed in fine linen and patent leather who "cut quite a swell." The women of Chagres are very fine washers, and that seems to be the primary business of the better portion of the community.

American journalist Bayard Taylor, who crossed the isthmus a few months after Campbell, described the Panamanians in similarly positive terms. "They are a very cleanly people, bathing daily, and changing their dresses as often as they are soiled," he wrote. "The children have their heads shaved from the crown to the neck, and as they go about naked, with abdomens unnaturally distended, from an exclusive vegetable diet, are odd figures enough. They have bright black eyes, and are quick and intelligent in their speech and motions."[9] Campbell's and Taylor's praise notwithstanding, most American Argonauts considered native peoples in Panama and California to be backward and inferior. Augustus continued:

In the afternoon I visited the fort [Fort San Lorenzo] which stands in the north west side of the town and at the mouth of the river.[10] I made a rough draft of it so that you may form some idea of the magnificance of the place.

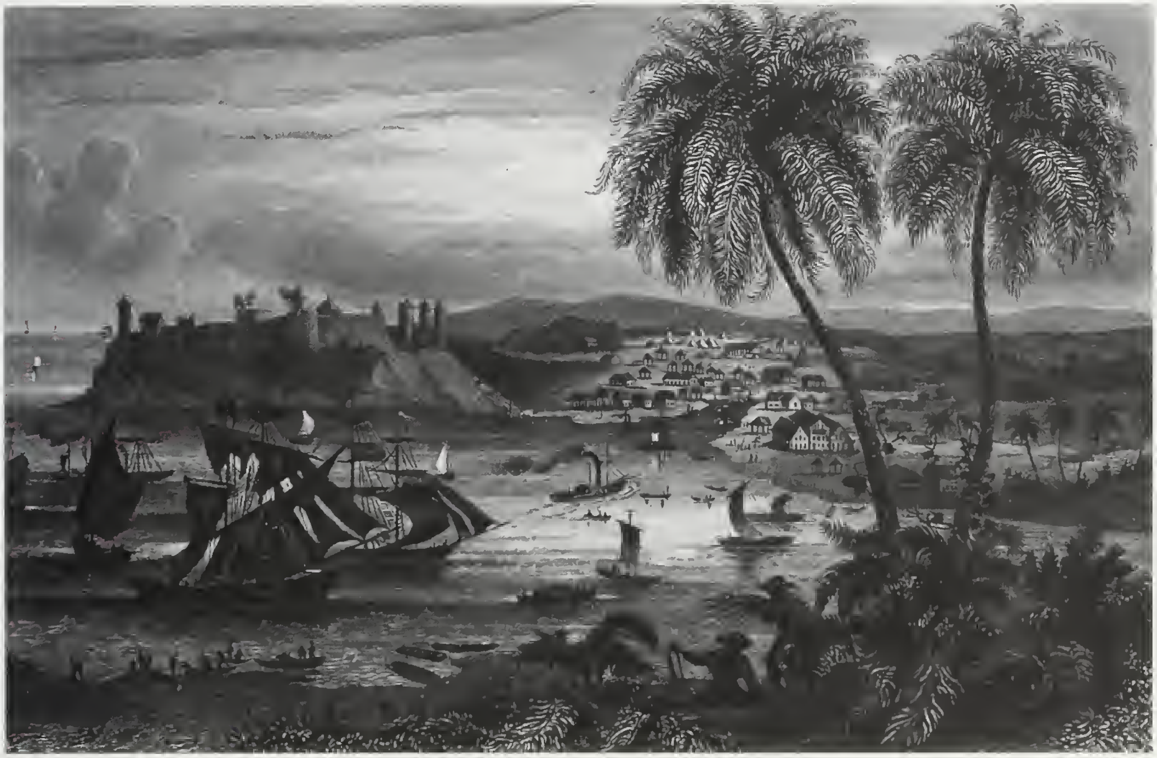
After passing the first part of the fort crossing the drawbridge, marked No. 2, and passing the large guard house, you come to the drilling ground enclosing about 3/4 of an acre. There are placed here two large brass mortars. Upon the north west part of the drilling ground are six brass cannons cast in the year 1741, marked as weighing 6.4 cent [640 pounds], and about 12 feet in length.

Going down about twenty five steps, marked 6, you come to the lower fort, where you find about twenty copper cannons about the same size as those described. Here you find large piles of Iron cannon balls, piles of balls, bomb shells, chain shot, & etc. Here you also find the remains of a house, marked 7, about 80 by 30 feet, two stories high. A lime tree is growing in one of the rooms about six inches in diameter. The house, marked 8, contains a large oven and a part [of the house] which was fire proof which now contains a large quantity of powder which will still flash I did not try it. It is about 60 by 20 feet, two stories high. No. 9 is the water tank [cistern] about 15 by 30 feet and 6 feet deep. Under the drilling ground is six large arched rooms occupying all the space under the drilling ground. They were probably used for store rooms. The lower part of the fort is about 100 feet above the ocean.

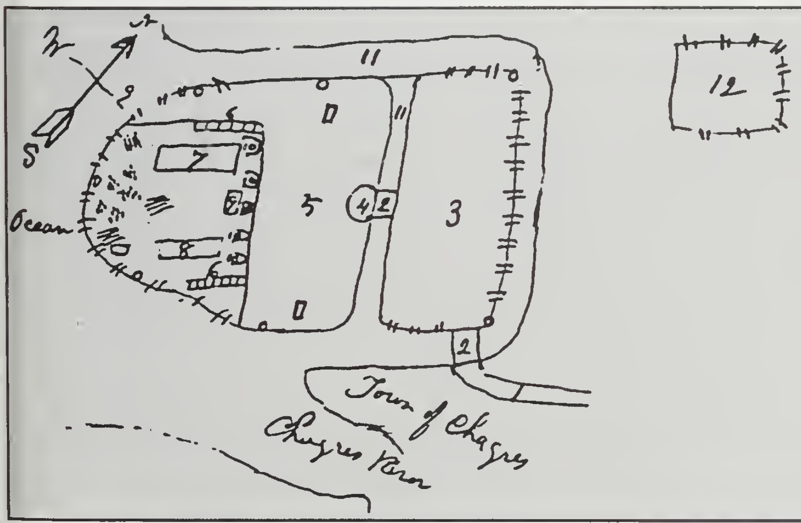
The space marked 12 is a small fort to protect from the land. [It] is upon higher ground and surrounded by a moat on the back side, and beyond which is a deep ravine. The whole fort is gone and going to decay. The carriages of the cannons are all rotted down, and the whole looks as if time had laid his heavy hand upon it. I enjoyed my visit to it very much.

When we were returning, we met a funeral procession going up the hill. We returned with them and found that the corpse was a young physician from Ohio who had left home, kindred, and all he held dear in the world to find a grave in a foreign land. He had died of fever which he had taken on ship board. There were no mourners in the common acceptation of the term, But we were all mourners. As the sun was shedding its last rays, we laid him down to sleep, the sleep that knows no waking till the final trump shall sound. It was a solemn time, and as we covered him up, we looked around and wondered who would be the next to fall.

On Monday, we packed and prepared to cross the dreaded isthmus. Our committee had engaged boats to carry us up the river, for after the conduct of Capt. Stoddard and the fracas on board the Orus, we were determined not to patronize the steam boat and she wanted $10 for carrying us to Gorgona and she could run up but twelve miles, and then we would have to take boats. And we could hire the "natives" to take us up for $7 and no extra baggage. During the voyage out, we had had several meetings, and divided ourselves in parties of thirty. Each party appointed two committees, one to go on shore as soon as we arrived at Chagres to make arrangements to go up to Gorgona, and another to go up to Gorgona to make arrangements to go to Panama [City].[11] We determined to go in the boats or dugouts.



A contemporaneous view of the city and harbor of Chagres, with Fort San Lorenzo on the hill to the left. *Author's collection.*



*Legend:*

No. 1 Paved road leading to fort
2 Drawbridges
3 Pierced for 15 cannons, their carriages decayed
4 Large round guard house for warden
5 Drilling ground, two large mortars
6 Steps leading to lower part of fort
7 House
8 House
9 Water tank
10 Arched rooms under the drilling ground
11 Moat surrounding the fort
12 Fort on the high ground protecting from the land
///// Piles of cannon
..... Piles of balls and shells
o Guard houses

Referred to in one of his letters is this map of Fort San Lorenzo by Dr. Augustus Campbell.
*Courtesy New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York.*

From Chagres to Gorgona (refer to the Panama Route map), a distance of some thirty miles, Campbell's party traveled in primitive canoes with nearly a thousand pounds of baggage among them. Because news of the Gold Rush reached Central America virtually with the arrival of the first Forty-niners, the sudden onslaught of Argonauts overwhelmed the country's inhabitants. Other American parties that traveled across Panama in the same year reported that they paid the guides forty to fifty dollars, and went as far as brandishing their loaded revolvers in lieu of making additional payments in brandy.[12]

Compared to many other accounts of this river voyage—in which, for example, the ubiquitous mosquito brought general discomfort, if not illness and death, tropical rains led to food spoilage, and travelers slept on the ground, on their baggage, or on the floor of the boats—Campbell, ever the hawkeyed observer, seems to have maintained the adventurer's spirit of adaptability. Another possibility is that he simply enjoyed an exceptionally easy crossing. He described the river voyage in another letter:

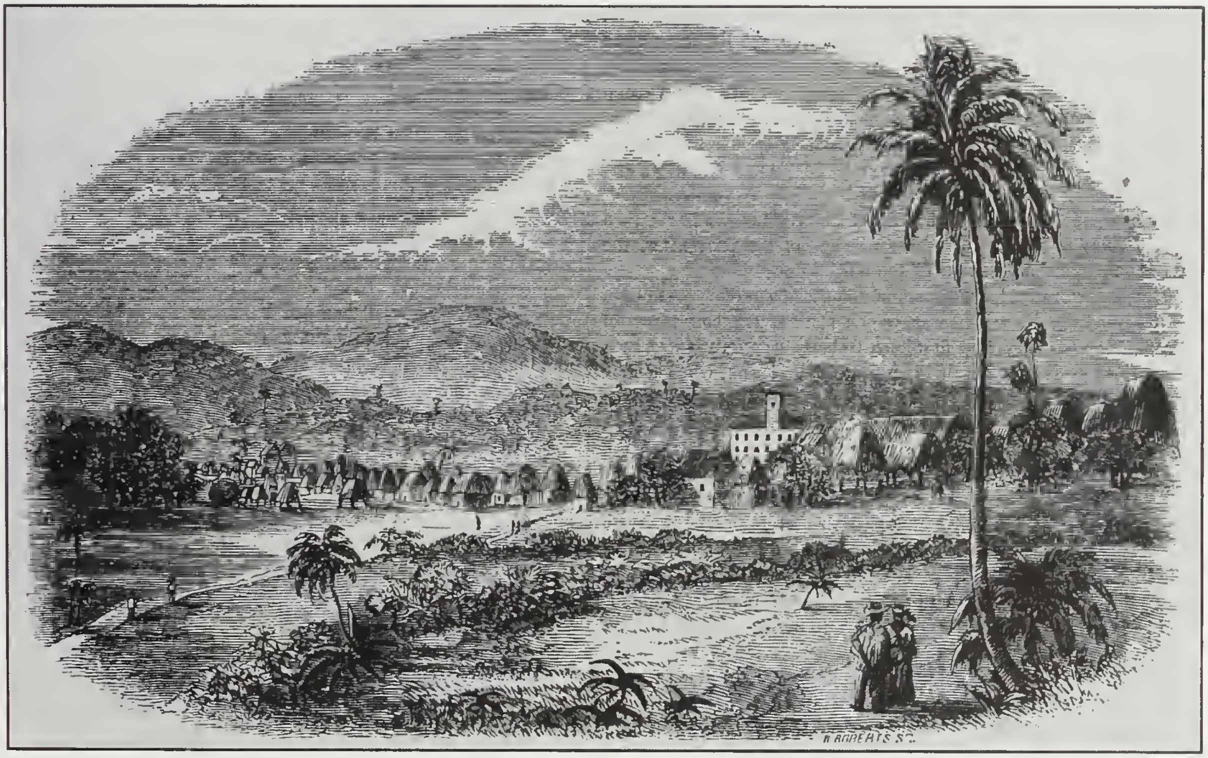
> Panama April 7th, 1849
>
> Dear Mother!
>
> In the sheet which I sent you yesterday by Mr. Mills of New York, I left off on our first day's journey over the "isthmus" and as I have intended to give you a kind of journal of my proceedings, I shall resume where I left off and try and give you a different view of the so much dreaded journey.
>
> In the dugout in which I went up the river, there were four persons beside the boatmen and myself. We had besides about half a ton of baggage, so our journey, of necessity, was slow. We had three boatmen, two to row and one to steer. They were a jovial set and enjoyed themselves very much. As they did not understand English and we did not understand Spanish, we were obliged to resort to the common and general language of signs in which I proved that my education had not been entirely neglected.[13]
>
> How very different are the sensations experienced by different persons while looking at the same objects. From the descriptions which I had read, (and they were not a few) I had supposed that the voyage up the Chagres River was a sort of Spanish inquisition through which if a person passed he barely escaped with his life and I had expected that by the time I arrived at the city of Panama, in the common acceptation of the term that I should be used up. But, I must say that I never enjoyed a sail more in my life than I did this. You could not move without seeing something to attract your attention. The banks down close to the water's edge were clothed in the most luxurient vegetation, and instead of being, as I expected, low and swampy were slight bluffs and dry, and the only swamp that I remember to have seen was one across the river from the town of Chagres.
>
> The land, from the appearance of the vegetation, must be very good, and in fact I saw some patches of Indian corn which looked much better than any I ever saw at home; and in the same patch, I saw corn in all its different stages of growth. Near Chagres, the sugar cane grows spontaneously. From it, the natives make a common kind of sugar resembling in appearance very much the maple sugar of home which they roll up in the leaves of the cane and sell in the market. The weather was very warm, and we were obliged to keep our umbrellas up during the middle of the day. The mornings and evenings were perfectly delightful.
>
> Game is in great plenty upon the river. A number of wild turkeys were shot from the boats on our passage, and quite a sprinkling of small alligators, but I was among the unfortunate ones and did not have a chance to see one rolling in the mud in the full enjoyment of life. A great number of iguanas were shot. They are a species of the lizard, and are esteemed a great delicacy by the "natives." One of the New Hampshire mining company shot one about six feet long and invited me to come the next day and take a dish of soup with them, but I forgot it, and thus lost my chance for trying the iguana.
>
> The trees on the banks of the river are perfectly over-run with vines and form the most beautiful arbours I ever saw in my life. They are covered with flowers of the same shape as the "morning glory" and of every variety of colour; and then the birds—every variety of plumage, shape, and size that you can imagine. Their notes were so entirely different from those that I had been accustomed to hear, except occasionally when I heard the song of the robin which would bring me back, in imagination, home.
>
> We left Chagres about three o'clock p.m. on Monday the 26th [of March], and went up about eight miles, when we stopped for the night. One of our company had a fiddle which soon attracted the attention of the "natives," who were determined to have a "fandango"; and a fandango they did have in good earnest, such dancing, black and white, each one upon his and her own. In a short time, I was obliged to leave because the perfumery was not pleasant.
>
> Tuesday, we were still on the river. The weather was very warm. We met about a dozen boats loaded with specie belonging to the English government, which they were taking down to Chagres. They were in the

> care of natives, except one white man who was in one of the boats. The specie was in large iron-bound boxes attached to which were large wooden floats with long coils of rope, the river being rapid, and those with dugouts easily overturned. That is the way millions of dollars are transported across the isthmus every year. I was told by one of the surveying party that never had a robbery of any importance taken place on the isthmus in years until the present, when a native had been taken for breaking open a trunk. The native gave as an excuse that a white man showed him how to do it and assisted him; and he thought if white men would rob from one another, he was justified in robbing also.
>
> We left all our things in the boats at night, even our guns, personal baggage, etc. In one of the Indian rubber bags, simply tied up with a cord was a bag containing a thousand dollars in gold. The boatmen slept in the boat, and I do not think we lost even the value of a cracker.

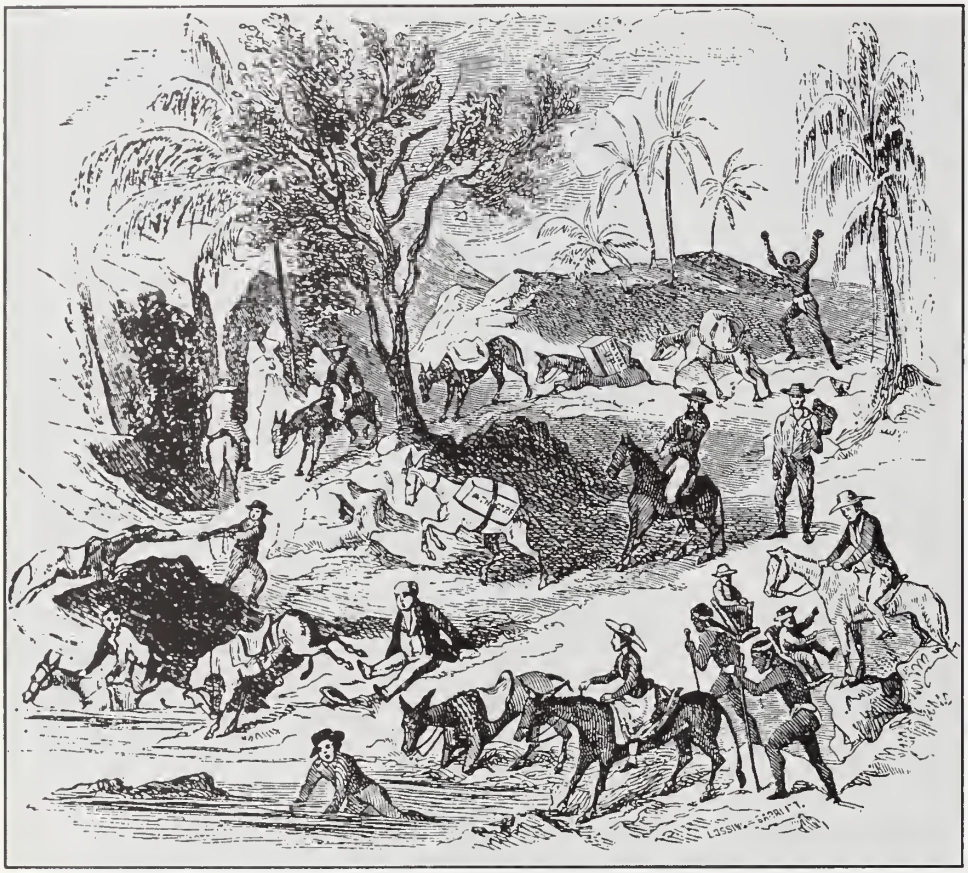
Bayard Taylor, canoeing up the Chagres a few months after Campbell, gave evidence that thievery increased during 1849. He wryly described his lower-class boatman as a "strong, jovial fellow" who "took such good care of some of our small articles as to relieve us from all further trouble about them," adding, "this propensity is common to all of his caste on the Isthmus."[14]

Augustus continued the letter describing his river journey:

> On Wednesday the 28th, we arrived at Gorgona about five o'clock in the afternoon. The place is about the same as Chagres, except that there was a few stone houses. We encamped upon the bank of the river so that we could be handy to the water, for we were obliged to use the river water, which is very good except that it wants the ice and I think it equally as good as the Croton water in summer without ice.[15]
>
> On Thursday, we stayed at Gorgona, and on Friday we made our arrangements to go to Panama. We got our things packed up and were ready to start about eleven o'clock. A great part of our heaviest baggage was carried upon the backs of men instead


R. ROBERTS SC.

The tinted original of this image, *Gorgona, Panama*, appeared in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (1854). *Author's collection.*



*Crossing the Isthmus.* From *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1855). *Courtesy of the author.*

of mules. One man carried upon his back a half barrel containing cheese and dried beef and weighing 160 pounds, and I am told that one man carried upon his back twenty-eight gallons of brandy, a pretty good load for one man. Our party walked over, as we did not feel able to pay $10 apiece for a mule to ride. . . .

About two weeks later, Augustus dispatched another letter continuing his account of the passage across Panama:

> Panama April 26, 1849
>
> Dear Mother!
>
> My letters I have sent home as I could get a chance, and I suppose you will receive several of them at once. . . .Well, in my last letter I left off on my journey from Gorgona to Panama. We left Gorgona on Friday the 30th of Mch at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. I think you would have laughed heartily to have seen us as we started, there were about fifteen or twenty mules for baggage and about as many men with loads upon their backs. Such noises as they made talking Spanish, making signs, swearing at the mules, & etc. it was really amusing and then we were unshaved and in the fashion of the natives — almost naked, with a water jug on one side, and a knapsack of provisions on the other a belt with revolver and Bowie knife, rifle and umbrella completed our equipage and a merrier set of fellows you never saw.
>
> The most of the way, the road is a simple bridle path, and in the dry season is a very good one. It is not nearly so hilly as has been represented— that is, not high hills. . . . We were told by the surveyors that the highest grade on their survey was 90 feet to the mile. The hills are small, and it is constantly up and down. The distance is twenty four miles, and we came nineteen on the first day, so you perceive the walking was not very bad.
>
> We struck the old paved road leading from Cruces to Panama the last five miles of our journey.[16] I don't know how long it has been laid down, but parts of it are still in a good state of preservation, and I think if the inhabitants of Albany could see it, they would be ashamed, and attempt to improve upon State St, for I assure you it is much better.[17]
>
> At eight O'clock on Saturday, we were in Panama,

> and our eyes for the first time looked upon the mighty Pacific. As we came along one of the company counted the dead mules on the route and found that they numbered fifty-two. When we arrived within two miles of Panama [City], we began to see some signs of civilization in the shape of old ruins, cleared fields, & etc.[18] It must, at one time, have been a great place from the ruins that are scattered all through the surrounding country there are ruins from appearances which must have cost millions of dollars. As you enter the suberbs of the town the negro huts are all interspersed among the old ruined mansions. The streets are well paved, and pretty good side walks.
>
> When you enter the walled part of the town, it really presents quite the appearance of a city. The houses are built of stone & brick covered with tiles—plastered outside and in, and white washed so that they present quite a fine appearance. Their houses are mostly three stories high with balconies extending out over the side walks, which we find very comfortable both in the rainy and dry season. (However, we can not judge the rainy season, for we have had but two or three showers since we have been here.)
>
> The town, or city, I suppose I must call it, contains about five or six thousand inhabitants. . . . I am told by those who are judges that the common natives do not speak the pure Spanish, but that it is mixed some. They are rather inclined to be lazy; at any rate it takes them a long time to get started. They are very slow, and they must understand all the particulars before they start. They are hard fellows on a bargain, and they can calculate to a nicety, and after you have made a bargain with them for to do a certain piece of work and perhaps paid them one half to bind the bargain and expect them to commence immediately, they will begin to say "Monyana" (tomorrow) for they go upon the old Spanish maxim of never doing to day what can be done tomorrow. They are very timid, and have lost that high sense of honor for which their Castilian forefathers were celebrated.
>
> The markets are very good as far as the spontaneous productions of the earth are concerned, but the only things that you find in market that require any labor except that of gathering, are the indian corn and onions. All kinds of tropical fruits are found here in great abundance, but since the influx of Americans, they charge high for them. American provisions bear almost any price you are a mind to ask. At least prime Pork is worth at present $60 a barrell and our pork which the natives had drawn [off] the brine to make it lighter to carry over the isthmus, and spoiled it so that we could not eat it we sold it at the rate of $50 a barrell.

The "old ruins" Campbell glimpsed were those of colonial Spanish origin. Panama, a colony of Spain since the early sixteenth century, had proclaimed its independence in 1821. By the Gold Rush, the region had become a province of nearby Columbia. Campbell's condemnation of Panamanians as "lazy" and "timid" betrays his Protestant New England values and the general ethnocentric prejudices shared by most of the Argonauts. The next day, Campbell wrote again:

> April 27th
>
> Our company were well and hearty until within the last two weeks except what most of them suffered from sea-sickness. But about two weeks ago two of our company were taken with the dysintery, and suffered from it very severely.
>
> About three weeks since, we heard that there was a schooner down the coast which could be purchased cheap. So Col. Carmichael, the leader of our company, and Mr. Huntington, the leader of a company from Oneonta, Otsego County, started off down the coast to purchase her. From the exposure or from some cause Col. Carmichael was taken with the fever of the country. He was brought back and every attention paid him that was possible, but he died in two days after his return & James Haggart another of our company and the man I had intended to take with me, who had been labouring under the dysintery fever supervened upon his case and in spite of the best medical attendance which the city could afford, and which was good, he also died and they were buried side by side about three-fourths of a mile out of the city. At these calamities two of our men became discouraged and have gone home. . . .
>
> I have been troubled with the dysentery, but am well now. I never enjoyed better health in my life. The heat is very oppressive. The thermometer stays during each day at about 90 in the room. If I only had a little ice, I think I should enjoy it.
>
> We the day before yesterday succeeded in getting passages on the packet ship Humbolt.[19] She used to run between N York and Bremen, and is a very fine commodious vessel. Our passages are only $175 a small sum for a passage. . . . When we first arrived at Panama, steerage tickets in the steamers were selling at $410 and cabin tickets at from 800 to 1000. . . . The steamer California, which has been due for some weeks, has not yet returned.[20] It is presumed that the hands have deserted. . . .
>
> Gambling is carried on here a great deal. The natives are passionately fond of a game of chance, and a great many of the Americans are also engaged. The native priests gamble even on the sabbath and a gentleman told Mr. Huntington that he saw one of the priests with his robes on enter one of the [gambling] Halls on the sabbath and win forty dollars and

afterwards saw him count it during service in the cathedral on one of the holy tables. If the priests set such an example, what better can you expect from the common people. However, at present the Governor is attempting to put a stop to it. But I am afraid he will not be able.

The Odd Fellows [a fraternal society] are doing a great deal to ameliorate the condition of the destitute Americans here. They have established a free hospital where all members of the Order are taken care of when sick, free of expense, and they have done a great deal for others. God bless the Odd Fellows. I feel proud of being a member of the order.

We expect to leave here in eight or ten days. I will try and write again before I start. Tell Henry and all of you to write to me. You don't know how much good a letter from home would do me. The mail will be closed this afternoon, and I must say good bye. I think of all at home often, but still I am glad I started—and think I shall do well. At any rate I will try. I often think of what William [one of his brothers] said to me the day I started: "Remember the eyes of your father, mother, sisters, and brothers are upon you."[21] And mother, I do try to behave myself.

Your aff. son,
Augustus Campbell

Campbell took advantage of his enforced stay at Panama City to pen yet more letters back home:

Panama April 28, 1849

Dear Brother! [Erastus Crafts, a brother-in-law]

According to your request I hasten to write and give you a short synopsis of my journey thus far . . . also thinking that I might be able to give you some different ideas from those you would gather from the papers of the day, unless they have changed very much since my departure, for I must confess I have been very happily disappointed in my journey thus far. . . .

We arrived at Panama [City] on the 31st in the morning—and pitched our tent about two miles out the city. On the 1st of April Sabbath, I attended Mass at the Cathedral and as it was Palm Sunday we had a chance of seeing the Roman Catholic processions, ceremonies, & etc. In the afternoon the priests were all out in full procession and carried a wax figure of the Saviour upon a young ass and the inhabitants spreading palm branches in the way. On Monday, he was tried and nailed to the cross crucified and buried and the tomb, cross, etc. carried in procession at night, but the most imposing procession was reserved untill the resurrection and indeed, it was an imposing affair. Still taken all together it was the greatest piece of folly I ever saw. . . .[22]

The town [Panama] is surrounded by a high wall and ditch and is very well, or has been very well fortified, and there are mounted all round on the walls some of the finest old brass and copper cannons I ever saw. The harbour is not a good one. Ships cannot come up within two miles of the shore, the tide rises about fourteen feet. The bay is filled with beautiful little islands among the largest of which is Toboga, which contains fine fresh water and in quantities for shipping.[23] All the water that is used in the city is brought in upon the backs of mules and is very poor, you pay one dime for a jar of about four gallons.

The markets are well supplied with all kinds of tropical fruit, fresh meat, & etc. and since the influx of the Americans they charge enormous prices for every thing. I had some washing done yesterday, and I had to pay at the rate of three dollars a dozen for it. And every thing else is in about the same ratio. . . .

When we first arrived there was but one vessel in the harbour, and she was not for sale, so our chance of getting off [for California] looked rather dubious. There was between two and three thousand persons waiting for a passage but since vessels have kept coming inn each day, and at present there are about enough in to clear the town, we have secured passage in the Humbolt, a fine ship built for a packet to run between N York and Bremen and we expect to leave next Saturday, the 5th of May. . . .

Our company have attached themselves to the company from Oneonta headed by Mr. Huntington and we are rooming with them and intend to stick with them. I like Mr. Huntington & company very much they are all well, and are acquainted with a great many of my old friends in Laurens.

When I arrive in the "Gold diggins" I will give you another sheet stating my whereabouts, prospects & etc. and I should be very happy to hear from you. . . . Well, good bye and when I get a "pocket full of rocks" I will come back and, see you. . . .

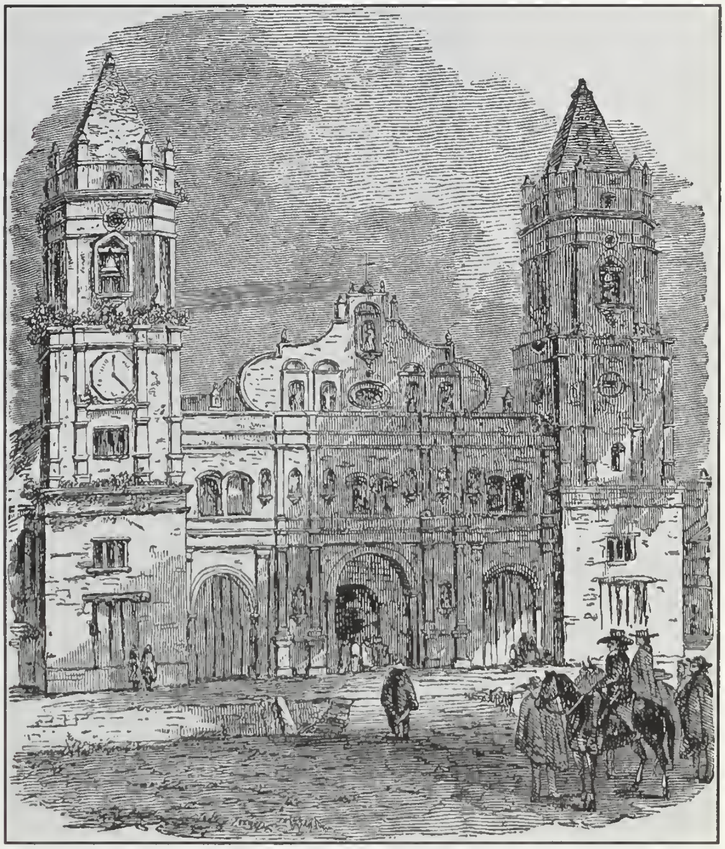
Till then, believe me, as ever Your Aff. Brother.
Aug. Campbell

Panama May 11, 1849

Dear Mother!

We are at present packing up our things to go on board of the Humbolt which will probably sail on Sunday next. We are obliged to take a steerage ticket as we are unwilling and I am unable to take a cabin one. . . .

The passengers from the Oregon bring glowing accounts from the diggins.[24] I had the pleasure of lifting forty pounds of the precious metal that one of the men had dug in three months and a half which is pretty good wages. We saw great numbers of the iron bound boxes unloaded that belonged to the passengers. The passengers here are leaving very fast



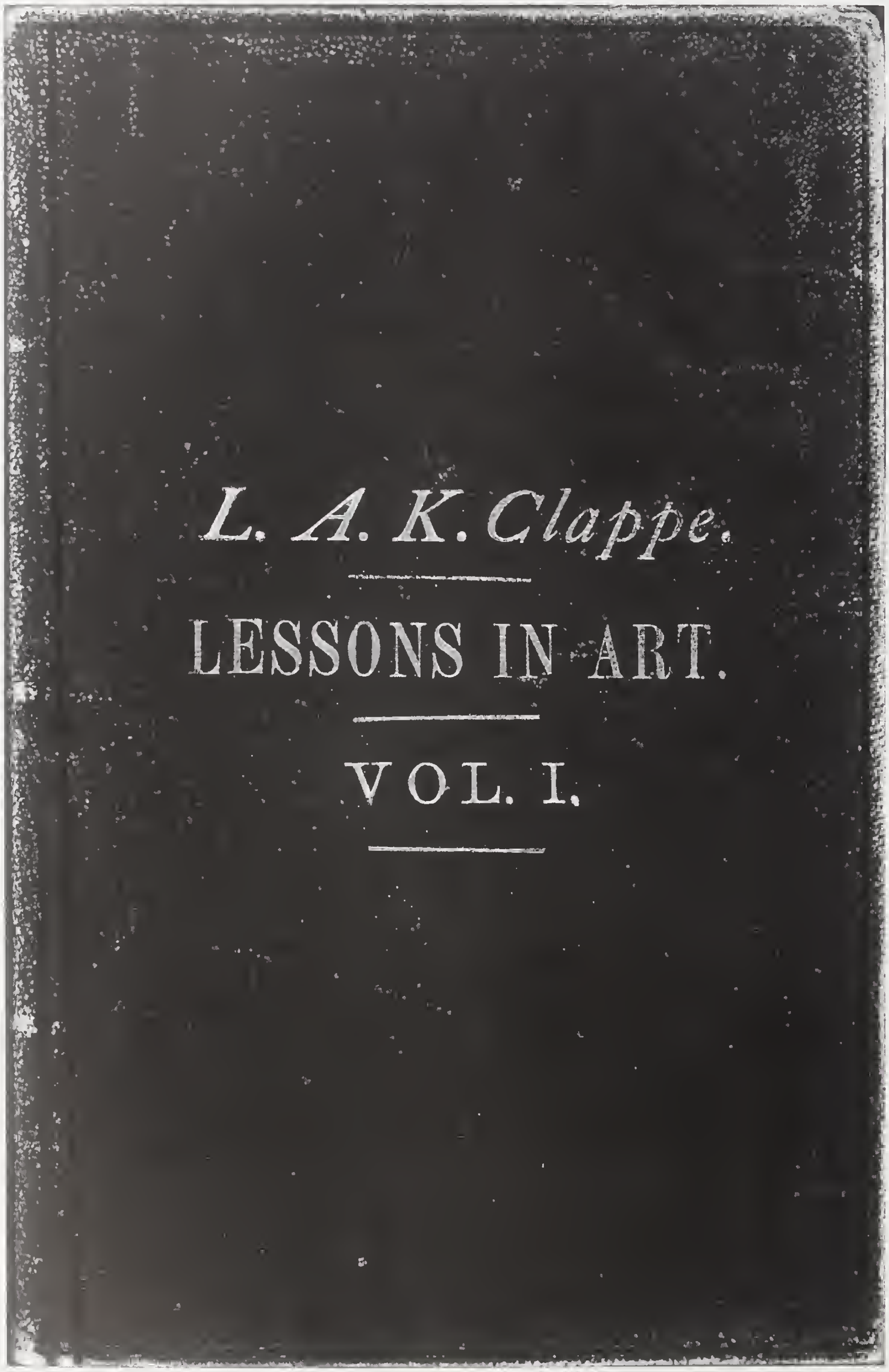
The cathedral at Panama, where Campbell attended a Palm Sunday service. He later described the pageantry that marked the crucifixion reenactment, which lasted for two days in the Catholic city. *From F. N. Otis's* History of the Panama Railroad *(1867). Courtesy of the author.*

> at present, and every man is very anxious to get away from this old dilaidated place. . . .
>
> I am obliged to do my own washing here, as they charge two reals a piece for washing and ironing it is the same as two shillings at home and I am getting to be a dabster at cooking. Henry [a brother] knows I used to succeed in that line pretty well when at home. . . .
>
> Send me papers often for they are in demand. I have ordered the Gazette [*Cherry Valley Gazette*] to be sent me. . . .
>
> You must not expect to hear from me again until I get to San Francisco. I will write as soon as I get there. Write soon, write often. Write, write, write. And much oblige your affectionate son
>
> Aug. Campbell

Records of the mining company that Augustus was with do not appear to have survived, but many companies promptly dissolved upon reaching San Francisco. Once in California he settled in a mining camp at Columbia, Tuolumne County, but eventually practiced medicine instead of mining. An advertisement in a directory published in 1856 listed him as an "M.D., Physician and Surgeon" with an office "in J.A. Jackson's Fire-proof house, Main Street, Columbia."[25] The town is now a California State Historic Park.[26] While in California, he married the widow Mary Ann Harrison Snyder and they had four children. In 1859, he and his family returned east and lived for a short time in Amsterdam, New York. With the outbreak of the Civil War, he enlisted as a surgeon and was in the Union army until 1864, when he became ill and had to resign.[27] After leaving the Army, he and his family moved to northwest Illinois, where his wife's mother and stepfather lived. Augustus and his family settled in East Dubuque, where he practiced medicine and from 1881 to 1884 was the town's postmaster. He died in 1889.[28] CHS

*See notes beginning on page 298.*

*Colin D. Campbell, Loren M. Berry Professor of Economics, Emeritus, Dartmouth College, grew up in Panama, graduating from high school there. After receiving undergraduate and graduate degrees from Harvard and the University of Chicago, for thirty-one years he taught economics at Dartmouth. Dr. Campbell's most recent article, on the settlement of Cherry Valley, New York, was published in* New York History *in July 1998.*



One of several bound leather books belonging to Louise Clappe, the covers of which carried her name and the subject stamped in gold foil. These manuscript volumes, on art, architecture, and literature, held the lectures that Clappe presented in New York City in the 1880s. The manner in which her notes were neatly composed and preserved suggests her lifelong interest in the cultural arts and the enjoyment she received from sharing it with others. *Author's collection.*

# OUT OF THE SHADOWS

## Louise Clappe's Life and Early California Writing

*by Marlene Smith-Baranzini*

> *If you were to add to your love of reading the habit of writing you would find a new and inexhaustible source of comfort and satisfaction opening upon you.*
>
> ——Alexander H. Everett to Louisa Smith,
> October 31, 1839

For more than a century, Louise A. K. S. Clappe, the first lady of gold-rush literature, has been noted and quoted with soaring enthusiasm. Readers continually draw new insights from her writing. The particular work they celebrate, her twenty-three letters to a younger sister in the East, is by far her best-known writing. It has left her audiences restless to learn more about her life, which itself is the central theme of this essay. Clappe's famous letters, known formally as *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851-1852*, were chronicles of her life during fourteen months in a northern California gold-rush community. Among their half-dozen editions are the first, a grand 1922 tome; a 1949 gold-rush commemorative volume; and a long-running, popular paperback edition. The most recent edition, containing my expanded introduction and notes, appeared in 1998. The book's staid and enigmatic title resulted because Mrs. Clappe chose "Dame Shirley" as her pen name, and the 1922 editor and publisher, Thomas Russell, christened her series of letters with its prosaic, historically conventional title. The unabridged title of his limited edition, available in red velvet or cloth binding, rambled to sixty-five words. The next editor shortened it greatly, and the letters now are often just called *The Shirley Letters*. For all the embellishment that launched them, however, *The Shirley Letters* can scarcely be called a traditional account of gold-rush life. They are sweeping, compassionate, witty, and often disturbing. Composed as epistolary essays, they illustrate the quintessential gold-mining camp of the early 1850s, with all the sights, sounds, and smells that humans—and nature—might produce in a deep, forested river canyon.[1]

Dame Shirley began her series with her "how I got to the mines" adventure, in which she described reuniting with her husband, Dr. Fayette Clapp (Louise added a final "e" to her name after her divorce from him in 1857), and accompanying him to Rich Bar, the site he had chosen where they would live.[2] The easterners had arrived in San Francisco in January of 1850. In the spring of 1851, Dr. Clapp had briefly left his wife in Marysville and gone north to scout a new location for his medical practice, hoping for a drier climate than that of the coastal peninsula. When he had selected this spot, one he also deemed a suitable place for a wife, he returned to Marysville to fetch her. After several days, and a series of mishaps that recall the rugged, natural terrain of the state's northern interior, in September 1851 the Clapps arrived at their destination. Its population numbering some two thousand men and half a dozen women, Rich Bar lay in a deep canyon on the North Fork of the Feather River, on the spectacular, serpentine east branch.

In her second and third letters, Dame Shirley composed a vivid description of the built-environment of Rich Bar, including the "rag and card-board" Empire Hotel—where they would stay for a few weeks—and the assortment of miners' dwellings. Rich Bar, Indian Bar, and other nearby mining camps that Louise would describe formed the boundaries of the universe that confined her from September 1851 into the late autumn of 1852.

After delivering the lay of the land, Dame Shirley reported on an amputation conducted by her husband, whom she discreetly referred to as "F—", described his medical office with its pin-up posters from *Godey's Lady's Magazine*, related the death of one of the five women in camp, and sketched the interior of the couple's just-completed, twenty-by-twenty-square-foot log cabin at Indian Bar, their new home. Then she trained her eye on the larger scene. She wrote of an international community aggressively chopping into the riverbed and into the land in hopes of striking their mineral riches, and of miners confronting in their leisure the boredom and prejudices that might escalate into heavy drinking or fighting. In this uneasy atmosphere she reported thefts, stabbings, vigilante rule, and lynch mobs. She recaptured the hooting, howling, and drunken saturnalias that accompanied patriotic and religious celebrations.

As vividly as she delivered these boisterous scenes, Dame Shirley was ever mindful of the physical backdrop against which this pursuit of fortune took place. She noted the subtle rhythms of nature that brushed this raw world with beauty and described the great heaps of wildflowers and shrubbery she gathered up to decorate her dark little cabin. She described the steep, hillside bower where she often escaped for solitude, and she marveled at the blues and grays of the sky above. Her prose captured the moods of the river itself, sometimes sparkling, emerald, and clear, but often dark and cold, the current tumbling over huge granite boulders crowding its bed.

Some of Shirley's letters were devoted to the vocabulary of mining and to explanations of the placer and fluming techniques used by the mining companies; one gave the brief "history" of Rich Bar as recounted by one of its earliest prospectors. Another recounted a political convention she attended in American Valley, near present-day Quincy. Other letters were about California Indians in the region, children, animals and birds, and newly arrived women draped in the moment's fashion. She offered, too, menus from a dozen dinners, banquets, and celebrations.[3]

By late November of 1852, however, this unique and historic episode in Louise's life drew to a close. This stretch of the river had been used up; its interlopers had scattered to try their luck elsewhere. Predictions of an early, severe winter added urgency to the Clapps' departure. In her final letter, Dame Shirley described her fleeting hours at the cabin. A scene of profound, Transcendental ritual found her standing alone, outside her cabin in the "moon-lighted midnight," contemplating the meaning of this fourteen-month experience. She offered her private farewell to this "unconventional wood-life" and to all of "divine Nature," in which she had finally known contentment. The following morning, with copies of these letters safely stowed, and her household belongings strapped on mule-back, she and Fayette followed the expressman up the steep canyon trail, leaving Indian Bar forever.[4] In the minds and imaginations of thousands of later readers, however, Louise Clappe would always remain "Dame Shirley," pictured as the "little thistle-seed" she called herself, forever making her rounds in the camps beside the Feather River.[5]

Her letters, believed by some historians to have been composed as a private communique, were addressed to her younger sister, Mary Jane Smith, who had chosen not to "see the California elephant" as Louise had, but who instead remained at the family home in Amherst, Massachusetts.[6] However personal the letters were initially intended to be, when she returned to San Francisco, Louise offered them for publication. Under the editorship of Ferdinand Ewer, a young publisher and writer, Clappe's letters began to be serialized monthly in 1854 in *The Pioneer, or, California Monthly Magazine*. Modeled after the *Atlantic Monthly*, San Francisco's first pass at a monthly literary periodical reviewed the city's cultural events and featured poetry and prose by California's first writers and poets. Among them were humorist George Derby ("John Phoenix" and "Squibob"), Alonzo Delano ("Old Block"), and John Rollin Ridge ("Yellow Bird"). Including Louise, cultural scholar Franklin Walker pronounced this quartet the four most interesting writers of the 1850s.[7]

For two years, despite its wobbly financial underpinnings, *The Pioneer* enjoyed popularity in California and in the East. Yet during that time, Ewer's interest in it had already waned, and the magazine wrapped up with its December 1855 issue, neatly coinciding with Dame Shirley's final installment

One of gold-rush San Francisco's prominent young citizens, Fredinand Cartright Ewer (1826-1883) was associated with dozens of early California publishing ventures before launching *The Pioneer* literary magazine with his partner Williams Brooks. In 1859, the intellectual and spiritually driven Ewer was ordained in the Episcopal Church, where he served briefly as rector at Grace Church before moving on to New York. There, he and his wife, Sophia, continued their friendship with Louise for several more decades. *Courtesy California State Library.*

from Indian Bar.[8] Its short run notwithstanding, *The Pioneer* had succeeded in proving that San Francisco indeed had a pool of literary talent. Many of its writers would reappear in the pages of such other early periodicals as the *Golden Era* and the first incarnation of the *Overland Monthly*. The greatest periodical legacy of the Gold Rush, however, was *The Pioneer's* "Shirley Letters."[9]

After their first appearance, for nearly a century the Shirley letters wandered a cobblestone road, bumping here and there into public view. They drew notice in the 1870s and 1880s, when historians began gathering records of California pioneers and "pioneer days," including, of course, an extensive account of the Gold Rush. References to "Shirley's" letters began to appear in histories by H. H. Bancroft (who was in fact briefly at Rich Bar while Louise was writing there), Theodore Hittell, and Josiah Royce. Enthusiastically they cited her work—though often not her real name—for its accuracy, vivid prose, and realism.[10]

Another forty years passed. In 1922, Thomas Russell, San Francisco publisher of fine books, discovered the letters and collected them into a single volume. We are indebted to him for this and for including with them a short biographical essay about Louise Clappe, written by Mary Lawrence, her longtime friend. Despite perfectionist harping about typographical errors in *The Pioneer* and misquotes in Royce, found while preparing his foreword, Russell's otherwise impressive edition brought Clappe's work to the attention of twentieth-century historians and bibliophiles. Then, in the 1930s, cartographer and mining historian Carl Wheat collaborated with the Grabhorn Press to produce an annotated, two-volume slipcased edition of the book. He pursued Mary Lawrence's essay about Mrs. Clappe, drawing on Clappe's personal papers and letters, a modest collection of which is in the California State Library.[11] In 1949, to commemorate the California gold-rush centennial, Wheat produced another edition of the letters, whose timing alone may have anchored the letters' position among primary historical documents of California life.[12]

The latter half of the twentieth century welcomed broader fields of scholarship that embraced Louise Clappe and her writing. The emergence of western women's history in the 1970s, for example, secured pioneer women's experiences as a requisite element of historical studies. As we have seen from their writings, American women from the early California period, Louise Clappe, Mary Jane Megquier, Eliza Farnham, Sarah Royce, and lesser known others, challenge outdated role stereotypes. As more women's historical writings have been recovered, a growing collection of literary anthologies has profiled them and excerpted their words. The sooner such women can be the subjects of their own full biographies, the better.[13]

Renewed interest in California's pioneer literature, sparked by the fires of the gold-rush and statehood sesquicentennials, has also brought Clappe's *Shirley Letters* into the spotlight. Acclaimed for their literary merit, they are unsurpassed as sophisticated, contemporaneous gold-rush literature. Finally, although it has been nearly forty years since Rodman Paul published his extended Dame Shirley biographic essay, in which he discussed his investigative methodology, scholars from related disciplines have recently revisited Clappe's writing. Based on insightful reading of the letters, they have presented new and intriguing interpretations of Dame Shirley's experiences in California.[14]

On the cusp of the twenty-first century, my continuing research allowed me to present a new look at Clappe's life and her creation of the Shirley letters. In my introduction to the 1998 edition, I argued that these letters were never intended to be private writing, and I discussed the cultural context within which Clappe *could* have created such a work. I also clarified many of the letters' rich nineteenth-century cultural allusions that may be unfamiliar to today's readers.[15] More recently, my focus on subjects including her eventful voyage to California, her first writing (which became a vehicle for expressing trials during this period in her life), and some of her particularly significant friendships, helps finally to draw Louise Clappe herself out of the shadows that have for so long shrouded her.

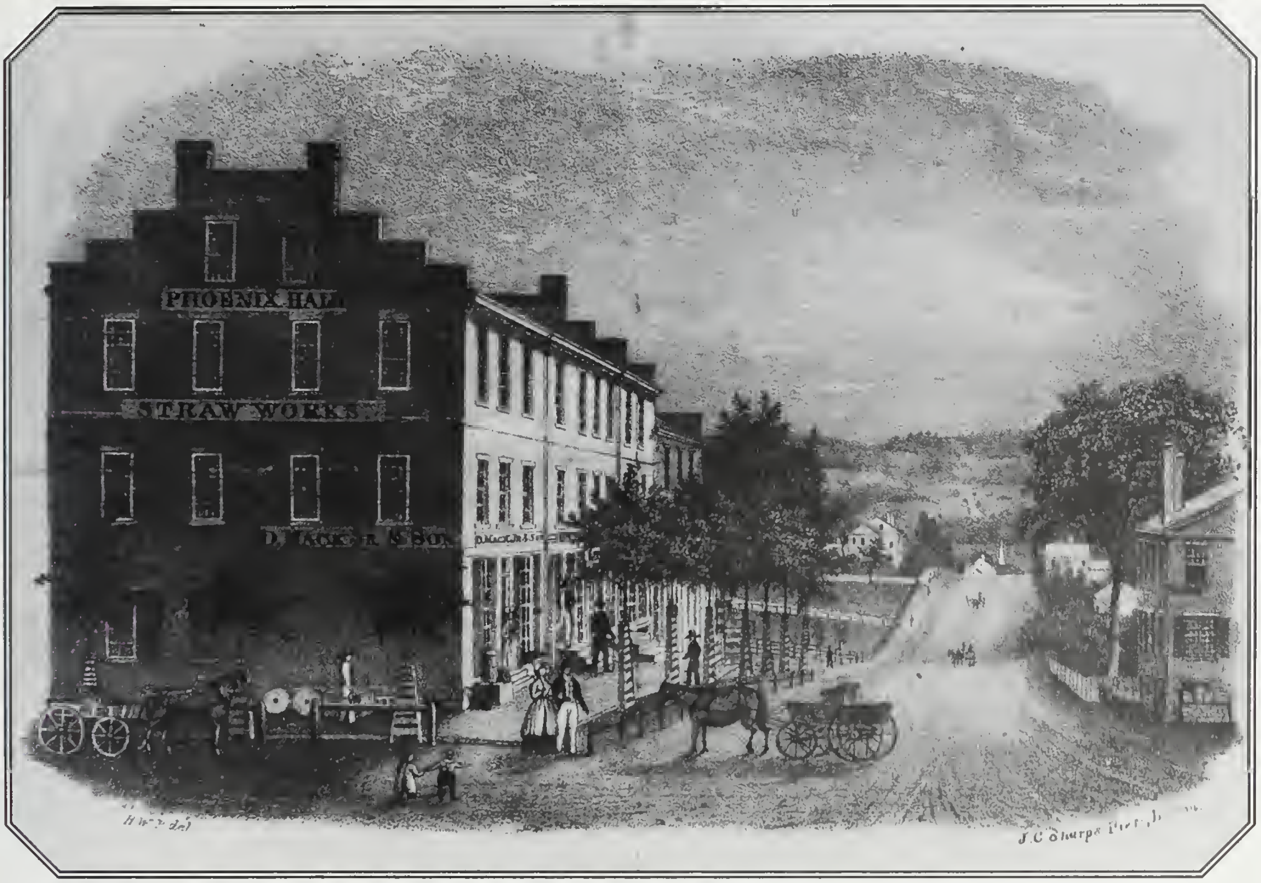
This article explores several of these previously sketchy aspects of her life. Three especially illuminating poems are reprinted here, two of them for the first time since 1851, the third unseen since its appearance in the 1922 *Shirley Letters*. Finally, this article concludes with a discussion of Mary V.T. Lawrence, whose "An Appreciation" essay in the Russell book was noted earlier. Mrs. Lawrence believed she probably knew more about Louise than anyone else did, and, with the exception of Louise's niece Genevieve Stebbins, she probably did. The keeper of several unpublished writings by Clappe, she remains a vital link to our knowledge of Louise.

Except for *The Shirley Letters* and the three poems discussed in this article, however, none of Clappe's published writings are easily accessible today. Because earlier critics found her other pieces wanting or insignificant, especially when held to the light of her more powerful *Letters*, they have remained all but ignored. Others, perhaps, have been destroyed. The small cadre that is known to survive numbers thirteen poems, essays, and reviews. Along with her unpublished plays and lectures, Clappe's writing spans more than thirty years. Her last known works, published in 1881, when she was sixty-two and lived in New York, are literary criticisms.[16] Clappe's pseudonym "Shirley," its variation "Shirley Lee," and her later signature "Lilly," suggest that continued searching might reveal still more of her work, perhaps written under yet other pseudonyms.[17]

Until she settled in California, however, Louise Clappe is not known to have published at all. A poem entitled "Leverett," which appeared in 1844 in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, has often been misidentified as her first appearance in print, leading to the premise that Clappe arrived in California as a published writer. The confusion surrounding "Leverett" stems from her long association with the noted intellectual and diplomatic figure Alexander Hill Everett, whom she met in 1839, when she had just turned twenty and he was forty-nine. A pillar of American intellectual life in the early nineteenth century, he and Louise corresponded regularly for eight years, until his death in June 1847 in Canton, while he was ambassador to China.

In an exchange of letters during the summer of 1844, which Louise spent in Leverett, Massachusetts, she wrote to Everett describing the picturesque, rural surroundings. He turned her prose into verse, and the following autumn ushered it into publication in a literary review to which he was a frequent contributor. "I am glad you liked my 'Leverett,'" he wrote to her that August.[18] That October Everett mailed Louise a copy of the table of contents of the issue, and amused himself—and one imagines her as well—by recounting the private ruse behind this poem, linking it, and himself, to a similar one used by Napoleon, in which Everett claimed that the emperor, when it suited his purposes, issued daily military orders "bearing the signature of his generals or ministers, without consulting them."[19]

Misattributing the tangled authorship of "Leverett," Rodman Paul, for example, called "Louise's" "Leverett" just as "undistinguished, artificial, and ornate" as the California verse she wrote.[20] Others, consulting Paul, have carried the mistake forward.[21] Verifying the authorship of "Leverett" is essential because it establishes that Louise probably arrived in California not as a published writer, but hoping to become one. In fact, this correspondence-friendship likely provided an "epistolary apprenticeship" for Louise, at least in the self-confidence she gained as a young woman writing for eight years to an elder statesman. Specifically implicit in the creation of "Leverett" is the fact that Everett was able to build it from Louise's well-written observations, the sort of descriptive, regional writing that she would produce seven years later in her 1851 "letters" to the Marysville *Herald*. Everett's penning of "Leverett" remains a tribute to the young Louise, and a public testament to their intriguing friendship.

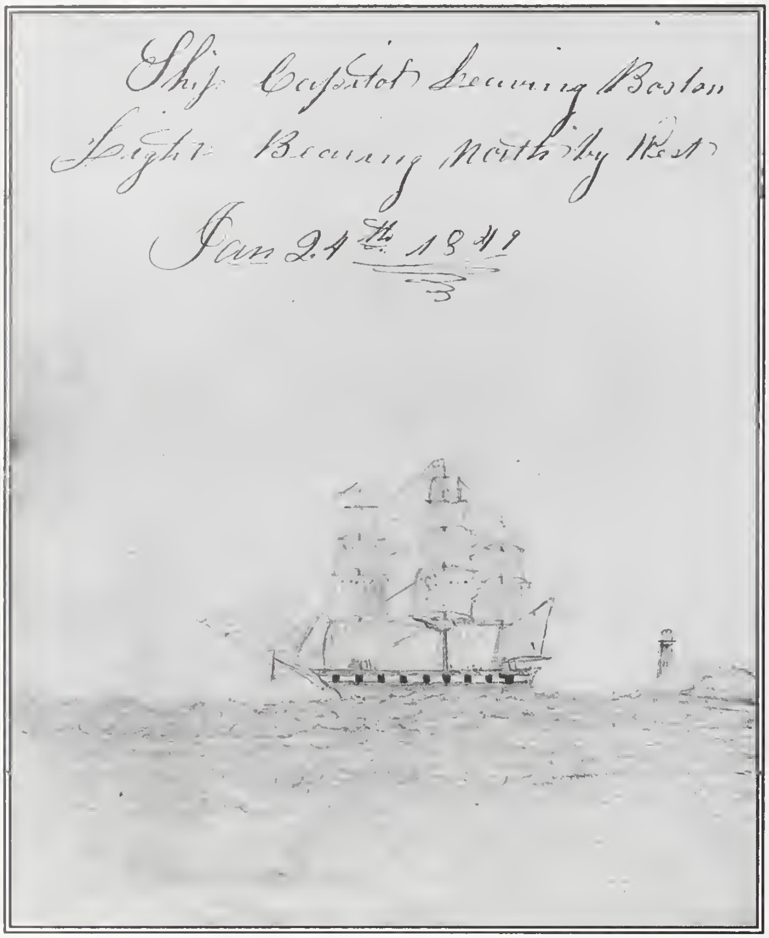


Amherst, Massachusetts, ca. 1840. This view of Main Street, across from the present-day town common, suggests the rural, rolling hills of the Connecticut River valley that was home to the Moses Smith family for several generations. The home that Louise and her brothers and sisters grew up in stood not far away on Pleasant Street. *By permission of the Jones Library, Inc., Amherst, Mass.*

That affectionate bond, a source of speculation among Clappe scholars, included regular exchanges about Louise's unmarried status—he himself had wed Lucy (Lucretia) Peabody in 1816—and revealed Everett's charming demeanor on paper as a warm and cavalier mentor who all the same took delight in flirtatious teasing of his young friend. In their last volley of letters, however, Louise told him of a new suitor in her life. Although much has been made of Everett's annoyance and hunger for details about the young fiancé, in his final letter to Louise he offered to stand in for her deceased father, and give her hand in marriage. Alas, it was not to happen as both may have wished it. Everett's death ended a correspondence that had granted Louise private access to observations of significant national events, and surely filled her with vicarious excitement, positioned, as she was, on the periphery of his very distinguished life. In the months that followed, however, her own small universe would expand in ways she could never have predicted. Her marriage, the first of several life changes that would occur in rather close succession, took place the following year.

On September 13, 1848, the plain, tiny chancel of St. John's (Episcopal) Church, Northampton, Massachusetts, became the setting of the wedding that united Louisa A. K. Smith and Fayette Clapp. Their vows of matrimony were pledged before the Reverend Henry Burroughs, Jr.[22] Eldest in her family of seven siblings, Louise, at twenty-nine, was the second to marry. She had not known a carefree childhood, and into her early twenties she claimed also to know nothing of romantic love. Instead, she moved frequently between boarding schools and the homes of relatives, always wearing the cloak of responsibility for her six younger siblings, a family orphaned and figuratively set adrift by the separate deaths of their parents in the 1830s.[23]

At his marriage, Fayette Clapp was twenty-four and living in Chesterfield, a hilly village some thirty



A few months before Louise and Fayette Clapp sailed for California aboard the *Manilla,* another Amherst resident, Chester C. Hosmer, left Boston for San Francisco aboard the ship *Capitol.* He kept a diary of his journey and decorated the frontispiece, shown here, with a handsome pencil sketch of the ship. *By permission of the Jones Library, Inc., Amherst, Mass.*

miles from Northampton. Both his father and his grandfather had been born in Northampton, and many Clapp kinfolk still resided there, but since leaving home at fourteen, Fayette had moved around frequently. Through family tradition, fate, and inclination, both Fayette and Louise had attended a series of New England academies, and both were well educated. Fayette's advanced academic path led him into theological study, but in the months just before his marriage, he graduated from Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, with the A.B. degree. This he immediately followed by medical courses supervised by Sylvanus Clapp, his cousin-turned-brother-in-law by marriage to Fayette's older sister Lucy. The young medical student's switching from one academic field to another may as easily have reflected ambition, intellectual curiosity, and idealism, qualities shared by his new wife, as it did a shifting and unsettled nature.[24]

Less than three months after beginning their married life, perhaps in Chesterfield, where Fayette resided, or in the house the Smith children had inherited in Amherst, Louise and Fayette learned of the discovery that would forever be known simply as *the* Gold Rush, a worldwide event that uprooted them from the New England soil and wholly altered their lives. Stories that trickled in—viewed at first as exaggerated rumors—were confirmed for the nation by President James K. Polk on December 5, 1848. As citizens grappled with the significance of gold deposits underlying California, that distant land so recently acquired by the United States in its victory in the Mexican War, many imagined themselves accumulating heaps of wealth.

Typical of the newspapers they would have read, the *Franklin and Hampshire Express,* a small weekly that had once been printed by Fayette's father and that served Northampton, Amherst, and surrounding villages, carried its first accounts of the gold discovery in December 1848. Reports of the geology of the gold region appeared, such as young Capt. J. L. Folsom's premature claim that one vast vein ran under the whole of the Sacramento Valley, perhaps as far as Oregon, and that miners could average twelve hundred dollars apiece for their placer digging.[25]

By June 1849, more sober accounts cautioned that gold panning was arduous work and that California prices for essential goods were staggering. The newlywed Clapps, however, seem to have been undiscouraged. Like so many Americans, they were scooped up in this fervor, and, at the height of the mineral speculation, they decided to "See the Elephant" for themselves. In any town the size of Amherst, they could purchase clothes for their journey to the new El Dorado, such as Feather River Overcoats, Sutter's Long Mining Waistcoats, or Spanish or California Cloaks. In one Amherst shop alone, a merchant advertised, fifty clerks stood by to assist, and would furnish the prudent prospector with "a printed list of all that is needed." But "Doctor" Clapp—as he now called himself—required little baggage for picking at the earth's treasure. His medical bag, a portable pharmacy heavy with reference books, would carry such supplies as laudanum, calomel, quinine, tinctures, liniments, and salts.[26]

The enthusiastic easterners chose to sail by way of Cape Horn. While a high seas adventure was new for them, they could get family advice about their forthcoming voyage. Louise's brother Charles had run off to sea as a youth; more reliably, her Uncle Charles Lee, a sea captain, could offer them practical information born of his seasoned experience. They had the money to go. The sea fare—typically some three hundred dollars per person and a sum that separated many who would like to go from those who ultimately could—had come to Louise through a considerable inheritance of properties acquired by her father, Moses Smith, in which she and her siblings shared equally.[27]

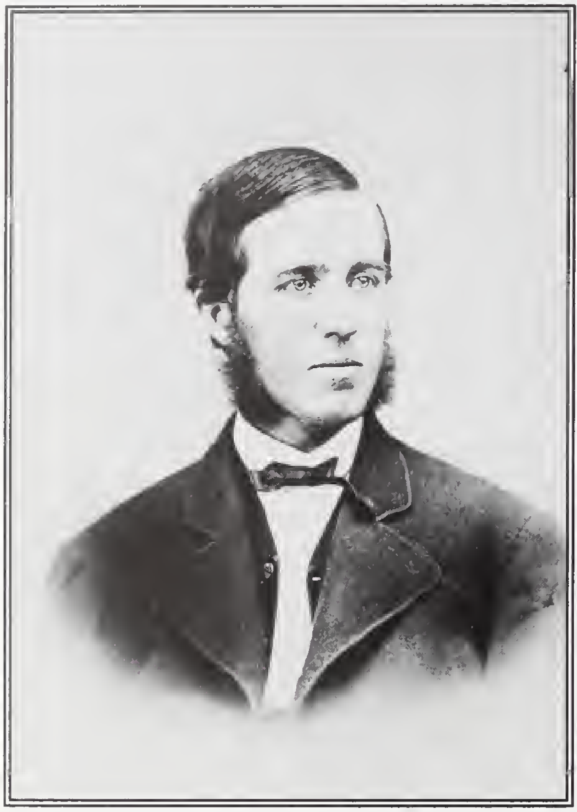
Fayette quit his medical studies, and the small traveling party solidified. In late summer 1849, the Argonauts secured passage on a California-bound merchant ship out of New York. They included Alfred Clapp, one of Fayette's many older brothers, the newlyweds, and Isabella Smith, one of Louise's three younger sisters. A fifth passenger was likely Henrietta, Louise's youngest sister.[28] With families of their own, her brothers Charles and Henry, running his twenty-acre farm in Amherst, stayed behind.[29] Mary Jane Smith, "Molly" to her family, also remained in Amherst, perhaps extracting the promise that Louise would write to her often, and truthfully, of all that she saw. Indeed, two years later, Molly would become the recipient of her sister's "Shirley" letters.

Cleared by port authority on August 10, 1849, their vessel, the *Manilla*, made ready for the high seas. It was solid and new, a 540-ton merchant ship built the previous year in Bath, Maine. Owned by St. Vincent Given, John Given, and Henry and James Sampson and sailed by St. Vincent, the *Manilla* hauled fifty thousand board-feet of pine lumber, fifteen thousand cedar shingles, forty thousand bricks, and a hundred barrels of cement, as well as domestic furnishings and hardware, including wagons, bedsteads, safes, nail kegs, and five iron houses.[30] Departing the wharf at New York marked the beginning of a seventeen-thousand-nautical-mile voyage that would span five months. It was the adventure of a lifetime.

Leaving New York, the *Manilla* swung into the Gulf Stream and out into the Atlantic. Confined by the ship's inventory, an ever-present reminder of the vast American exodus to California, the Clapps arranged their possessions in their small cabins and adjusted to what would be their home for several months. Barely a month at sea, Louise and Fayette celebrated their first wedding anniversary. But more than "the spirit of romance and the fire of enthusiasm" crackled in the air.[31] Mingled with their gaiety was concern for Isabella's health. The young woman had for some time been ill.[32]

A letter awaited Isabella in San Francisco. Written on Christmas Day 1849 by her young Boston suitor, it is the single known surviving document of that voyage. "Dear, my very dear Bell," William Briggs began warmly, telling Isabella of his recent graduation, parties, and other activities with friends. He encouraged her to look up a once-intimate friend of his "from one of the first Boston families," now in San Francisco. "I am glad it is Christmas Day," he continued after some length, "for it is a good day to write you my first letter. . . . I heard from Mary [probably meaning Mary Smith, Isabella and Louise's sister] that you were sick in going out." And he wondered, "How many Christmases will pass before we meet, think you — for I feel and know that I shall meet you some day and it will be in bright sunshine too for us both— See if I am not a true Prophet!"[33]

The gravity of Isabella's illness is not known, but then, as now, even a serious ailment would not necessarily prohibit a traveler from making such a long and arduous voyage. Nineteenth-century medical practitioners sometimes prescribed sea air as a tonic, believing that moist, saline breezes held curative powers. Other California travelers, including Richard Henry Dana, Jr., and Mrs. Dolly Bates, who operated a hotel in Marysville during 1851, wrote of their familiarity with similar medical advice as a treatment for overwork, weak eyesight, and even consumption, now called tuberculosis.[34]



This portrait, ca. 1850, from the Louise Clappe collection at the California State Library, is very likely Fayette Clapp. Never before published, it is identified on the back as simply "Mr. Clapp." *Courtesy California State Library.*

Isabella, however, did not recover in the ocean breezes. Nor could her new brother-in-law find the cure that would save her. Nor was young Briggs the prophet-of-health he wished to be. On November 19, 1849, just midway in her voyage to California, the young woman died. Far out in the mid-Atlantic, or perhaps off South America's eastern coastline, Captain Given, following the *Book of Common Prayer*, presided over the rite of burial. After Scripture readings, hymns, and final prayers, the shrouded body of Isabella Lee Smith was consigned to the ocean's icy depths.[35]

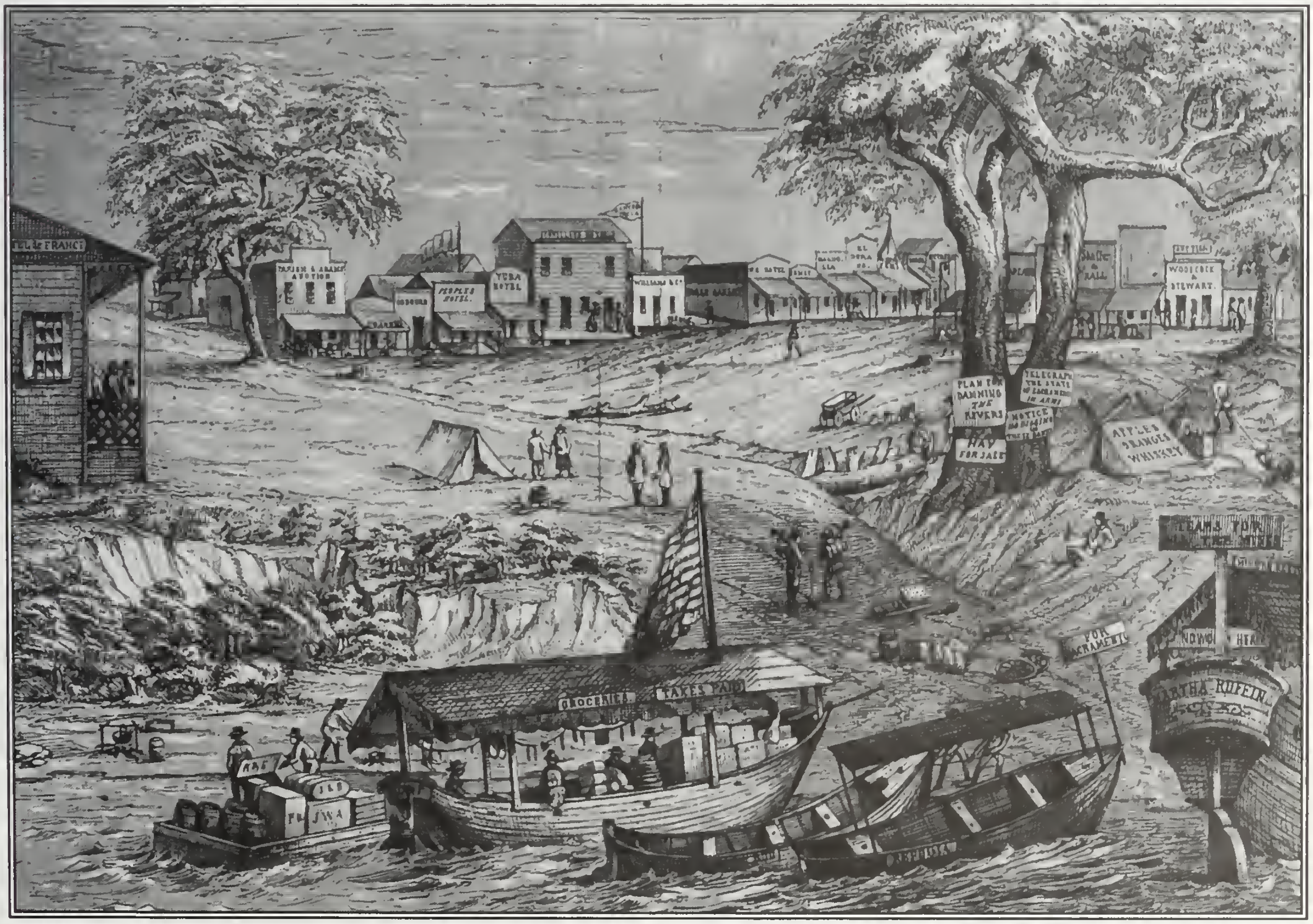
Gold-rush chronicles regularly told of deaths at sea, and of course for the *Manilla*, with its cargo and timetable, turning back was implausible. After weeks of rolling upon the waves, it likely put in at Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires, where the Clapps could go ashore while the crew stocked fresh provisions and readied the vessel to meet the greatest challenge of the voyage: the terrifying passage through Cape Horn, where icy gales and eighty-foot waves "mauled most Gold Rush ships."[36] It might take a week if weather cooperated; if not, a month or more. To clip a hundred miles off that treacherous but traditional route, a captain might round the continent by sailing instead through either of two shorter but more dangerous passages, the Strait of Le Maire or the narrow, formidable Strait of Magellan, with its fierce, sudden squalls and impenetrable fog. Either way, the *Manilla* navigated safely through the legendary region. It might then have made one final port on the Pacific before starting the last long passage north to San Francisco. Ten days into the new year, on January 10, 1850, the ship sailed through the Golden Gate. A precise five months long, the *Manilla's* gold-rush voyage was, in nautical terms, quite average.

Louise and Fayette encountered a San Francisco that pulsed from morning until night with construction activity erecting buildings and wharves, and a young, overwhelmingly male population that amused itself, especially in the idle winter months, by drinking and gambling and speculating on fortunes recently—or soon to be—made in the distant hills. Twenty thousand opportunists crowded the city's unpaved streets; by the end of the Clapps' first year in San Francisco, the population had nearly doubled. Just days before their 1850 arrival, "after one of those nights of revelry characterizing the flush days," wrote historian H. H. Bancroft, the business district had gone up in flames, taking out such recent landmarks as the Parker (boarding) House, the U.S. Coffeehouse, and Denison's Exchange. Within a month, not a trace of the fire remained.[37] Within this atmosphere of heady chaos, Fayette began practicing medicine, likely charging the established fee, an ounce of gold per doctor visit, but just as likely pocketing only the promise that the bill would soon be settled.[38]

But for the Clapps, even the climate proved challenging. Neither adjusted to the city's winds and fog, and a repetition of the devastating fires that swept the city drove them to shelter in a makeshift canvas tent, one of hundreds that sprang up like mushrooms after a rain. After a year of such annoyances, the couple decided to leave the city. Thus it was that in the spring of 1851, they departed for Marysville. After a bout with "brain fever," which sidelined Dr. Clapp until early June, he was off exploring the mining camps in the northern Sierra.[39] Louise was then also on her own. Those weeks were a time of uncertainty and transition for both of them, but as Louise awaited their next move, she did not bide her time in idle diversion. She had already adopted the pen name "Shirley." But more to the point, during the spring of 1851, her first professional writing began to appear in the *Marysville Herald*.

Louise Clappe's 1851 poetry and essays for the *Herald* have been virtually unseen in this century. Reading them now offers the opportunity to evaluate them from several perspectives. Foremost among these is what they reveal that enlarges the existing portrait of Louise. *The Shirley Letters*, which followed her *Herald* pieces by a matter of weeks, teases with its silhouette of a complex woman behind a consciously crafted dame-teacher persona. Her sketches and poems, however, illuminate her. They reveal a woman writer at once both very representative of her culture, class, and era, and at the same time remarkable for her images and interpretations of a singular California experience.

How Louise met Stephen Massett, early California entertainer and editor of the *Marysville Herald*, is unknown. Perhaps they met in Marysville, or even in Sacramento, which she and Fayette seem also to have visited in 1851. After briefly operating an auction house in the city that would eventually become


PEOPLES HOTEL
YUBA HOTEL
WOODCOCK & STEWART.
PLAN FOR DAMMING THE RIVERS
TELEGRAPH THE STATE OF SACRAMENTO IN ARMS
NOTICE
HAY FOR SALE
APPLES ORANGES WHISKEY
FOR SACRAMENTO
MARTHA RUFFEIN
GROCERIES
TAKES PAID

A finely detailed drawing of the boat landing at Marysville, ca. 1850, shows the town's early frame buildings and hints at the money to be made supplying miners with goods. During the spring and summer of 1851, Louise spent most of her time in the Marysville region at a "rancho" outside town. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

the permanent state capital, Massett had bought a printing press and taken it to Marysville, where he launched his new publishing endeavor.[40]

In a year's time, from 1850 to Louise's arrival the following spring, Marysville had grown to the third largest "city" in California. Recently a little hamlet of scattered ranches at the confluence of the Yuba and Feather rivers, it had also changed its name. A vote of the city council in 1850 had changed "Nye's Ranch" to "Marysville," in honor of "the most renowned American woman of the town, Mary (Murphy) Covillaud," an eighteen-year-old Donner Party survivor and teenaged divorcée, who had recently married Charles Covillaud, another early pioneer. The heart of tiny Marysville was its town plaza of wood-frame buildings and its boat landing at the foot of B Street. The 1850 California census counted the population at 1,428 residents, and at her arrival, Louise might have met half a dozen other American women there.[41]

Louise did not remain in Marysville, however. She retreated instead (perhaps with Fayette) to the outlying prairie, somewhere beside the Feather River. There, she settled down to write. Warming to her own adventure in exotic California, and the opportunity to describe it in writing, Louise preferred to call the river by its Spanish name, Rio de las Plumas. Between April and mid-July, she would compose four sketches and two poems for the *Herald*. Her subjects fell loosely into two categories: life in California, and death.

The *Herald* essays have been compared to *The Shirley Letters* and variously condemned as "florid, unnatural," stylistically artificial, "strained contributions," "undistinguished, . . . and excessively feminine." Editor Massett introduced them as "sketches." A thoughtful analysis of their form and content shows how well they fit the structural parameters of the nineteenth-century "brief essay" or literary sketch, a genre that has recently attracted new interest and scholarship.[42]

"We beg the particular attention of our readers," Massett announced on April 8, 1851, in the editor's corner of his bi-weekly newspaper, "to the following interesting and beautifully written letter" by his newly recruited, and "unknown" lady correspondent. Clappe was one of the rare women contributors to a California newspaper in 1851. By mid-decade, when her "Shirley" letters appeared in *The Pioneer*, women writers were no longer a novelty. But Massett knew then that he offered a unique commodity, and he hoped that noting "Shirley's" physical beauty would further attract readers. He doubted that any other California paper could "boast" of so fair and talented a writer as she, and promised "other sketches from the same gifted pen."[43] Clappe's *Herald* essays, spontaneous, informal impressions of the land and inhabitants of the upper Sacramento Valley, suited both editor and writer's purpose well. Massett, as Col. Jeems Pipes, had written such sketches himself while living in the East and traveling through Europe in the 1840s, and he recognized their appeal to Americans enamoured of distant places. For Louise, this was a gift of opportunity. She was enchanted by the Marysville countryside, so warm, bright, and serene. Writing enthusiastically about this rural outpost on the road to the mines would be easy. Furthermore, the fluid structure of the sketch meant that she could follow her own intuition, or Massett's advice, in shaping and defining its content.

Clappe drew heavily from her observations of the new and unusual—of which there was no shortage—and her droll humor, combined with informed commentary, to deliver her impressions of the California landscape. She answered Massett's introduction by clarifying how she had come to write this first travel letter. Noting her whereabouts, a fledgling village called Plumas, she presented her credentials: editor Massett had "always expressed a most flattering desire to hear my opinion of the different spots at which I stop, during my flying tour of the golden state." Therefore, she continued, interjecting the title of a well-known 1830s travel series, "I hope that 'a few pencilings by the way,' of this *remarkable* town, will not be a greater bore to you than such things *usually* are."[44]

Thus began Clappe's first published sketch, dated April 8, 1851. In it she captured the evanescent nature of miners and mining towns. It included a virtual checklist of California flora and fauna, a historically insightful portrait that describes the natural environment at mid-nineteenth century, before its profound alteration by Americans. If to the modern ear its tone seems to shift from informal to pompous, laden with allusion or romantic imagery, her style was then comfortably representative of the travel sketch, a variation of the sketch genre of the early nineteenth century that continued to evolve rapidly in the decades that followed.

The literary sketch was born of the short essay that appeared in postrevolutionary America, and as a formal genre it flourished after the War of 1812. An example of one of the myriad changes in American life, cultural historian Kristie Hamilton described the sketch as a "staple in the newly forming literary marketplace, gaining commercial and critical currency" as it informed antebellum Americans. From the publication of Washington Irving's *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* in 1819, this new national genre, often including drawings, was "seized upon by American authors as an innovative literary model to be emulated."[45]

Conceived as the vehicle for public expression of the "sincere private self," it was immediately utilized both by recognized middle-class male writers and, increasingly, women. For the first time, amateur writers could submit their observations and opinions to a new and equally democratic mass audience that eagerly consumed a growing body of periodicals such as newspapers, magazines, and reviews. Saved and compiled into one volume, a writer's series of successful sketches could become, like *The Sketch Book*, a full-length work. Following Irving, who became America's first financially successful author, the "sketch" expanded as a generic label that included a range of creative styles and private agendas. It might be satirical, moral, critical, pastoral, political, autobiographical, or any combination of such elements, meant to entertain readers who might not have time for a whole book but would willingly digest a short essay in leisure moments.[46]

Not long after its appearance in the 1820s, the sketch was a regular feature of American newspapers, usually set on page one. Authorship was most often anonymous, modestly suggested by the writer's initials, or noted by way of the pseudonym persona, a device that had been borrowed from European writers at the turn of the eighteenth century. Typical of the late 1840s, sketches that appeared in *The Hampshire and Franklin Express* were often homey, fictional accounts that delivered a moral message advocating the responsibilities of middle-class domesticity within a stable republic. By contrast, Clappe's images of California, portraying the natural landscape and a "society" in transition, or more precisely, the vagrant masses trampling over new soil and concerned principally with striking the rich vein, staying warm, and eating palatable food, demonstrated the genre's adaptability to regional interests and conditions.

Louise was one of hundreds who committed their California impressions to paper, setting them down privately in diaries and letters, or publicly, for mass consumption. Her first essay captured pastoral images of the wide, bright, northern Sacramento Valley, where miners hopped off riverboats that had carried them north from San Francisco or Sacramento and marched hopefully into the rugged placer regions. She described the anticipated rise of Plumas, latest in a cluster of speculator's dream towns hoping to spring forth along the network of rivers that fed the broad plain. Of this foundering site Clappe noted wryly, "Alas! never was *sic transit* more legibly written than on the vanishing splendors of this *was to have been city*."

Her fifteen hundred word essay was dense with the names and markings of dozens of flowers and birds, reflecting the emergent popular interest in natural sciences, even to the naming of "Plumas . . . from the immense quantities of birds which haunt the spot." It sparkled with classical personification wherever it might seem to magnify her prose. "The whole country," Clappe wrote, "for miles in extent, looks like a magnificent flower garden, rainbowed with the gorgeous splendor of tropical bloom. . . . A bouquet of the loveliest flowers imaginable, with the morning dew yet glittering upon their crisp leaves, lend[s] a fairy like grace to the rude room in which I am writing." She was charmed by her first exposure to the California poppy. "Above and beyond all," Clappe wrote of the species that in 1903 became the state flower, "those magnificent yellow lilies . . . glitter, and gleam, and sparkle, all along the quiet hills and solitary meadows, . . . as if the gold pervading the soil of California, had struck upwards into the hearts of her flowers." Striking a delicate Victorian pose, she added, "And the best of it all is, that one does not have to walk off half a mile, getting hot, dusty, tired, and cross, before one reaches them, but they crowd in radiant phalanxes up to the very door-sill."

The travel sketch naturally included descriptions of places where the writer lodged. "When I left Marysville," Clappe wrote, "it was my intention to proceed immediately" to San Francisco. Instead, when the boat stopped again to take on passengers, she was "electrified by the sight of an old friend, last seen on the wharf at New York." For an excursion to his "rancho" she immediately scuttled her plan to return to San Francisco. In her writing she skillfully exercised the descriptive element that would later distinguish *The Shirley Letters*. Now she noted that her friend's house in Plumas stood "on the banks of the 'Rio De Los Plumas,' and by it passes the road to the 'diggins.' Its vicinity is the favorite camping ground of the goldward bound miners. Beautifully gleam their watch fires, through the dewy evenings and calm starlight nights of this most favored land. And by their ruddy glow, the stalwart forms of sturdy men, and now and then the frailer outline of a lonely woman, is thrown into sombre relief against the . . . sky, which through its length and breadth shuts downward this golden California."

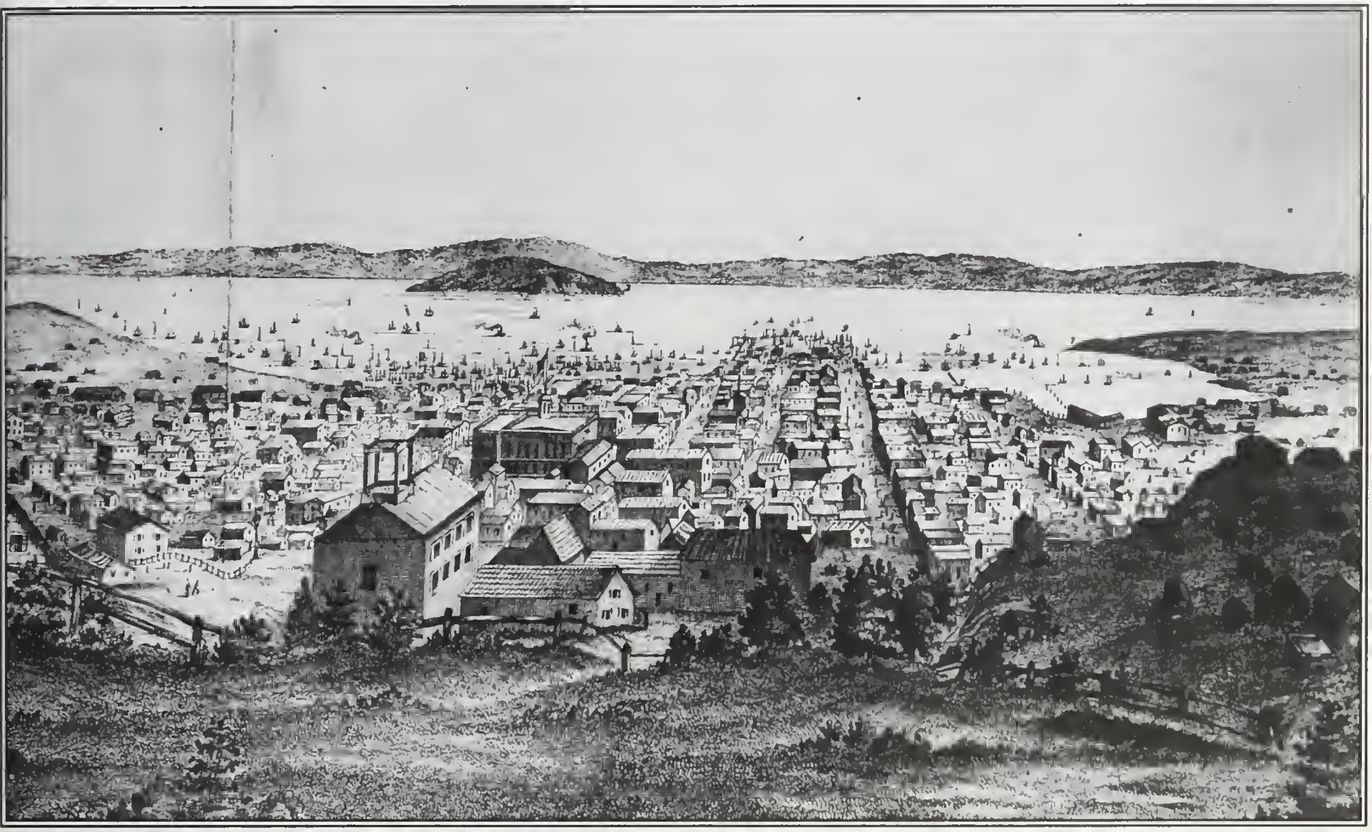
The essay closed with images of the "varying tribes of humanity which hurry by," notably "the men riding on California horses, which as a general thing are smaller than ours, . . . not the least interesting feature in [this] merryful, panoramic picture gallery, which I wish I could paint for your benefit, as it glides dreamily by."[47] Saved by the steamboat bell, however, and with an "ADios, as they say in the beautiful and sonorous language of this country," the lady correspondent concluded her first essay, promising to write again.

The second, third, and fourth sketches for the *Herald* followed in May, June, and July 1851. The second wonderfully captured a bustling, exotic, greed-consumed San Francisco, to which she may have returned briefly. The third told of visiting another friend in the country, this one living south of Marysville in a place Clappe identified as "Prairie Des Lys." Entitled "Another Letter from Shirley, Prairie de Lys, May 26," and published on June 5, 1851, it played off her sketch of Plumas, comparing the two locations, the latter with its distant view of the Sierra: "There *they* stand, with the same cold wreath about their awful temples, which their Maker weaved around them, on the birthday of the universe. So it always has been, so always will it be." Then she volunteered, "You will wonder how I amuse myself in this out of the way place." Not so easily, it soon appeared.

Perhaps conscientiously abandoning the descriptive formula of her first two sketches, or simply no longer visually inspired by the ranch and its remote location—even in its western variation, the farm was hardly a novelty to her readers—Clappe created a pastoral vignette. In it, the poultry-yard fowl became the actors in a belabored little pageant that featured two roosters and a flock of hens, the leading characters dubbed Baron Trenck and Beau Speckled Wings, Lady Shaven Crown and Old Maid. Answering her own question about finding amusement in this place, Clappe breezed, "I must confess that I am a perfect counterpart of Willis' heroine 'who was born to love chickens' though the passion for 'pigs' I deny, having as great a horror for pork, both dead and alive, as the best Hebrew in Jerusalem."[48] The point of this little fowl scene—and her second reference to novelist Nathaniel Willis—may have amused her readers with subtle literary commentary, but the reference is now familiar only to specialists.[49] Only a few weeks later, Louise borrowed from this sketch for her Letter First, in which Dame Shirley described naming the poultry as she impatiently waited at this ranch to begin the journey with Fayette to Rich Bar.

Clappe's fourth and final essay, "A Letter from Shirley, Plumas, July 6, 1851," appeared in the *Herald* on July 15. As noted in the by-line, she had returned to Plumas, the scene of her first sketch. Now the dry countryside and the slow, muddy river baked under a relentless California summer sun. "And then the dust!" she exclaimed, "At stated periods during the day, if I choose to run the risk of instant strangulation by opening the door, I can behold avalanches of it." She remarked that this dust was not the variety pursued by anxious passengers who passed by in the stage-coach. "But enough of this dry subject," she declared. Finally, she noted her acquaintance with Madeline ————, a "brilliant" writer from the *San Diego Herald* whom she had met recently in Sacramento.[50]

In the quest for Louise Clappe, a minor, but insightful aspect of these sketches is present in her use of reverie, a device that served several purposes. In the second and third essays Clappe included small scenes that expressed private sentiment. In her second essay, published on May 1, she slipped into reverie on "the *Better* Land, with its halls of everlasting light and its homes of unutterable peace." The vision brought her a "strange longing to wander away, away, away, into the solemn [woods], through whose verdant arches the shining sunbeams slant in bars of purest topaz." Hearkening to themes Romantic and Transcendental, she then recalled "the emerald pavement of God's first temple," where, "kneeling upon the . . . alter [sic] of Nature, [one fancies] that her great heart pulses in unison with one's own."[51] The third essay concluded similarly, with an image of Clappe lying under an oaken canopy, where she portrayed herself reclining languidly upon the grass, dreaming of "the world within, peopled with spirit visitings." As she had in the second sketch, she found this escape into the spiritual realm "even more beautiful than the world without."[52] Within the fluidity of the sketch Clappe could publicly disclose her spirituality, sensitivity, and loneliness. These intimate



San Francisco. ca. 1852, artist unknown. When the Clapps returned to San Francisco from Indian Bar in late 1852, the city had grown by tens of thousands and looked similar to this, yet without this sense of calm and order. Very quickly, too, the predominantly male population would make way for young families, and enough children to require an educational system. In 1854, Louise became one of the city's first public school teachers. *California Historical Society, FN-13054.*

glimpses reveal more about this otherwise outwardly vital woman managing grief. For us, aware of her sister's recent death, facts her *Herald* readers did not have, these "casual" vignettes become especially poignant.

The critics who dismissed Clappe's *Herald* essays as strained or artificial may have paused over their amusing if contrived opening and closing devices. While these constructions ushered her into and out of her compositions, they also imply that she sometimes felt uncertain about her voice and her intention. The informal nature of the sketch permitted these "flaws," however, and editor Massett surely skimmed over them with a light pen. But as important historical or literary works, the sketches lacked tight construction and substantive content. Rarely, in fact, did Clappe articulate the larger insights that might have been drawn from her experiences. By comparison, the letters she soon wrote from the Feather River camps demonstrated her self-assurance with both her subject and her views of communal mining life. By September 1851, Clappe had gained a sense of purpose and belonging; by then she witnessed and described the Gold Rush as one of its legitimate participants.

Clappe's first published essays illustrated her command of the sketch genre and her powers of description. Her spontaneity created the "flying tour" feeling that was her goal as a writer. Her ability to capture a mood or scene and render it with a fresh perspective gave her essays and *Shirley Letters* their timeless appeal. Her enthusiasm and wonder at the natural landscape took on the language of exhilaration. Even in simple descriptive passages, Clappe's writing conveyed emotion. It attested to the things that delighted her, revealed her capacity for joy, and expressed her melancholy. For these revelations alone, the sketches are important.

A keener sense of the loneliness and sorrow that Clappe only hinted at in her essays lay exposed in the poetry she composed in 1850 and 1851. Two of these works appeared on the *Herald's* front pages in April 1851, an achievement that placed Clappe in an illustrious circle. Many leading American poets first captured public attention when their poems appeared in newspapers. Massett himself, a nationally known composer, contributed lyrics to several newspapers, his own among them. Such appearances, however small the periodical, were locally important. But they were not economically rewarding. As an essayist, Clappe may have been paid; poets almost never were. On this matter, in 1833 a frustrated William Cullen Bryant had complained to his friend Richard Henry Dana, Sr., that poets "may get praised in the newspapers, but no man can make money by it, for the simple reason that nobody cares a fig for it."[53] Americans did in fact enjoy reading poetry, but in the mid-nineteenth century it did not occur to them that they might have a duty to economically support their favorite poets.[54]

Little poetry of that century is remembered or read today. As a source of biographical exploration, however, a poet's works are useful regardless of their perceived literary merit. In this light, like her essays, Louise Clappe's two *Herald* poems demand examination. Not only do they point to her poetic and cultural persuasions, they reveal her private anguish. Their amateur poetic capability is respectable enough not to have offended her general readers. In light of Isabella's death, however, and another death of which Clappe would write, the poetry is an important articulation of a woman's journey through grief to reconciliation with death, a crossroads she would face again in San Francisco.

A third contemporaneous poem, "Alone," written by Clappe but published posthumously in the 1922 *Shirley Letters*, adds a disturbing dimension to Louise's experience with death even as she mourned her sister. The July 1850 shipwreck–drowning of social critic Margaret Fuller compelled Louise to eulogize the controversial American feminist. "Alone," in fact, may have been Louise Clappe's first writing in California. She wrote it under the pen name Shirley Lee.[55] Had she been associated with the *Herald* when she wrote the poem, it most likely would have appeared in print then. An important work, it forms one point of the early "trilogy" of poetry that, I would argue, progressively articulates Clappe's spiritual views of death, eternity, and the moral responsibility of the survivor to release the anguish of separation.[56]

The first of Clappe's *Herald* poems, "The Song of the Free" (see fig. 1), appeared on April 10, 1851. In it "Shirley" personified a universe of birds, flowers, and insects that celebrated their freedom and in turn effected the poet's rejoicing at a fluttering, Edenic landscape. At first blush, this nature poem appears to signify nothing, and deserves, in the words of one critic, to be sent off "to rest in appropriate obscurity."[57] Yet it reveals much. For example, examined within its historic context, the poem's ideological foundation reflects the Romantic idealism that also tinted Clappe's sketches. In its broad cultural and literary forms, Romanticism influenced Clappe's generation of writers and artists and defined a fundamental school of American literary history. Clappe was decidedly a student of the Romantics; it is noteworthy that, of the volumes that lined her little wooden candlebox "library" in her Indian Bar cabin in 1851, a third were by the English Romantic poets. In her *Shirley Letters*, too, Clappe quoted the foremost American Romantic poet of the period, William Cullen Bryant.[58]

"The Song of the Free," whose meadowlike images evoked the poet's Plumas location, personified nature as a benign force that offered a balm for troubled hearts.[59] Clearly Clappe experienced optimism and joy in nature. But probing this "all's right with the world" view, we might wonder what larger truth stalked these creatures that fluttered and danced upon the wind and the sea. "The Song of the Free" offers little to intrigue us, except by virtue of unspoken questions. All "nature's children" in the Sacramento Valley, except humans, it seems, are free. What does freedom represent for the poet? Freedom from what, or to do what? And is the poet among the *free*? Such questions suggest that deeper within this theme the poet might confront aspects of self or nature that are not happy and free. Indeed, does the poet's gazing upon this sweet, one-dimensional Nature enable her to avoid the theme of constraint, of who or what in Nature might *not* be happy and free? By expressing only nature's bucolic form, the poem lacks the force of later images Clappe would create, of the restless soul drawing strength and renewal from a wild, awesome nature.

With Clappe's second *Herald* poem, in which the theme arguably remains constant, its shift in tone and treatment are striking. Published only three weeks later, "Remembrance, Not Tears, for the

### THE SONG OF THE FREE

All things which hover round my way,
The butterfly, the bee,
The swallows in their airy play,
Are happy for they're free.

The brook that o'er its pebbly bed
Danceth right merrily,
And laugheth at the clouds o'erhead,
Is happy, for 'tis free.

The clouds which gaily echo back
The wild brook's gladsome glee,
And smile upon its rose-rimmed track,
Are happy for they're free.

The merry stars that laugh outright,
In their mad jollity,
While gliding in their own pure light,
Are happy, for they're free.

The hummingbird, that winged gem,
Could it imprisoned be,
Would break its little heart in twain,
And perish, if not free.

The eagle in his kingly pride,
The deer upon the lee,
The violet on the green hill's side,
Are happy for they're free.

The motes that in the sunbeams glance,
The waves upon the sea,
The green leaves in their fairy dance,
Are happy for they're free.

The wind that lifts the tasseled bough,
Upon the dew fringed tree,
The lily-kissing breath of morn,
Are happy for they're free.

All nature's children merry are,
All shout full gladsomely,
From humblest flower to highest star,
We're happy for we're free!

Shirley
March 25, 1851
*Marysville Herald*, April 10, 1851

Figure 1.

Dead" (fig. 2) explores the mysteries of death, redemption, separation, and consolation. In contrast to "Song of the Free," it demonstrates the poet's need to articulate existential questions. The form of "Remembrance" recalls the century's "graveyard" or "beloved dead" genre, which eulogized and memorialized the deceased. Although its popularity waned in the late nineteenth century, the genre survives as a poetic expression of loss and reunification.[60] Shirley prefaced "Remembrance" with a translated German passage that foretold her theme. The ancient Germans, it recalled, soon laid their own grief aside to honor the dead rather than to indulge—weakly, one deduces—in sorrow and pain.[61]

Militant and compelling, the poem opens in dialogue with its preface and expresses the agony of loss. Filled with images of mourners and the deceased, and the poet's instructions for consolation, it addresses the need to reconcile feelings of sorrow at death with those of gladness for the immortality that follows. "Remembrance" urges the reader to nobly transcend the private pain. God weaves a "deathless garland," the poet asserts. "Why should we weep that our best are chosen, to be in His diadem/ interwoven," she asks. Yet the poet concludes on a somber, unconvincing note: "Only memory should hallow the gloom, of the coffined dead, and the echoless tomb." Despite the final message that one must shun mourning, the poem's closing images—memory, gloom, coffin, and tomb—are disheartening and fail to inspire the acceptance of death that the poem attempts to encourage.

The death-scene images in "Remembrance" raise the question of identities in these cameos. Was Clappe mourning her own mother, who had died in 1837? Was she the surviving sister of a dead infant brother? One image seems obvious: The proximity

## REMEMBRANCE, NOT TEARS, FOR THE DEAD

> "The ancient Germans speedily gave over tears and lamentations for their deceased friends, though grief they indulged in much longer — with *remembrance*, not *tears*, did they consecrate *their* dead."
>
> Kohlraush, *History of Germany*

Ay! *remembrance*, not *tears*, for the
light-crowned dead;
For the worshiped who from our love have fled—
Crush back! Crush back! that scorching rain,
Which wells from a heart that must writhe in vain;
Stain not their joy with your blinding tears;
Memory, memory should alone be theirs.

Young mother, whose wearying eyes are dim,
With their maddening watch o'er the
couch of him,
Who sprang like a rose at thy loving side,
And after a rose's brief life, died;
Let your heart's tears cease with the farewell kiss,
And memory, memory, alone be his.

Fair girl with the orange buds as green,
As when they shone mid the bridal scene,
Lay them aside from thy graceful head,
For thy husband sleeps with the God-loved dead;
Shed no *tears* for him thou'dst have died to save,
But let memory, memory, hallow his grave.

Sweet sisters, bound by a love-linked chain,
Which no hand but the "Reaper's" may
sever in twain;
Though your fairest hath bowed her meek
young head,
And joined the throng of the voiceless dead,
Though with grief ye recall that radiant face,
Let a tearless memory those features trace.

Song's mightiest son hath laid aside,
His mortal wreath in his genius' pride;
And around his broad, thought-throned brow,
A deathless garland is woven now—
No *tearful* grief from our hearts shall gush,
We ll keep him in *memory's* sacred hush.

Why should we dim the radiant joy,
Of the happy dead with our tears' alloy?
Why should we weep that our best are chosen,
To be in *His* diadem interwoven?
Only *memory* should hallow the gloom,
Of the coffined dead, and the echoless tomb.

Shirley
April 16, 1851
*Marysville Herald*, April 24, 1851

Figure 2.

of Isabella's death to the mourning sisters' component persuasively implies that the poet herself is one of the verse's bereaved survivors. In the last line of "Remembrance," too, are references that suggest two discrete rituals of burial, the first on land, and the second at sea. "The coffined dead, and the echoless tomb" recall separately the casket interment and burial in the ocean, which became the final resting place of Isabella's body in 1849.

In "Alone" (fig. 3), Clappe's tribute to Margaret Fuller, the riveting element of the ocean burial appears once again, but this time with greater imagery and dramatic power. Fuller perished at sea in July 1850, a mere seven months after the death of Isabella. At Fuller's death, Clappe was among countless numbers of the international community who praised the woman's genius. Recent and astonishing evidence I have uncovered suggests a connection between the two women. According to recollections by Clappe's friend Mary Lawrence, in addition to Louise's other prominent friendships, such as with Alexander Everett and Julia Ward Howe, Louise "knew Margaret Fuller."[62] The remark is pregnant with implication.

There was much about Fuller to admire, or to mock, depending on one's sensibilities. In the 1920s Eleanor Roosevelt declared Fuller the most important American woman of the previous century. Called the high priestess of the Transcendentalists, Fuller was a close friend of the Emersons and Alcotts,

### ALONE

Beneath thy spirit-eyes I stand alone,
Nor deem thee of the dead
As mournfully I gaze, sad-hearted one,
On that calm brow and head.

The starry crown of genius could not save
From woman's gift of grief;
The moaning billows o'er thy breast that rave
Emblem thy life too brief.

O Margaret! My weak heart-pulses shiver
In wordless woe for thee,
Thy wasted tenderness, thy love that never
Might its fruition see.

Thou hadst no youth, O wondrous child!
No youth haloed thy later life;
Sternly thy girl heart sought its solemn truth
In battle and in strife.

In thine own Northern home didst thou not live
"Alone," always "Alone"?
What heart to thine uplifted heart could give
Ever an answering tone?

In suffering, labor, strife, we saw thee stand
With lips that would not moan,
While shone thy regal brow and eyes with grand
Aspirings all thine own.

At last among thy Romans thou didst find
A shrine for that large heart;
It understood thee not, the Northern mind,
But coldly shrunk apart,

When thou pale lips—from whence, an hour agone,
Flew out, like rifted light,
Winged words of wit murmured their wailed "Alone"
To the pitying midnight.

And I have read thy life, its mournful story
Of loneliness and blight;
But o'er its close there shines a solemn glory,
A setting star's trailed light.

Margaret! White-robed, thy hair unbound, thy veil,
Most like a bride wert thou
When Ocean clasped thee, and, with lips all pale
And icy, kissed thy brow.

And lovely as a white unfolded blossom
Lay the child Angelo,
Hushed to his dreamless flower-sleep on that bosom
Which would not let him go.

Husband, and wife, and child together flutter
Up to that great white throne,
Where nevermore may Margaret Fuller utter
That piteous "Alone."

In *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines,* 1922

Figure 3.

and editor of the circle's *Dial* for two years. Born in 1810, the writer and reformer became in the mid-1840s the first critic hired by Horace Greeley for his *New York Tribune*. Regarded by many as a genius, she was also the first woman reader permitted to *enter* the Harvard College Library. She authored numerous publications, including her memoirs and two additional volumes, *Summer on the Lakes* (1844), a collection of reflective travel essays, and *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), a feminist history of woman's work that rattled the patriarchy and caused some to condemn her as "feverish."

Fuller admitted having emotional struggles. She was often melancholic, restless, and troubled, and rarely knew happiness. "The world was not in harmony with me, . . . nothing came right for me," she wrote in 1848. Yet she accomplished much as a writer of many genres.[63] It is plausible that Clappe, with her own literary aspirations, was inspired by Fuller's professional work.[64] Moreover, she may have felt a special kinship with the older woman with whom she shared a similar family history. Their common travails included childhood bereavement, delayed romantic relationships, and fresh sorrows in the fullness of life. In childhood both women lost family members—for Clappe it was her father and five years later, her mother, and for Fuller, her favorite younger sister and then her father, to whom she was very close. Both women were the oldest of a large family, and were expected to (and did) accept responsibility for their younger siblings. Both were educated well beyond the average standard of the day, and both married later in life, Clappe at twenty-eight and Fuller at nearly forty.

In the months before her death, Margaret had been in Italy participating in the revolution. There, at age thirty-eight, she fell deeply in love with the Count Giovanni Ossoli and soon had a son, Angelo, who was frail and sickly from birth. The Ossolis, sailing back to New York in the summer of 1850, were trapped when the ship *Elizabeth* ripped apart in a storm. The couple and their baby, along with the baby's young Italian nurse and two other passengers, perished. Margaret, clad in a white nightdress, and her husband were both afraid to hand off the baby to safety, and refused to jump into one of the lifeboats that waited for them. Their bodies were never recovered.[65]

Louise Clappe's poem "Alone" begins in communion and sympathy with Fuller, while also suggesting the absence of Isabella: "Beneath thy spirit eyes I stand alone . . . As mournfully I gaze . . . " Each of the twelve stanzas advanced a trial or milestone of Fuller's life, returning always to the theme of alienation and isolation, until Death arrived and Margaret began the heavenward journey. Ponderous with Victorian symbolism—the child Angelo as an unfolding flower, the fading comet (which Clappe called "a setting star") suggesting Fuller's final breath—the poem hints at parallels in the lives of Clappe and Fuller, such as similar social rejections and unfortunate family milestones.

Building on plaintive but noble images of Fuller as a woman misunderstood by her own countrymen, emotionally burdened in childhood, and frustrated in adult love, the poet carried Fuller forth to the glorified moment of death, as the tail of the comet marked her last breath. Fuller in her white nightgown became the image of purity: "White-robed, thy hair unbound, thy veil / Most like a bride wert thou. . . ." Then Fuller and her family escaped the shackles of life and ascended "Up to that great white throne." There, death released its hold. Freed of the burden of loneliness, the poem concluded, "nevermore may Margaret Fuller utter / That piteous 'Alone.'"

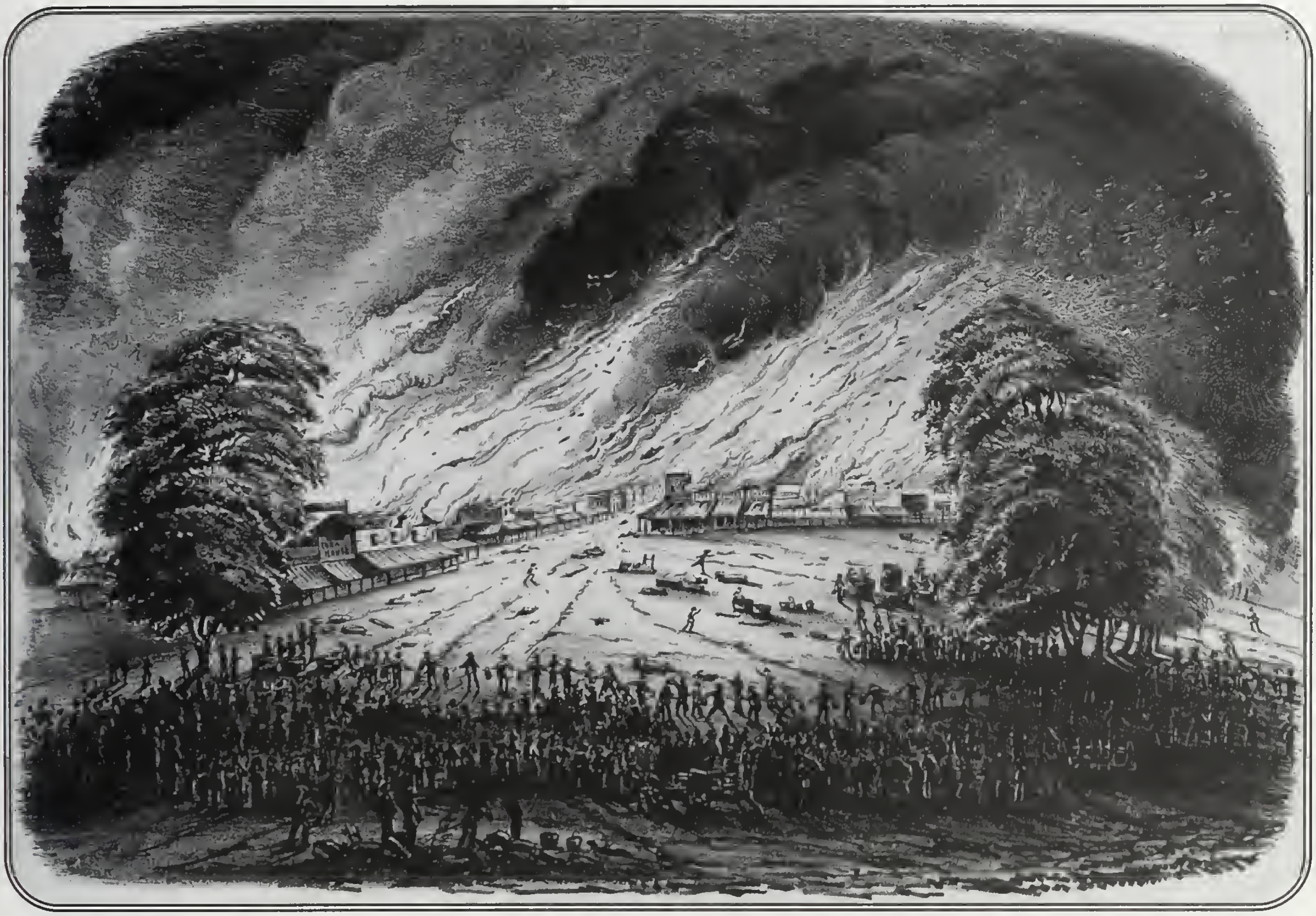
With its singular focus, progressive narrative, and evocative imagery, "Alone" is the most powerful of the three poems reviewed in this article. Its careless syntax and Poesque finale detract from its overall sophistication, yet more than "Song of the Free" and "Remembrance," it demonstrates Clappe's early lyric ability.

In mid-July of 1851, by the time "Shirley" had established herself as a regular correspondent to the *Marysville Herald*, Louise was hoping daily to hear from Fayette. She did not say precisely when that letter arrived, but by late August the couple was reunited and preparing to leave for the mines, a journey that is recounted in the first of the *Shirley Letters*. With the publication of her fourth sketch to the *Herald* on July 15, 1851, her writing ceased abruptly. Yet she may have planned other contributions to the newspaper, and the Shirley letters themselves may have been conceived as an assignment for that very publication. Timing and circumstance worked against her, however, just as they had converged to offer this writing opportunity the previous April.

Fire broke out in the Marysville plaza during the night of August 31, 1851. Fanned by hot prairie winds and fed by timber buildings, it swept quickly through the hamlet that, like San Francisco, had no emergency measures in place to fight such catastrophes. Several entire blocks fell to cinders, the building that housed the *Marysville Herald* among them.[66] Reconstructing the loose timetable of her journey from Marysville to Rich Bar as Louise gave it in Letter First, when the fire flared she and Fayette were probably somewhere in the interior of California. Marysville rebuilt quickly, but destruction to the offices and equipment may have taken a toll on the newspaper. Not for a year, apparently, did the *Herald* publish again. No copies of the newspaper from mid-July 1851 (when Clappe's final piece appeared) to September 1852 have been located.

While Louise was living at Indian Bar, editor Stephen Massett moved down to San Francisco, where he staged his highly successful troubadour entertainments to appreciative, packed audiences. Within another couple of years he left California and settled in the East. His departure from publishing may explain how it was that for fourteen months at Rich and Indian bars, Louise composed, made copies of, but then safely stockpiled her long series of "Shirley" letters to her sister Mary Jane. After the mining community vanished from the North Fork of the Feather River and Louise and her husband returned to San Francisco, without a ready-made market for her letters she would wait another two years to see them published.

Louise and her husband left the canyon in the autumn of 1852, riding out over a trail that would quickly vanish under the snow. They returned to San Francisco, where they soon parted company. Almost immediately, Fayette sailed to Hawaii and was



Late in the evening of August 30, 1851, fire swept through the streets of Marysville, consuming three city blocks and costing an estimated half-million dollars in losses. This lithograph of the conflagration shows residents quickly assembling a fire brigade, but a hot, dry summer and high winds prevailed against them. Among the businesses destroyed were the offices of the *Marysville Herald. Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

"employed by the king in the treatment of smallpox, and vaccinations." But by 1854 he had returned to Massachusetts. After he and Louise were legally divorced in 1857, Fayette remarried, living next in Illinois. During the Civil War, he served as a Union surgeon, both in the field and aboard a Mississippi steamer. He received a medical discharge in 1864, however, and died later that year, in Lee Centre, Illinois.[67]

In 1854, "Dame Shirley" of Indian Bar became Mrs. Clappe, one of the first teachers in the San Francisco public schools. Her "Shirley" letters appeared in the monthly *Pioneer* magazine beginning in 1854. The editor of *The Pioneer*, Ferdinand Ewer, and Louise seem to have met over suppers at a boarding house in the city, where Louise's sister Henrietta and Ewer's fianceé, Sophia Congdon, rented rooms. In addition to her letters, Louise contributed two essays to the literary magazine. One, entitled "Superstitions," like her poetry, continued to explore relationships between the living and the dead and advanced the view that perceptions of departed "spirits" are best understood as manifestations of the powers of both God and Nature.[68]

Louise did not remarry. During the mid-1850s, she probably lived with her youngest sister, Henrietta, who in 1855 wed James Stebbins, an attorney. She and Stebbins gave birth to their first child, Genevieve, in 1857. But two years later, in April 1859, Henrietta and a newborn daughter, Lilly Henrietta, both died, perhaps of childbirth complications. Of the four Smith sisters, now only the two oldest, Louise and Mary, remained. In her mourning, Louise drew on her Christian faith, making this a time of spiritual renewal. She chose her fortieth birthday, July 28, 1859, to officially join Grace Episcopal

Church. She was sponsored by her former *Pioneer* editor and his wife, who were now the Reverend and Mrs. Ewer. Within a few months of his ordination, the prominent Ewer was offered a New York ministry, and he and his family left the city amid much local fanfare. The third sponsor at Louise's confirmation was David S. Turner, a California Pioneer Society member who had come to California in 1846 with the New York militia. Settling in San Francisco, he had helped found the city's Mercantile Library and was its first president.[69]

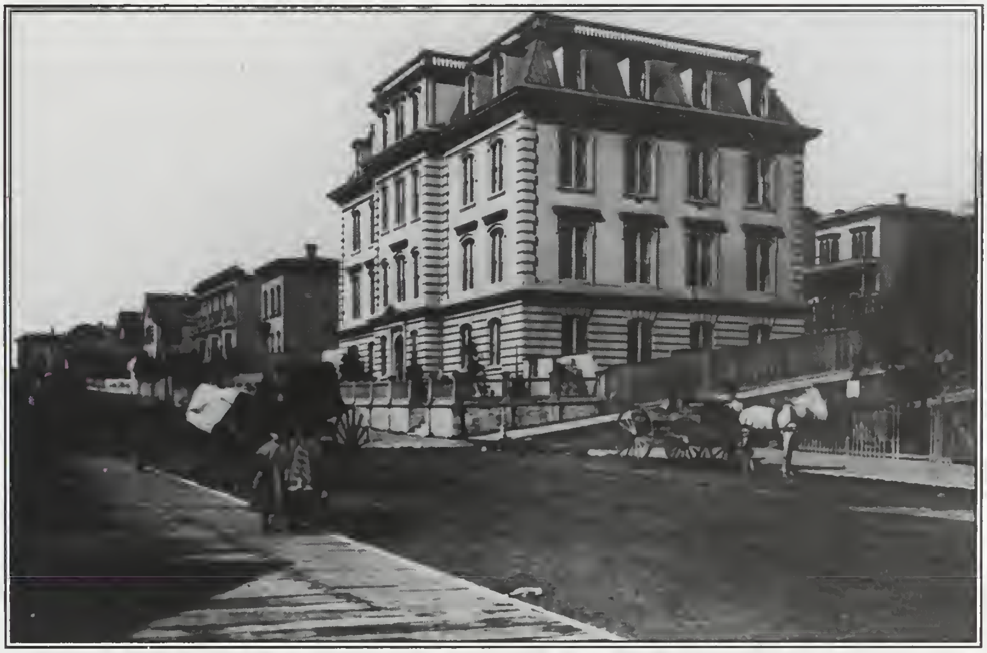
Although the story of Clappe's years as a teacher remains mostly a sketchy outline of specific activities and school assignments, among her hundreds of students she formed an especially important friendship with Mary Viola Tingley that lasted for the rest of her life. Born in Indiana, Mary was the daughter of Forty-niner Col. George Tingley, a pioneering Californian who became a state senator and then a judge. As a young woman, Mary's passion for writing emerged through her poetry and then regular feature writing for several California newspapers, notably as social correspondent for the *Sacramento Union*, where she appeared as "Ridinghood." She was also a contributor to the *Golden Era*, the frontier newspaper founded in San Francisco by Rollin Daggett and J.M. Foard in 1852, which in the early 1860s provided Bret Harte, its typesetter and columnist, with an opportunity to develop the creative ability that would soon bring him fame. Mary also wrote for the first *Overland Monthly*, founded in 1868 by Anton Roman, who hired Harte as his editor.[70] After Mary Tingley married James H. Lawrence, a Forty-niner who had published his 1855 explorations of Yosemite, they settled in the town of Mariposa for several years. Mary and her husband, a one-term state senator, later moved back to San Francisco with their only child, a daughter.[71]

Louise continued teaching, alternating between grammar and "intermediate" assignments principally at the Denman Grammar and Powell Street schools, until 1878. At her retirement she had held one of the longest teaching careers in the San Francisco public school system.[72] To honor her, Mary Lawrence organized a musical reception that raised one thousand dollars as a gift to Louise. Although Lawrence wrote that Louise was very ill when she retired and went to New York, it was not long before Louise once more immersed herself in activity and writing. She renewed her friendship with the Ewers, lived with them, and drew much satisfaction from close ties with her niece. Genevieve Stebbins had preceded her aunt to New York in 1875, to study theater, a somewhat risque activity for the daughter of an attorney. At twenty-one, however, Genevieve had discovered the emerging Delsarte system of aesthetic movement and expression, and by the 1890s was a nationally recognized pioneer of the American Delsarte method. Dance historian Nancy Ruyter has called her its most influential nineteenth-century figure, for her innovative methods and publishing activities.[73] Although Genevieve traveled frequently and taught and performed, she and her aunt were particularly close. Louise referred to her as "my daughter."[74]

Louise, too, remained active as a writer and lecturer. In neatly bound leather notebooks embossed with her name in gold, she prepared a series of architecture and art history lectures, and others on literary criticisms, which she probably gave before small groups in New York. In 1881 she also published reviews and reminiscences in *The Hellmuth World*, the newspaper of Hellmuth Ladies' College, Ontario, Canada. Taking up the earlier threads of her friendship with Bret Harte's wife and family, under some arrangement Louise spent her final years as a boarder in the home of the Knaufft sisters, nieces of the Hartes.[75] She died in 1906, two months ahead of the earthquake and fire that destroyed San Francisco.

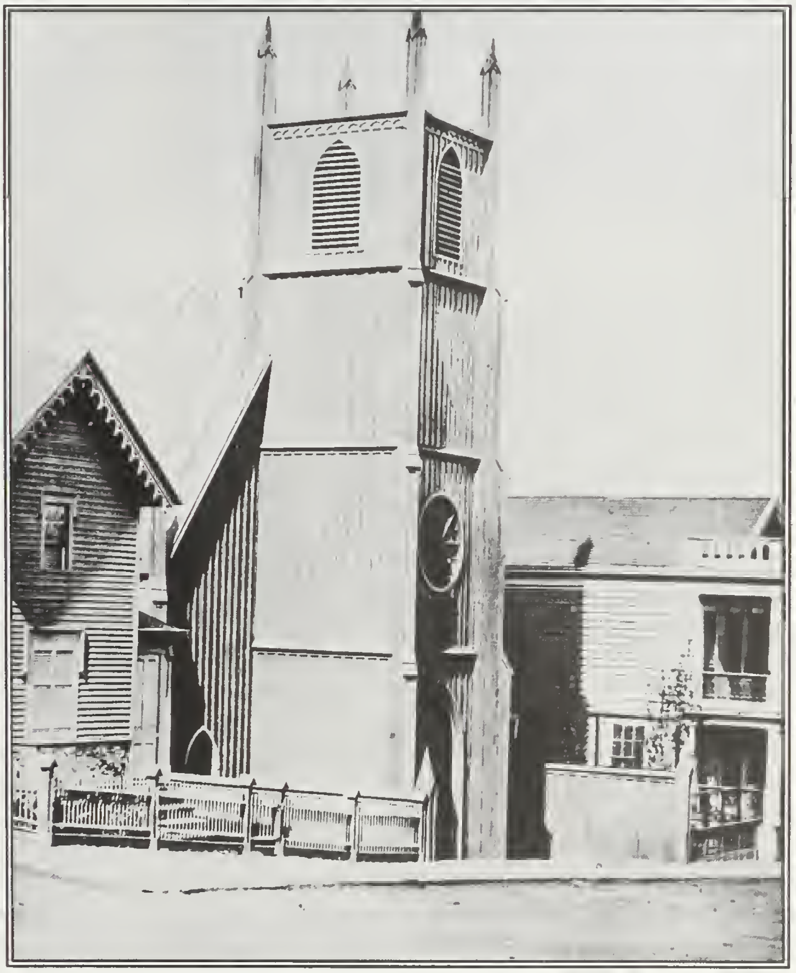
As a young woman in Amherst, Louise Clappe had endured the early loss of both parents. Escaping as a newlywed to high adventure, the Gold Rush extracted a steep price for her decision to see the California "elephant." But she was remembered as a lively, fun-loving woman who gave generously of her gifts. Ever the vigilante friend, the widow Mary Lawrence, upon the announcement of Clappe's death, prepared a talk about her friend's life and accomplishments, which she presented to a women's club. *Sunset* magazine immediately solicited it for publication.[76] Her most private thoughts about Louise she saved for a 1926 letter to state librarian Milton Ferguson, in which she at first noted Louise's "fine life to the end." She followed this with a more candid and disturbing observation. Despite Louise's indomitable nature, Mary acknowledged that her friend had lived a "hard, pathetic life."[77]

The fire that followed the San Francisco earthquake, burning out of control over so many sections of the city, devastated individuals in countless ways. One of those who could barely speak of her losses was Mary Lawrence. Her home, with her entire library and all her writings, including two complete manuscripts, was reduced to nothing. Yet within a



Louise Clappe taught for twenty-four years in San Francisco as an "assistant teacher," a position of higher rank, earning slightly more per month than the average teacher. She spent many years at the Denman Grammar School, which stood then at the northwest corner of Bush and Taylor streets, shown in this view (above) by photographer T. E. Hecht. Two of her other assignments included Girls High School and Powell Street School. She was remembered fondly by two of her grammar school students, Bohemian poet and novelist Charles Warren Stoddard, and writer Mary Tingley Lawrence, both of whom maintained correspondence with her throughout her lifetime. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

Shortly after the death of her sister Henrietta, Louise was confirmed at Grace (Episcopal) Church in 1859. This view of the wooden chapel, where her sister was also married in 1855, dates to the 1850s. *Courtesy Grace Cathedral Archives, San Francisco.*



short time she was furiously writing to her colleagues at the California State Library, lamenting that she could not type, and requesting copies of her *Union* columns, poetry, and other miscellany that she had filed with them. She had lost every scrap of paper in her house, but she was determined to reconstruct as many records as she could.

Among her new goals after the earthquake was participation in a literary anthology of California, edited and published in 1918 by Ella Sterling Mighels, whom she had assisted earlier on *The Story of the Files* (1893), a narrative history, with profiles and sketches, of journalism and literature in pioneer California. Mary Lawrence, who had known virtually the entire San Francisco literary community, diligently offered her own recollections as well as addresses and photograph help. As she thought about what to write in her contribution on Louise Clappe, and requested copies of letters and published articles from the state library, she reminisced about young Louise Smith's friendship with Alexander Everett. Mary thought then that she might write something separate and special about it. "Isn't that romantic and should it all be buried away?" she mused. "Someday some rummager may unearth it and write it up. Why not I—now?"[78] Furthermore, no one, in her estimation, held a candle to Mrs. Clappe, not even Jessie Benton Frémont.

Mary's tribute to Louise, a sketch that appeared in Mighels's *Literary California*, included her view that Harte had borrowed from the Shirley letters, a long-running accusation that dogged him throughout his lifetime. Mary insisted that he had been "captivated by their charm," and used them to form his fallen woman character in "The Outcasts of Poker Flat." Further, she offered, Harte "enjoyed her [Clappe's] brilliant wit and conversation; and she opened his vision to the mountain possibilities for the pen—of treasures of history to be yielded up where she felt she had but done 'placer work.'" Lawrence, who knew better, also dealt Fayette a fatal blow by declaring that "on the death of her husband, Mrs. Clappe became a teacher. . . . " This conscious decision to enter Louise into the literary record as a widow—although Mary would not maintain the deception for long—suggests her discomfort, long after the fact, with Louise's status as a divorced woman.[79]

In 1922, in the Russell edition of the *Shirley Letters*, Mary Lawrence presented her "Appreciation," a revised version of her earlier biographical sketch of Clappe (in which Fayette now simply "went out of her life"). She described the two women's outing to Yosemite, and suggested that Clappe had held a "salon" of sorts in San Francisco. In her correspondence, she named some of the notable guests at these salons as John Muir, Ralph W. Emerson, and Louis Agassiz, adding that "Mrs. Clappe was the most finished, most thoroughly accomplished woman in California I think — such women as Mrs. Jessie Fremont had to sit at her feet and learn."[80]

Nineteen twenty-two, the year the Russell book appeared, also brought the death of Jessamy Harte Steele, eldest daughter of Bret and Anna (Griswold) Harte, which stirred Mary Lawrence to address again the matter of Harte's "cribbing" Clappe's writing for his popular gold-rush stories. Mary also decided it was time to air her irritation at Harte over the poetry book *Outcroppings*, which he had edited and published in 1865. Mary's account of it also finally illuminates the knowledge that Louise Clappe had continued writing poetry and prose after she began teaching school.

Mary's frustration over the manner in which *Outcroppings* came to be published had hovered for years over members of the San Francisco literary community. Frances Fuller Victor had reported on it in the newspaper, but Mary's desire to preserve decorum constrained her.[81] Though she and Harte saw each other daily for several years, she seems to have avoided any discussion of the matter with him, as well as with Anton Roman, the publisher. Despite Harte's "double-dealing," in fact, she had remained friends with him through the years.[82] Now, from the perspective of the injured party, she decided to address the incident in full detail.

Early in the 1860s, according to Mary, she had compiled the poetry and prose of numerous California writers and completed a manuscript that she hoped bookseller Anton Roman would help her publish. Among the collection she turned over to Roman were both poetry and prose written by Louise Clappe. But events of the Civil War interrupted Roman's intentions with it. When he returned to it in the late sixties, he approached not Mary Tingley, who had provided the material, but Bret Harte, literary California's newest rising star, to edit the volume. Harte expanded her original title, *Outcroppings*, to *Outcroppings from California*. "When Bret Harte cribbed my book," Mary wrote, "he rejected a poem by her [Louise Clappe] that would rank among the first anywhere. Also a prose article. She should not be forgotten." Mary said further that the Shirley letters themselves were not Louise's best writing. She

California Senator James and Mrs. Mary V. T. Lawrence, ca. 1870s. Not only was Mrs. Lawrence a loyal and admiring friend of her teacher, Louise Clappe, her own writing and her recollections of other California literary pioneers—which she fervently guarded—offer surprising and valuable glimpses of the state's cultural legacy. *Courtesy of Leroy Radonavich and Mariposa County Museum.*

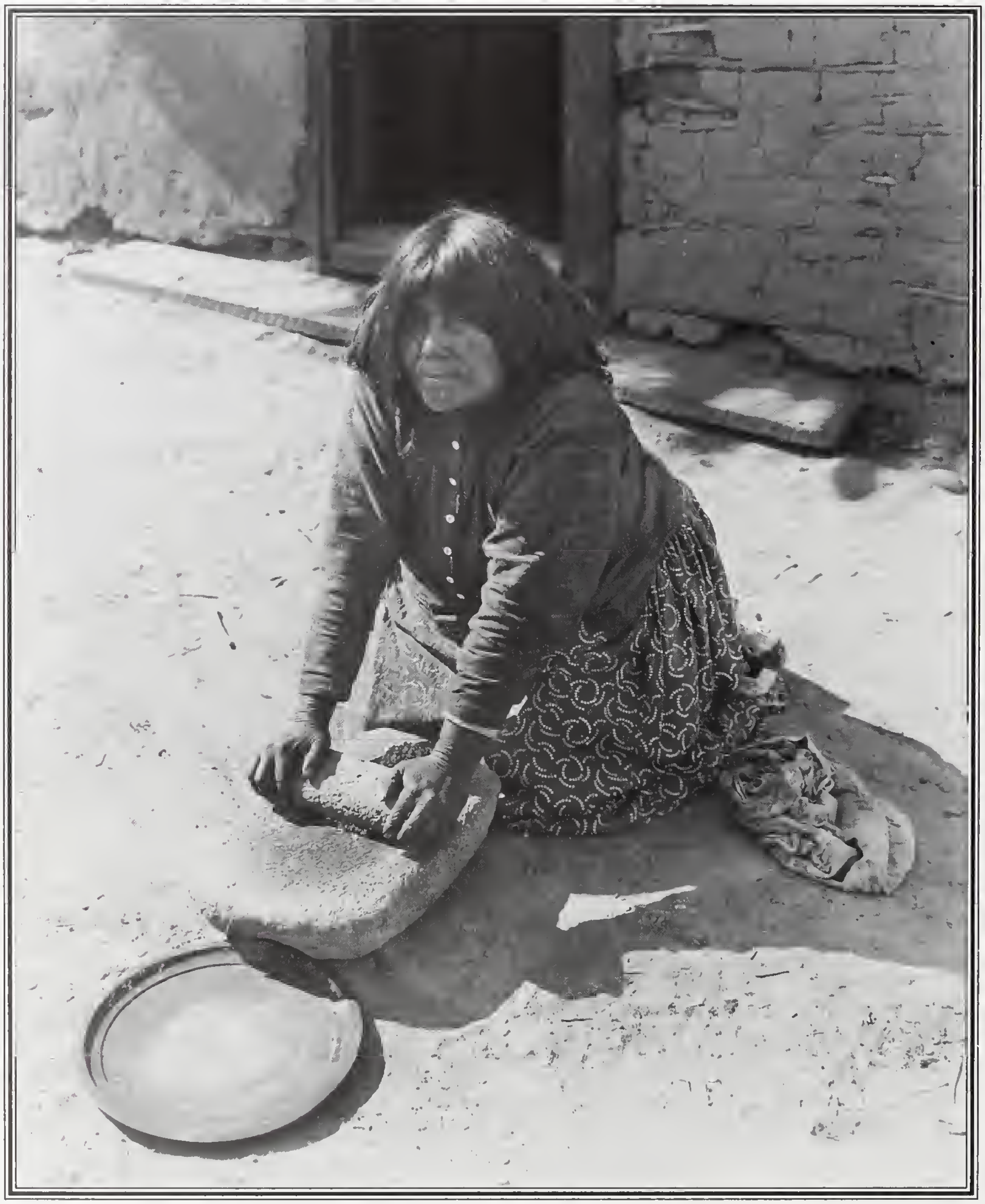
concluded these astonishing revelations by noting again that "Mrs. Clappe more than any other California woman came nearer to establishing a salon — always drawing about her the most brilliant and charming people."[83]

Not only did Louise Clappe review and approve Mary's "Outcroppings" manuscript, its other reader was Thomas Starr King, Unitarian minister and Union activist during the Civil War, who was a family friend of the Tingleys. He, too, encouraged her to publish it. But the volume was re-edited by Harte, who removed many selections and added others, offering a polite acknowledgment to Mary Tingley in the front pages. What became of the material that Harte removed from the manuscript is unknown. Mary was sure that those pieces "he threw away, thus ruthlessly making way with the most complete and desirable collection ever made from early California writers." Learning of the unpleasant affair, Benjamin Avery and Frank Soulé were also said to have deplored the loss of the original manuscript.[84]

The loss of the Louise Clappe writings that Mary Lawrence had intended to publish, if in fact they were destroyed, is most regrettable. We may never know what these "better" writings consisted of. Perhaps they did not truly rival Louise Clappe's other writing, in which her wit, her gift of perception, and her spirited view of the Gold Rush converged as *The Shirley Letters*. This accomplished California woman, who lamented in Letter Twentieth that she was "tired of being a 'mute, inglorious Milton,'" wistfully voiced her wish above all to write poetry "the world would not willingly let die." Nearly two hundred years after her birth, she is truly acclaimed, her life's saga worthy of its continued unfolding. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 299.*

*Marlene Smith–Baranzini, associate editor of* California History *since 1990, recently edited and introduced* The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851–1852 *(1998). She is the author (with Howard Egger-Bovet) of the five-volume USKids History series, published by Little, Brown.*



Writer and activist Helen Hunt Jackson was horrified and enraged by the living conditions of southern California's Mission Indians, who were systematically stripped of their lands by Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans during the nineteenth century. A Yuma Indian, though dressed in western clothes, utilizes a traditional mortar and pestle to grind corn in this late-nineteenth-century photograph. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

# HELEN HUNT JACKSON AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA'S MISSION INDIANS

*by Valerie Sherer Mathes*

"Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to aid in any way in my power in securing homes for the Mission Indians in Southern California," wrote Helen Hunt Jackson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price in July 1882.[1] Under orders from Interior Secretary Henry Teller, Price had authorized Jackson to visit the Indians, who in most cases had never been given clear titles to their lands, locate suitable public lands as permanent reservations, and furnish detailed descriptions. In turn, the Interior Department would draft executive orders setting these lands aside.*

The fifty-two-year-old New England-born author and poet had become interested in the plight of American Indians in 1879 after attending a lecture by Ponca Chief Standing Bear. The elderly chief, through an interpreter had related the tragic story of his tribe's forced removal to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), the deaths of numerous tribal members, and his journey with a small band of followers to bury his son back in the place of his birth. Arrested for leaving Indian Territory, Standing Bear and his followers were subsequently set free following a successful court decision in *Standing Bear* v. *Crook*. A speaking tour of various eastern cities followed. Jackson attended one of the public functions for the Poncas, heard Standing Bear speak, and became a crusader for Indian rights.[2]

Research through government documents at the Astor Public Library in New York City resulted in materials that Jackson used in letters to newspaper editors in support of the Poncas and other tribes. To elicit a wider readership, she wrote *A Century of Dishonor* (1881). Shortly thereafter, commissioned by Richard Watson Gilder of *Century Magazine* to write several articles on California Indians, Jackson arrived in Los Angeles on December 18, 1881. Her husband, William Sharpless Jackson, a prominent Colorado Springs businessman, accompanied her for a portion of the tour.

In late January 1882 she set out for Santa Barbara to begin her tour of Franciscan missions and Indian villages. By early March, using the comfortable Horton House in San Diego as her headquarters, she began an extensive exploration of many Indian rancherías in the San Diego area. Accompanied by Fr. Anthony D. Ubach, the local parish priest, she visited the Indian villages of San Pasquale, Temecula, Pachanga, and Saboba.

The living conditions endured by many of these Indians troubled her deeply, and her emotions often spilled out in letters to friends and government officials. I have selected a dozen or so of these letters to better explain her obsession with California's Mission Indians and the subsequent writing of her protest novel *Ramona*.

In a letter to William Hayes Ward, superintending editor of the *Independent*, a New York weekly, she wrote briefly of her activities during the previous winter. Only those sections relative to her work among the California Indians are included.

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*This article and the letters quoted herein are excerpted from the author's complete work: Valerie Sherer Mathes, *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879–1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

Los Angeles
Monday
April 10—1882

Dear Mr. Ward,

. . . . —I have had a most interesting winter—a month here—one in Santa Barbara—then San Diego—Riverside, San Bernardino, & back here, where I am awaiting the arrival of the artist [Henry Sandham][3] who is to illustrate my articles. The subject of the old Missions has proved one of inexhaustible interest. I only wish I could give several years to it and make a book instead of two magazine articles. As for California of the present day, I think one should live here at least two years, to even see it!—We have grown too much accustomed to the idea of its size, to realize what is involved in that one mere fact.—It is an empire in itself.

Mr. Jackson will join me about May 1st & then we hope to journey into Oregon before returning home.—My Oregon papers (if we go there), will appear in the Atlantic:[4]—the California series in the Century.[5]—I hope you are well—& your sisters also.— . . . .

Always cordially yours—
Helen Jackson[6]

Now accompanied by Henry Sandham, an artist hired to illustrate her articles, Jackson took a ten-day jaunt to Mission San Juan Capistrano and the villages of Pala, Potrero, Temecula, Rincon, and Pauma, returning at the end of April to Los Angeles, where she settled into the comfortable Kimball Mansion boarding house. There she met Abbot Kinney, a wealthy, well-read, European-educated gentlemen who accompanied her on the next village tour. In May, Jackson, her husband, Will, Kinney, and Sandham set out on a twenty-day journey to Monterey. The tour completed, the Jacksons made plans to sail from San Francisco to Oregon in mid-June. Deeply concerned about the fate of the village of Saboba, which she had originally visited in April 1882, and was about to be invaded by settlers encroaching on its lands, Jackson wrote the following letter to Interior Secretary Henry Teller. The Indian boy referred to was José Jesús Castillo, a student of Mary Elizabeth Sheriff, the government school teacher at Saboba.

San Francisco
Sunday June 11, 1882.

Dear Mr. Teller:

Here is a simple letter from the Indian boy, of whom I wrote you, the boy who had in eight months learned to read intelligently in the Fourth Reader, who is Captain of the Shewing Band,[7] and who had this last spring put in twenty acres of wheat, besides going to school. He is a splendid fellow, only twenty, with a fine cut, clear eyed & earnest sad face.

The teacher wrote and asked me if I thought a short plain statement from Jesus would do any good, and I told her that there was no telling what would or would not do good. It was worth while to try everything. She writes that it was hard to get him to write this; he was so afraid of seeming to beg for himself personally.

A colony is going into this San Jacinto Valley this summer, and nothing but some sudden intervention can save these poor people. Jesus lives with his grand-father, Old Victoriano, a grand old chief, probably nearly 100 years old. They have a good adobe house, a vineyard, two orchards, and some stock. They have lived on this place over a hundred years. Victoriano's father planted the orchard and vineyard.

Such men as these want a title given to them individually. They don't want a land title in common with their tribe, any more than you would want a

Helen Maria (née Fiske) Hunt Jackson (1830–1885). *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

title in common with the Central City people, or Mr. Jackson with those of Colorado Springs.

I cannot tell you with what hope I look forward to your doing something sharp and decisive for the protection of all these old Mission Indians. If only there were something I could do too, to help, it would give me a greater happiness than I can express. I suppose it would be entirely out of the question, and preposterous on the face of it, for the Interior Department to send a woman along with a commission of investigation, and let the woman write the report! That is what I would like above all things, and I believe I am capable of writing judiciously and with exactness, even when I feel intensely.

Yours always cordially,
Helen Jackson.[8]

Address always
Care Roberts Bros., Boston.

Interior Secretary Teller, a fellow Coloradoan, saw the value of Jackson's suggestion and directed Indian Commissioner Hiram Price to appoint her to investigate the situation of the Mission Indians. Reluctant to undertake this task alone, she requested that Abbot Kinney also be appointed. In the following letter, Jackson not only informed the secretary of Kinney's acceptance but outlined her plans to carry out her commission.

Colo. Springs, Sept. 16, 1882.

Dear Mr. Teller:

I have heard from Mr. Kinney, and he says he will be very glad to serve with me on the proposed Commission in regard to the Mission building.[9]

I write to you at once, thinking that there might, perhaps, be some delay in arranging details of the plan, so that it would be well for me to have all papers, documents, etc., in hand, in case I shall decide to set about the work earlier than I had at first thought would be possible. I would like to have a clear understanding and definite figures as to the expenses of the trip.

My own notion would be, that I could not look the land over thoroughly, visit the villages, examine the land titles, etc., in less than three—possibly four—months. My own living there last winter cost me about $200 a month. This included some driving; but not so much as we would have to do to visit the remote Indian villages. I think there are some that could not be reached by wagon. Though the roads to some are so bad that the Indian Agent Lawson[10] has never yet visited them. But I shall see every one. I could get a good team and driver for about twelve dollars a day; they bearing all their own expenses. As near as I can reckon beforehand, I think that the ground could be covered by $1200 for me; and then Kinney to keep an accurate account of his living expenses, and have that paid in addition. Also we might have to hire an interpreter. You understand, of course, that we don't either of us, want to make any money out of the "job." But on the other hand, neither is there any reason for one giving the Department anything more than one's time. My own time is worth to me, on an average, $200 a month, in easy literary work; but all that I am entirely willing and glad to forego, if I can be of any real service in getting permanent provisions made for these poor creatures.

I would like to have [a] letter from you, which would entitle us to full access to all land office records, titles, etc., bearing on our work.

I feel much more courage to undertake it, since Mr. Kinney's consenting to assist me, for I know him to be clear-headed, well-informed, and indefatigable in going to the bottom of everything he undertakes. He is also exceedingly keen witted; and being a land-owner and a resident in California, understands all about many matters which a stranger would be ignorant of; and therefore at the mercy of anybody and everybody who had an interest in deceiving him. Mr. Kinney is also interested in these Indians. Since seeing the two or three villages he visited with me, his feeling in regard to them has entirely changed. Before that, he was unaware how industrious and deserving many of them were; and how cruel the injustice had been of driving them off lands which they had cultivated for a hundred years. I believe, that with the facts well in hand, I could write a report which would be listened to, even in the American Congress; and might be the means of passing a bill, which you could so frame so to cover the ground once for all,[11] and leave that fragment of the Indian race safe for all time from the avarice of white men. At any rate, I should like to try.

Yours cordially,
Helen Jackson.[12]

Mr. Kinney's name is,
Abbot Kinney, of Kinneloa,
San Gabriel, Cal.

During the fall, Jackson busied herself rewriting the *Century* articles and reflecting on her recent appointment. In the lengthy letter below to Commissioner Price, she outlined what she understood to be the "scope and intent" of her forthcoming investigation.

Ruins of an Indian adobe building in Pauma, a satellite settlement of Mission San Luis Rey de Francia visited by Helen Hunt Jackson in April 1882. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

Col. Springs
Oct 31—1882

H. Price Esq.
Com [missioner] Ind [ian] Affairs

Dear Sir,

I thank you for the expressions of confidence in your letter of the 16*th*. I hope that the results of my work will not disappoint you. I do not undertake the Mission without misgivings but I trust that my earnest interest in the matter may stand me instead of knowledge and experience; and I am sure that Mr. Kinney's clear headedness, and familiarity with the country will be an invaluable assistance.

Since the arrival of your letter I have given the subject much thought and I will now outline to you what I understand to be the scope and intent of our investigations.

1st To ascertain how many there are of the Mission Indians—where living, and how.

2*d* What, if any, Govt. lands remain in So. Cal. which would be available for reservations for them.

3*rd* If there is no longer left Govt. land fit for the purpose,—which I strongly suspect,—what land or lands could be bought—and at what price.

4*th* What the Indians' own feelings are about going on reservations.

So far as I can judge from what I saw and heard last winter, I believe that those Indians now living in villages there would almost rather die than be removed.

Yet, in many instances, the land where their villages stand, has been already patented to white men, and I am told, that in such cases there is no redress possible for the Indians.

Again,—I am entirely sure that to propose to those self supporting farmers, to submit themselves to the usual reservation laws and restrictions would be futile. It would be also, insulting. There is no more right or reason in an Indian Agent with the usual Indian Agent's authority, being set over them, than there would be in attempting to bring the white farmers of Anaheim or Riverside under such an authoritative control

This complicates the question.

If this statement of what we are to do, meets your views, will you kindly have it put into shape in form of a letter of Specific instructions; such as will give me full authorization under all circumstances, both with the Indians, and with all the Land Offices in the several counties.

There should be a separate letter authorizing Mr. Kinney and guaranteeing his expenses to act with me.

One item of expense has occurred to me since my letter to Mr. Teller; and that is, an Interpreter. In our visits to the Indian villages, we should need an Interpreter: and this should be provided for.

My own expenses I will rate, as I said to Mr. Teller, at $1200. This will cover my journey out and back, and I think, three months journeying and living there. If it takes longer, and costs more, I will defray the remainder myself.

I would like these letters in duplicate, to guard against accident.

My plan at present is to go out in January.

Yours respectfully
Helen Jackson[13]

The same day she wrote Charles Dudley Warner, editor of the *Hartford Courant* and well-known writer and poet in his own right. In the past she had asked Warner to reprint some of her articles on the Poncas.

Col. Springs
Oct 31. 1882

Dear Mr. Warner—

. . . . It is odd that you & I like each other so much, & yet like such different things—I adored Vancouver—& Oregon—& all the old rubbishly places on the Pacific coast—I have just been down to Santa Fe & to Paso Del Norte, the Mexican boundary—& adored them—I'm four fifths barbarian, I suppose. Nothing else can account for it. I have never loved Colorado so much as in this past two months—It has been the most beautiful autumn I ever saw, anywhere—not excepting Bethleham. Mr. Jackson & I spent six successive Sundays in a spot of our own, on a brook rim, at bottom of a canyon—if that weather could have lasted, I could never have gone away. Yet it is clearer & clearer that I can't live at this altitude. It is hurting Mr. Jackson too.—Our doctor has told him he must get away—He doesn't see how he can: so I suppose he will stay till he must. Do you really have malaria in Hartford?—What a shame.—And are you really going to live all winter out of your own lovely house?—I wish I had a house for you to come to—Take an apartment in N. York—with one more *sunny open-fired* room than you want—& I'll go thirds with you on expenses for two months—(& half during the month William is there—) This is our budget at present—I must fly

Southern California desert Indian, late nineteenth century. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

as soon as I can:—Shall go to N. York first.—He will come in December—Stay a month perhaps longer.—When he leaves for Col. I set out for So. Cal. again—where I am going as an authorized agent for the Int. Dept. to report on the Mission Indians & possible homes for them.—A Mr. Kinney who was with us during most of our Cal. journey—a wonderfully clever fellow—living in the San Gabriel Valley, is to be associated with me.—to prevent my being imposed on—& to do the parts I don't know enough to do. I am greatly rejoiced of the chance to do this work. Three times before, the Govt. has sent Agents to report on the condition of these Indians—& that is all that has come of it—But I have faith to believe that I can write a report which will reach Congressmen's hearts.

—There is not in all the Century of Dishonor, so black a chapter, as the history of these Mission Indians—peaceable farmers for a hundred years—driven off their lands like foxes & wolves—driven *out* of good adobe houses & the white men who had driven them out, settling down calm & comfortable in the houses!—What do you think of that? I'm no saner on the Indian question then I was—my book did not sell[14]—but somehow it stirred things—for you see books, pamphlets & mag. articles are steadily pouring out on the subject—and—the Northern Cheyennes have been allowed to leave Indian Territory![15]

The world moves.—I am heartily rejoiced that Mrs. Warner is so much better—Give her my love—& keep some yourself—

Yours ever—
H.J.[16]

Mr. Jackson always sends regards to you both.

Jackson's chronic bronchitis, exacerbated by the altitude in Colorado Springs, forced her to head east in mid-November. She traditionally moved between New York and Boston during the winter months, but her appointment as a special agent to the Mission Indians of California would mean a departure from this normal routine. She had hoped to leave for California in early February 1883, but a severe case of the flu kept her shut up in her New York hotel room until mid-month.

Upon arrival in Los Angeles, she immediately began to work on behalf of the Cahuilla Indians, who for generations had lived above the Agua Caliente village in San Ysidro Canyon. Both ends of their canyon home had been homesteaded by whites, who had cut off the water supply. Already one child had died of starvation. A visit to the government land office and conferences with the local United States court commissioner, as well as her continued correspondence with Indian Bureau officials, resulted in the cancelling of one homestead entry and the setting aside of the other.[17]

Although the home of the Cahuillas was now secure, Jackson still had to face the prospect of the forced removal of the Indians in the village of Saboba. Aided by school teacher Mary Elizabeth Sheriff and a friend who diligently searched through San Diego land office records for a clause in the original Mexican grant protecting the natives' possession of their cultivated land, Jackson wrote to friends and government officials about her concerns for the Saboba villagers. The following letters to William Hayes Ward and Joseph Benson Gilder were typical.

[March 3, 1883]

Dear Mr. Ward,

. . . I find myself confronted in the outset of my investigating work, here, by heart sickening things. The little village of Saboba of which I think I spoke to you,—is already *ordered* to "move"!—And even I myself, cannot see what the Int. Dept. can do under the circumstances—except move them.—The 700 acres on which this village stands—are worth $30,000 to $35,000—

—It would not be of much use to ask Congress to pay $30,000 for a village of say *250* Indians![18]

And yet—those Indians have been farming that land—they & their fathers & grandfathers for a hundred years. —They have good adobe houses—fenced fields, irrigating ditches etc.—

They have never had a title. In the days of Mexican proprietorship, they did not need any.—The land is now "patented" to white men:—A San Bernardino shopkeeper owns this village.[19]—

My address will be *Roberts Bros. Boston*—till I return to Colorado.—I shall keep them advised of my movements.—

Yours truly
Helen Jackson[20]

Los Angeles.
March 3*rd* 1883.

The recipient of the next letter, Joseph Benson Gilder, was a prominent journalist who, along with his sister, Jeannette Leonard Gilder, founded *The Critic*, a literary magazine.

Los Angeles
March 12—1883

Dear Mr. Gilder,

I have the general feeling that it is not worth while to correct any misstatements in newspapers; but I really feel as if your wording of your paragraph about my errand to So. California conveyed so false an impression, that it should be followed by some sort of *re*-statement.—

You say that I have gone out, "empowered to act in behalf of certain ill treated Indians in the southern part of etc.—"—

Now all that I am commissioned to do, is to make a *Special Report* to the Interior Dept. on the general subject of the Mission Indians—their present condition, and the best way of providing them with lands in such a way that they can never be dispossessed.—This is of course in one sense, "acting for" them—ie.—in their behalf.—But I think your paragraph conveys the idea of something far more than acting *on paper*—simply by a report to the Int. Dept.—

What I hope is, that I shall be able to make so strong a report, that if the Secretary submits it to Congress, in connection with a Bill, based upon it, & asking for an appropriation for buying lands for these Indians, the Bill will pass.—In no other way can anything be effected.—

Mr. Abbot Kinney of San Gabriel, a young friend of ours, is associated with me in the Commission. Except for his assistance I should never have dared to undertake it.—

The third paper of my Century Series will be on the Present Condition of the Mission Indians.

Perhaps you will think this is all hypercritical.—If so, never mind. But as these little personal para-

Some Cahuilla Indians, such as these farmers near Indio (ca. 1900), eked out a living by cultivating small plots of land allotted by the federal government. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

graphs always go journeying about from paper to paper for months, it seemed to me better for many reasons to have it set right.

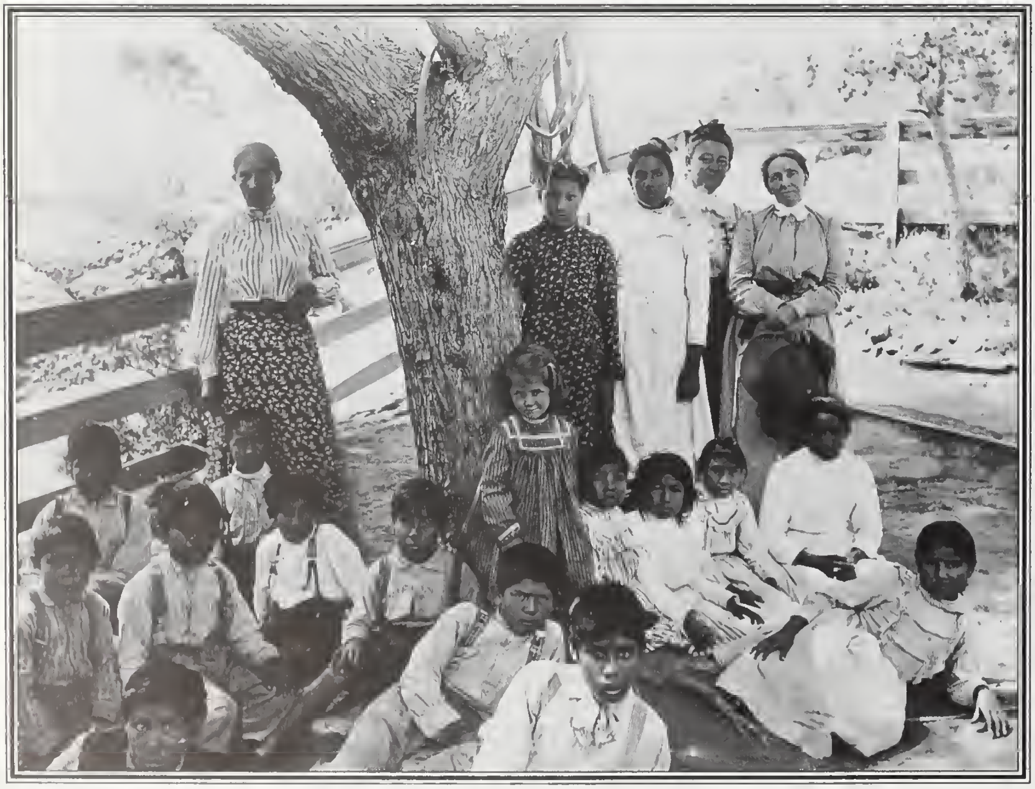
The Secretary of the Interior might very well be annoyed at being suffered to have sent out a woman to do the impossible!—He himself cannot do anything to help these Indians except on an appropriation from Congress.—

A whole village—150 or 200—all just about to be "ejected"—from a tract they have cultivated for nearly 100 years—It is a horrible outrage—Yet I myself, cannot see what the Int. Dept can do to help it.—The Indians had no title—never have had, in any sense which our Land Laws recognized.—The whole valley in which their village lies has been *patented* to a Colony.—The 700 acres on which this little handful of Indians live, are worth $50 an acre!—What can you do?—It is heartrendering:—but I see no help.

—Yours ever truly
Helen Jackson[21]

During April and May 1883, Jackson, Kinney, Sandham, and their driver toured various Indian villages. Conditions were often less than comfortable for the fifty-three-year-old commissioner, who one night was forced to sleep outdoors in her fur cloak. They met with Indian leaders, schoolteachers, and S.S. Lawson, Mission Indian agent. Jackson kept up her letter-writing campaign to government officials and friends. Returning home to Colorado Springs in June, she worked on the final draft of the fifty-six-page government report. Following its completion in the first week of July, her thoughts turned to writing a novel set in southern California. She had gathered more than enough background material during her various village tours.

In October the plot for a novel flashed through her mind in less than five minutes; it was such a frightening experience that she rushed into her husband's room to recount it. The first word of *Ramona* was written on December 1, 1883, and she informed her friends that it had literally written itself. Serialized



Instructors and students at an Indian school in Pala, California, late nineteenth century. Seldom granted sovereignty over their own lands, California Indians survived as best they could in an often bewilderingly foreign landscape. Indian schools encouraged assimilation, usually at the expense of indigenous ways. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

initially in the *Christian Union* beginning in May 1884, the novel was published by Roberts Brothers in Boston in November.

The following letter to Amelia Stone Quinton, long-time president of the Women's National Indian Association, was written a month before the first installment of *Ramona* appeared in the *Christian Union*.

> New York
> The Berkeley
> April 2*d*—1884
>
> Dear Mrs. Quinton—
>
> My story is done—170,000 (or more) words.—It is called "*Ramona*."—
>
> It is to run as a serial in the Christian Union, beginning the 1*st* of May. It will take six months.—
>
> —I am going to strike for the churches this time. I do not dare to think I have written a second Uncle Tom's Cabin—but I do think I have written a story which will be a good stroke for the Indian Cause.—
>
> Now the thing I want of you is, to please send me your list of *Secs.* & *Pres.s* of your branch associations:—
>
> —The Christian Union will then send to them, mailed copies of the paper containing the advertisement of the beginning of this story—& I hope they will all subscribe to the paper for 6 mo [nths] as a campaign doc[ument].—
>
> —The paper has paid me (for them!)—a large price for the story—a good deal less than half what I should have had for it in the Mags,—however—but I preferred this—1*st* because the Mags. could not begin it for a year & a half—2*d* to hit the religious element—3*rd* to have only a weeks interval between the numbers.—I believe 100,000 readers of this sort will do more for the cause, than four times that number of idle magazine readers.—In the autumn I shall publish it in book form.—
>
> Of course the paper is doing this to push the paper—not to help the Indian!—but each will react on the other—So I want to give them a good list.—I might take some off that list you sent me. I suppose—But I think the Branch Associations ought all to have the story to read as it comes out,—to read it at their monthly meetings:—
>
> Is not this a good idea?—
>
> Yrs ever—
> H. J.[22]

After completing the book and doing everything she could to promote it, Jackson had returned home to Colorado Springs in early June. Three weeks later, on June 28, 1884, she fell down the stairs and broke her left leg. The leg failed to heal properly and to escape Colorado's extreme winter conditions, she moved to Los Angeles in November. Shortly thereafter she wrote the following letter to Thomas Bailey Aldrich.

> Los Angeles
> Dec. 1*st*, 1884
>
> Dear Mr. Aldrich
>
> Excuse this sheet off a blotter—(If you knew it was off the "Paragon Handy Tablet," would you respect it more?)
>
> I have no other paper unpacked;—and I cannot wait, to tell you how much pleasure your line about Ramona has given me.—But I am not satisfied till you say, it has made your heart ache, as well as given your ear pleasure:—What I wanted to do, was to draw a picture so winning and alluring in the beginning of the story, that the reader would become thoroughly interested in the characters before he dreamed of what was before him:—and would have swallowed a big dose of information on the Indian Question, without knowing it.—
>
> Every incident in Ramona, (ie. of the Ind. Hist) is true. A Cahuilla Indian was shot two years ago, exactly as Alessandro is—and his wife's name was Ramona—and I never knew this last fact, until Ramona was half written![23] What do you think of that for a coincidence?—And what do you think of this, also—that I wrote the whole of Ramona, at the rate of 2000 to 3000 words a morning—faster than I can write an ordinary letter—& I altered hardly a word to a chapter, on revising it.
>
> It was an extraordinary experience, & I am not without my superstition about it. My ordinary habit of composition is slow:—700 to 1000 words a morning, a very good days work:—there were days on which I wrote between 3000 & 4000 words in 3 1/2 to 4 hours—in Ramona!—
>
> Mr. Niles has a copy of my Report to the Int. Dept. on the Mission Indians.—If you would take the trouble to ask him for it, & look it over, you would give me a real pleasure: and—if you are going to do me the great honor of reviewing Ramona——you will find this Report a splendid help towards it.
>
> Travelling on crutches was not so bad as I feared.—I made the journey with great comfort—& am revelling in open windows sunshine—flowers,—incredible for the 1*st* of December. This is probably as near a perfect winter climate as the Lord has thought it wise to let mortals enjoy.—
>
> Presently, I am going to work again:—an Indian-

Mexican story for the Youth's Companion is my highest ambition now! If I can get their half million of readers to listen to such a story, it will be worth while.—

My love to Mrs. Aldrich— —and thanks again & again to you, for telling me that you think Ramona "beautiful"—

—Praise from you or from Gilder, makes me feel young, spite of my gray hairs & crutches!

Yours ever
Helen Jackson[24]

439 Pearl St.
Los Angeles.

Jackson's health continued to worsen, and believing she had contracted malaria, she moved to San Francisco in mid-March. Less than two weeks later, she wrote the following letter to her husband:

March 29—[1885]

Dearest—

I am sure I am not going to get well—& I want to bid you goodbye while my mind is clear.—

—At first, I did not want to die—I would have liked to do a few more of the things that I had planned—but now I am more than willing.—It is of no consequence about the few words more I could say—If Ramona & the Cent. of Dishonor have not helped—one more would have made little odds—But they *will* tell in the long run—The thought of this is my only consolation as I look back over the last ten years, & realize how I have failed to be to you what I longed & hoped to be.—But it is not too late yet, my beloved, for you to have wife & children & live the life that will satisfy your longings.—

It is the greatest hope of my heart that you will desire to marry our Helen[25]—She will make you a pure devoted loving wife, & a splendid mother for your children & will meet your wishes & views far better than I have done—I have left her the bulk of my property, feeling that it would be wrong for me to let my grandfathers money go away from his heirs, & that you do not need it.[26] I hope you will think this was right.—If you marry Helen, it will be a happiness to me, in whatever world I am in, to see her & her children heirs to all I had.—If you do not feel drawn to her,—let me implore you, darling, to marry some one else—*very soon*—do not live the life of a homeless tie-less man any longer than you must—but be *sure*, this time, dearest to marry some one whose tastes & standards in all matters of living are like your own—Don't make a second mistake love—You will wonder I can write so calmly of this—I am writing as if I spoke to you from another world—Will— —You have never known how deep my realization has been of the fact that I was not the *right* wife for you:—much as I have loved you:—with a different woman & with children at your knees, you would have been a different man—& a happier one.—

—God will give it to you yet—& it was time!—I am glad to go for your sake, my beloved one. Forgive every pain & vexation I have ever given you, & only remember that I loved you as few men are ever loved, in this world, *nobody* will ever love you so well;—that you will feel, as the years go on—& I shall perhaps hear you say it to yourself, some day as I am watching you.—

Your Peggy,—[27]

Several months later Jackson wrote the following, probably to Thomas Wentworth Higginson:

[July 27, 1885]

. . . . I feel that my work is done, and I am heartily, honestly, and cheerfully ready to go. In fact, I am glad to go. You have never fully realized how for the last four years my whole heart has been full of the Indian cause—how I have felt, as the Quakers say, 'a concern' to work for it. My 'Century of Dishonor' and 'Ramona' are the only things I have done of which I am glad now. The rest is of no moment. They will live, and they will bear fruit. They already have. The change in public feeling on the Indian question in the last three years is marvellous; an Indian Rights' Association in every large city in the land . . . Every word of the Indian history in 'Ramona' is literally true, and it is being reenacted here every day.

I did mean to write a child's story on the same theme as 'Ramona,' but I doubt if I could have made it so telling a stroke, so perhaps it is as well that I shall not do it. And perhaps I shall do it after all, but I cannot conceive of getting well after such an illness as this.[28]

Shortly before her death, Jackson wrote the following letter to President Grover Cleveland:

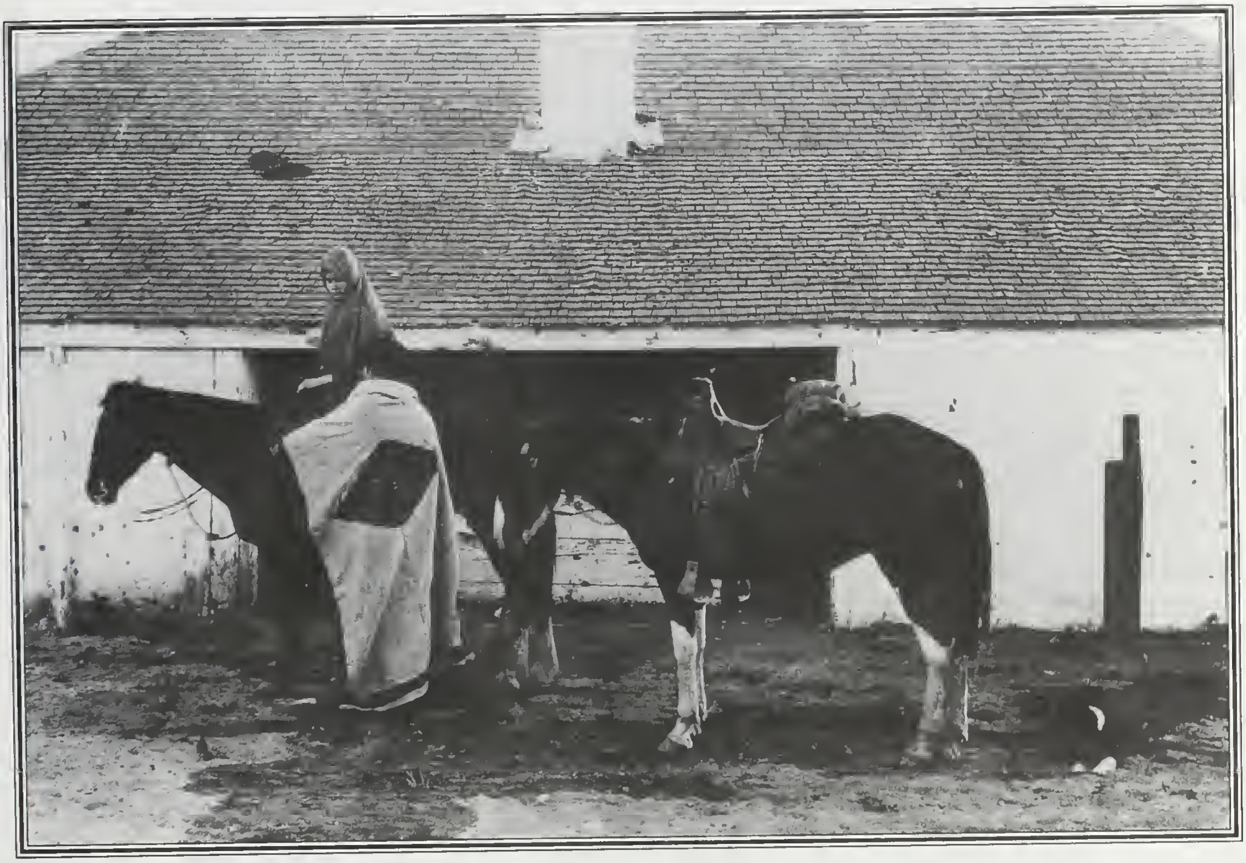
To Grover Cleveland
President of the United States

Dear Sir,

From my death bed I send you message of heartfelt thanks for what you have already done for the Indians.

I ask you to read my Century of Dishonor.

I am dying happier for the belief I have that it is your hand that is destined to strike the first steady



The popularity of Jackson's romantic novel *Ramona* (1884) was bolstered by the aggressive schemes of southern California tourism promoters, who encouraged a turn-of the-century "Ramona craze." Entrepreneurs offered tours to sites mentioned in the book and hawked merchandise—such as this 1895 photograph by C. C. Pierce entitled "Ramona's Elopement with Alesandro"—claiming to document the "real" Ramona's life. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

blow towards lifting this burden of infamy from our country, and righting the wrongs of the Indian race.

With respect and gratitude
Helen Jackson[29]

Aug. 8 1885

Helen Hunt Jackson died at four in the afternoon on August 12, 1885, with her husband by her side. The cause of her death was apparently cancer. She was buried on her beloved Cheyenne Mountain near Colorado Springs. While her death inspired numerous poems and eulogies from the literary community, it spurred members of the Women's National Indian Association and Indians Rights Association, and Lake Mohonk Conference participants, "to continue and complete the work inspired by her pen, and labored for to the end of her life."[30] CHS

*See notes beginning on page 303.*

*Valerie Sherer Mathes, professor of western U.S. and American Indian history at San Francisco City College since 1967, is author of the award-winning* Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy *(1990),* The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879–1885 *(1998), and numerous articles. Dr. Mathes's third book, on Ponca Chief Standing Bear and the Ponca removal and trial, is nearing completion.*

# SPIRITUAL RADIANCE, EXPRESSIVE DELIGHT

# The Baroque Historiography of Kevin Starr

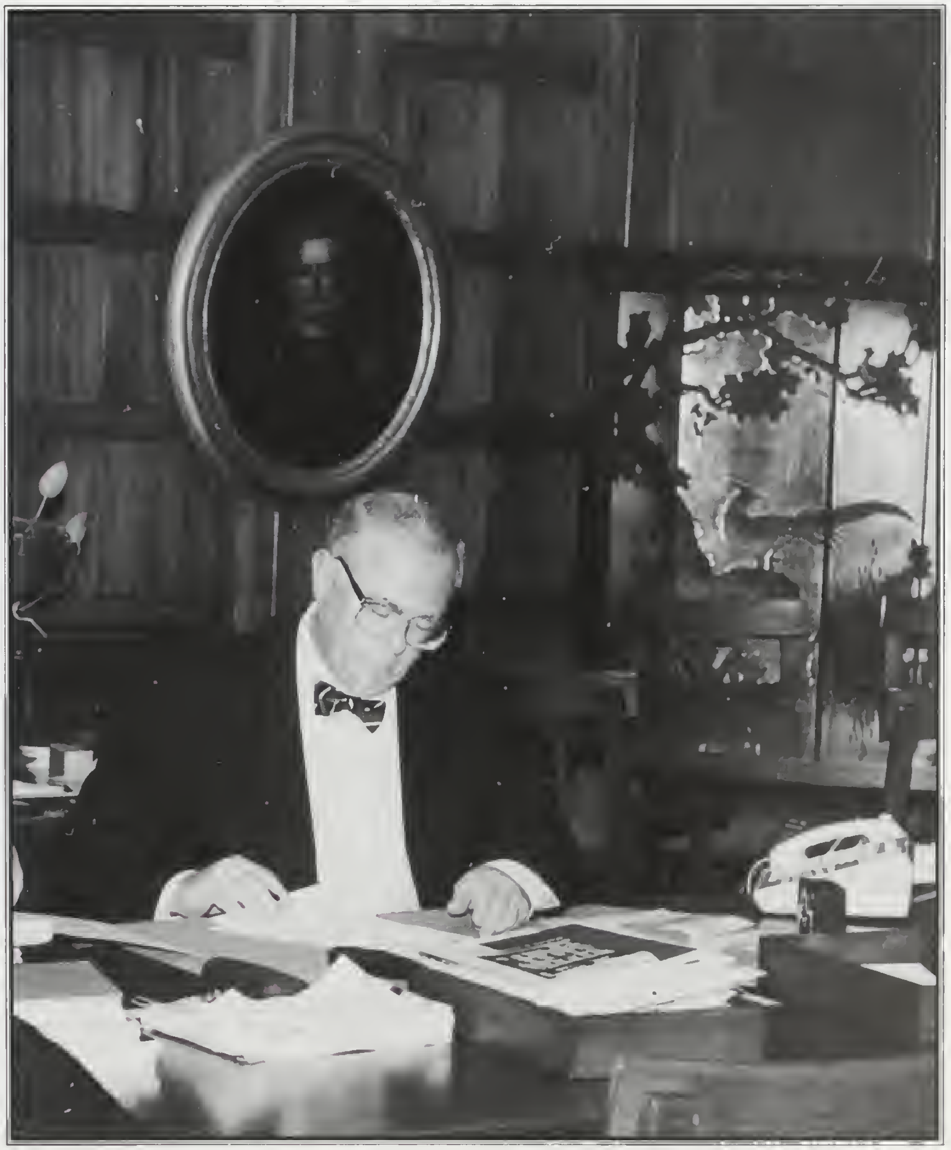
### *by Forrest G. Robinson*

Kevin Starr's California Dream series is a magnificent—learned, capacious, imaginative, cogent, eloquent, respected, and influential—five-volume work in progress.[1] More than a quarter-century in the making, the volumes published thus far are widely read and just as widely celebrated. James N. Gregory is hardly alone in regarding Starr as the "High Priest of Californiana . . . the state's unofficial Historian Laureate, chief interpreter of the California Dream."[2] Gregory's characterization of the historian as priest is peculiarly apt, for Starr's historiography—by turns intellectual, cultural, social, economic, and political—is at its foundations profoundly religious. Sweeping, richly imbricated, oratorical, grave yet forgiving, ever hopeful, Starr's narrative at once records and radiates incarnation, the patterned, purposeful penetration of the human by the divine.

The first volume in the series, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915*, appeared in 1973. Starr describes the book as an attempt "to deal with the imaginative aspects of California's journey to identity." Because it "is preoccupied with the shaping work of the imagination, the approach is literary, in the broadest sense of the term." The book "seeks to integrate fact and imagination in the belief that the record of their interchange through symbolic statement is our most precious legacy from the past."[3] The influence of Henry Nash Smith—who in *Virgin Land* traces the interplay between western myths and symbols, practical affairs, and regional identity—is manifest, though Starr's emphasis on the "precious legacy" of the past contrasts with Smith's concern that the dominant regional myths are largely misguided.[4] Where Smith issues a warning against outmoded beliefs, Starr offers his book as an "elegy" to an earlier California, when people "were hopeful because, although many opportunities had been squandered, all was not lost." California, he writes, "ached with promise," a promise that we are urged to draw upon in our own "more complicated time, when hope is not so certain and promise is unclear."[5]

Starr reminds us of another of his important precursors, Josiah Royce, in his strong impulse to make judgments of the past. "California experienced more than its share of social problems," he declares, directly echoing Royce, "because its development was so greedy and so unregulated. No evocation of imaginative aspiration can atone for the burdens of the California past, especially the violence and brutality." At the same time, however, Starr believes that the acknowledgement of past errors, and the attempt to overcome them, is the surest way to redemption. "The struggle for corrective action in the face of history put earlier generations in touch with their best selves," he insists, and we in the present are admonished to take moral and spiritual guidance from their example.[6] *Americans and the California Dream* both begins and ends on this positive note. "Bringing the protagonists of this narrative forward in memory," Starr concludes, "we judge what they stood for—and such judgments, fixed in the consciousness of the present, can perhaps further today's struggle for value and corrective action. Old in error, California remains an American hope."[7]

Starr's optimism has endured pretty much undimmed over the past quarter-century. Explicitly or implicitly, the five published volumes of the California Dream series offer a copious brief for hope and regeneration in the present and future. California is the special place; redemption is the leading theme. At a recent conference on the Gold Rush, Starr emphasized the importance of hope in the process of regional renewal. Even as we honestly confront the tragic human chapters in the California story, he cautions, we must beware of succumbing to despair. "Certainly, the Forty-niners sinned against the Native Americans," and their actions "constitute a grave burden on the present because these sins are now a part of our living history." And yet, he continues, in unequivocally religious terms, "the moment we mention sin, we must also mention repentance, atonement, reconciliation, healing, and forgiveness."[8] We cannot approach the past in



Dr. Kevin Starr, State Librarian of California and Professor of History at University of Southern California, at his office in the State Library at Sacramento. Dr. Starr's eminence as an interpreter of the state's history led the University of California in 1999 to name its new postdoctoral research fellowship in California Studies the "Starr Fellowship." Recipients of the fellowship pursue their studies at the university system's Humanities Research Institute, located at the University of California, Irvine. *Courtesy California State Library.*

absolute moral terms, yearning for Edenic perfection and rejecting as intolerable all that falls short of it. Rather we must "live courageously in the face of a past and present that is at once tragic and liberating." Starr—now the historian-priest in full stride—continues: "Let us vow not to repeat the sins of our fathers. Let us struggle towards redemption and atonement. But let us realize as well that for all the tangled burden of the past, we still have California: a California stained by sin, true, but a California as well that is struggling toward redemption and the light."[9]

This is not to suggest that narrowly religious topics and themes dominate the foreground of Starr's historiography. To the contrary, the California dream is for Starr the myriad, ceaseless expression of human aspiration, noble and foolish, material and spiritual, as it has been manifest in the books and paintings and movies and buildings, in the religious and social and economic and political institutions, and above all else in the lives of the people who have been drawn to the region in the past one hundred and fifty years. There is some truth to the charge that his interests run disproportionately to the lives and works of elite men; and it is probably fair to conclude, as several critics have, that he is more at home handling biography and literature than, say, political and economic history.[10] But few if any would deny the larger truth that Starr's success resides principally in the coordinated abundance of his vast canvas, and springs directly from his genius for the gathering and mastery and integration of an astonishing volume and range of historical material.

Thus while Starr's framing historical perspective may be viewed as religious, the persons, places, and things featured in his books are only intermittently religious in nature. True, the third chapter of *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* features the exploits of Thomas Starr King and other early Protestant clergymen in San Francisco, but the remaining twelve chapters are devoted to secular figures (Josiah Royce, John Muir, Jack London, David Starr Jordan, Gertrude Atherton), events, movements, and institutions that express the leading aspirations of the time and place. Not all of the dreams have been good ones, of course, and not all desires have been met. Jack London's confused ambitions contributed to his self-destruction; San Francisco's *fin de siècle* bohemians drank too much and "suffered, many of them, from bad ideas."[11] Starr is everywhere attentive to contradictions and ambiguities, to the ways in which California dreams bear with them the seeds of their own undoing, and to the rekindling of hope in the ashes of defeat. Such is the rhythm of regional history, the recurrent swing back and forth between positive and negative poles, hopes engendered and sometimes realized, sometimes frustrated, along the western margin of the continent.

The second volume in the series, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era*, published in 1985, is quite similar to the first in general approach. Though the scene shifts from northern to southern California, and to such "enterprises as politics, business, banking, and agriculture," Starr's attention remains fixed on "the imaginative and symbolic aspects of experience" which form "the building blocks of identity."[12] Once again the regional story unfolds in a series of brief, representative lives (of Helen Hunt Jackson, Harrison Gray Otis, Charles Fletcher Lummis, William Randolph Hearst, and D. W. Griffith, among many others) interspersed with sections on leading developments in the arts and architecture, now supplemented by discussions of land development, agriculture (oranges and grapes), city planning, A. P. Giannini's Bank of America, and the advent of Progressivism. Necessarily more wide-ranging and therefore perhaps less integrated than its predecessor, *Inventing the Dream* is nonetheless a compelling account of a region's self-invention. Jackson K. Putnam properly applauds Starr for skillfully shifting the scene of his narrative from north to south, thereby transcending "notorious sectional antipathies."[13] Aptly enough in a study that traces California's rise to "a fixed place in the collective daydream of America," the book ends with a chapter on Hollywood.[14]

Los Angeles remains at the center of Starr's attention in his third volume, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (1990). "This is a book," he declares, "about design, construction, and identity, whether in aqueducts, architecture, gardens, city-plans, transportation systems, hotels, studio sets, symphony orchestras, or hydroelectric grids"—about how, in short, "Americans in Southern California materialized or acted out in material forms their individual and collective aspirations."[15] Almost inevitably, Starr begins with water—the Imperial Valley, the Owens River project, and Hetch Hetchy—turns next to the suburbs, then to the automobile, oil and other industries, and finally to the people of the region, their buildings, and their literary enterprises. Ever upbeat and optimistic, he emphasizes the "exuberance, prosperity, growth, and heightened prospects" of pre-Depression Los Angeles.[16] Despite a shortage of relevant belles lettres, and though it lacks—as Robert Winter has observed—the strong interpretive edge that Carey McWilliams brought to many of the same materials,[17] Starr's story is richly varied and wonderfully told.

It is testimony to the strength of Starr's optimism that it endures in *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California*, published in 1996. Hope springs in large part from the spectacle of human resilience and creativity in times of grave adversity, but also from the historian's marked inclination to view the political history of the period as symbolic drama—what he describes as the "acting out of Left/Right—fascist/Communist mimesis."[18] This highly polarized, rather literary approach serves to distance and buffer the harsher strains of Depression discord. As ever, the drama features a fascinating cast of representative characters, among them Denis Kearney, Burnette Haskell, Charlotte Anita Whitney, Harry Bridges, Upton Sinclair, Artie Samish, Tom Mooney, and Dorothea Lange. Major events—the San Francisco General Strike of 1934, the Salinas Val-

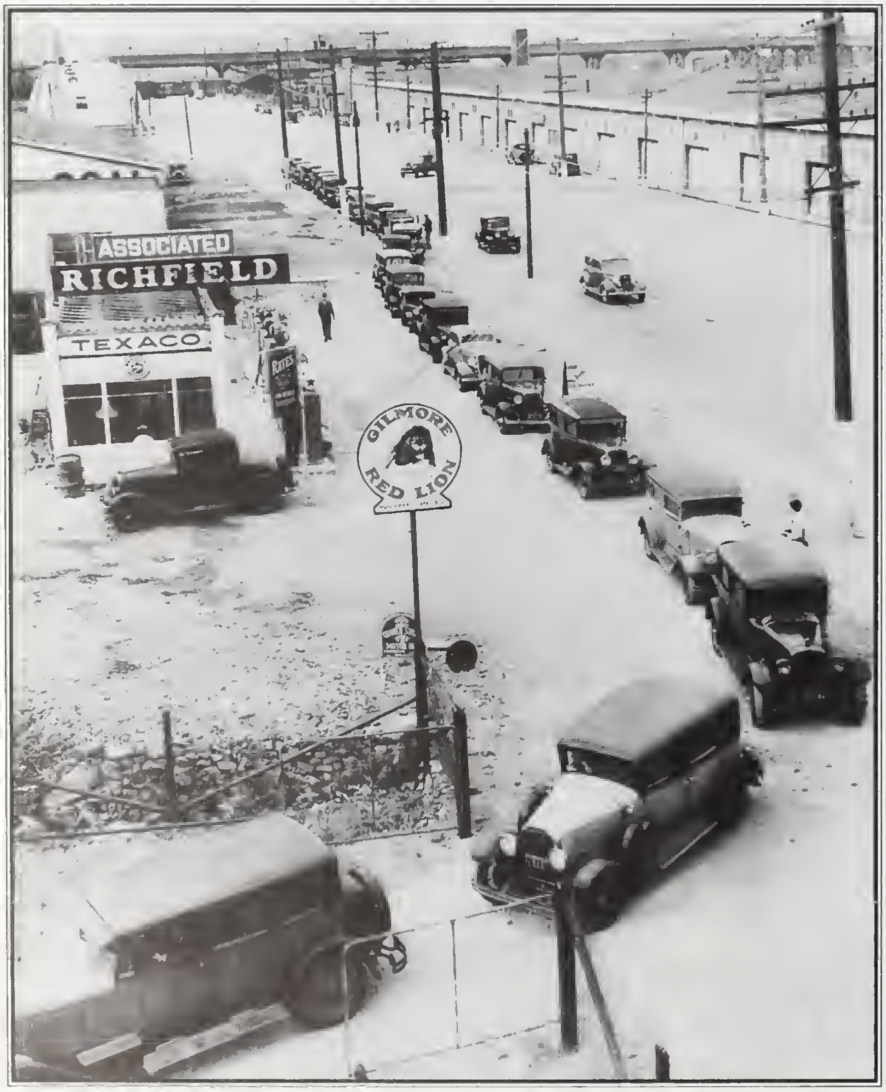
NEXT DRINKING WATER
128 MILES
NEXT RADIATOR WATER
42 MILES
STATE DEPARTMENT
OF
HEALTH

A woman surveying a sign for distant water supplies, California desert, ca. 1920s. The state's semi-arid climate has required almost all major urban and agricultural improvements to develop large-scale projects to store and distribute water, including the massive Imperial Valley irrigation works, Los Angeles's Owens Valley aqueduct, and San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy project, all completed in the early twentieth century. Such immense intrusions into the natural waterscape underpinned economic and population growth and cultural development, particularly in the southern part of the state. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California.*

ley lettuce workers' strike two years later, and Sinclair's EPIC campaign—are also treated by synecdoche, as representative of larger historical patterns. Finally, Hoover Dam, the Golden Gate Bridge, and the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island, vividly evoked, are advanced as heroic symbols of human recovery, industrial renewal, and the vast therapeutic benefits of New Deal public works.[19]

In *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (1997), the most recent addition to the series, the sheer volume and variety of materials begin to strain Starr's genius for integration. He is acutely aware of the problem, admitting at the outset that his method—the symbolic interpretation of people and events—has risks, among them "the temptation to succumb to variety for its own sake." He responds with the hope that his "encyclopedic narrative," because it is "properly structured," will "suggest the fullness, the complexity, [and] the interrelatedness of human culture in its personal and social vitality."[20] In the early chapters, which feature fascinating sections on tourism, college towns, Yehudi Menuhin, Big Sur and San Simeon, Einstein at Cal Tech, and the Hale Telescope on Mount Palomar, the larger continuity of the narrative is sometimes a bit blurred. Subsequent chapters on San Diego, San Francisco, and Los Angeles are much more clearly related, and especially impressive as reasoned ripostes to assaults by such famous critics as Edmund Wilson. Discussions of regional architecture, photography, filmmaking, and literature are as ever Starr's strong suit, and fall quite clearly into the developing narrative line. A closing section on "War and Rumors of War" juxtaposes the tragic extermination of the California Indians with the mass wartime migration to Los Angeles of German and Austrian émigrés, many of them Jews in flight from Nazi persecution. Fully acknowledging the dark side of his story, Starr rounds to an affirmation of California as sanctuary and promised land. "When the war was over and Europe was rebuilt," he concludes, the émigrés found themselves, "together with their children and their children's children, still sojourning beneath the palm trees of this sunny southern latitude. Why return? They were already home."[21]

Starr's optimism, his characteristic discovery of hope in the wake of catastrophe, of redemption as the inevitable sequel to sin, serves as a window on what I have described as the religious foundation of his historiography. The dream-driven cycle of sin and redemption is boldly manifest in California, his books suggest, because the place is an enriched environment for human aspiration. Dreams have flourished in California as in no other place in recent memory—though of course the example of colonial New England looms large in the national background. "When they were operating at their best," Starr writes, the California pioneers imagined themselves citizens of "a grand and shining commonwealth, a Pacific City on a Hill," a chosen place where "the American people would come to know themselves in a special way."[22] To be sure, the dream flows in many channels, some of them perverse, some selfish, some flatly loony. But whatever else it "was, good or bad," he insists, California "was charged



One of the defining events of the Great Depression, San Francisco's General Strike of 1934, started by the Longshoremen's Union protesting low wages and unfair hiring practices on the city's docks, slowed the city's business, as the strike spread from one class of worker to another. With gasoline supplies practically exhausted by reduced truck deliveries, the city's desperate residents queued up into long lines to buy fuel from the few filling stations still open for business, an eerie foreshadowing of public reaction to serious shortages decades later. *Hearst Newspaper Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

In Kevin Starr's vision of California, the state emerges symbolically as an ultimate American utopia, a "Pacific City on a Hill," where hopes of economic improvement, cultural flowering, and moral uplift have drawn migrants since the days of the Gold Rush. The state has also spawned more than its share of utopian colonies. One of these cooperative groups, the famous Kaweah Colony, founded in the Sierra Nevada's sequoia groves by Burnett Haskell and other San Francisco-area socialists during the 1880s, picnicked at the base of one of the giant trees in 1890. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

with human hope."[23] It is the overflowing abundance of desire, the sheer ceaseless resurgence of hope that stand out in Starr's California. For reasons that his books make clear, this has been a place where human longing, most especially the human longing for perfection—for utopia, for peace, for union with nature, for transcendence—has flourished. In this chorus of human hope we are summoned by Starr to witness the voice of God.

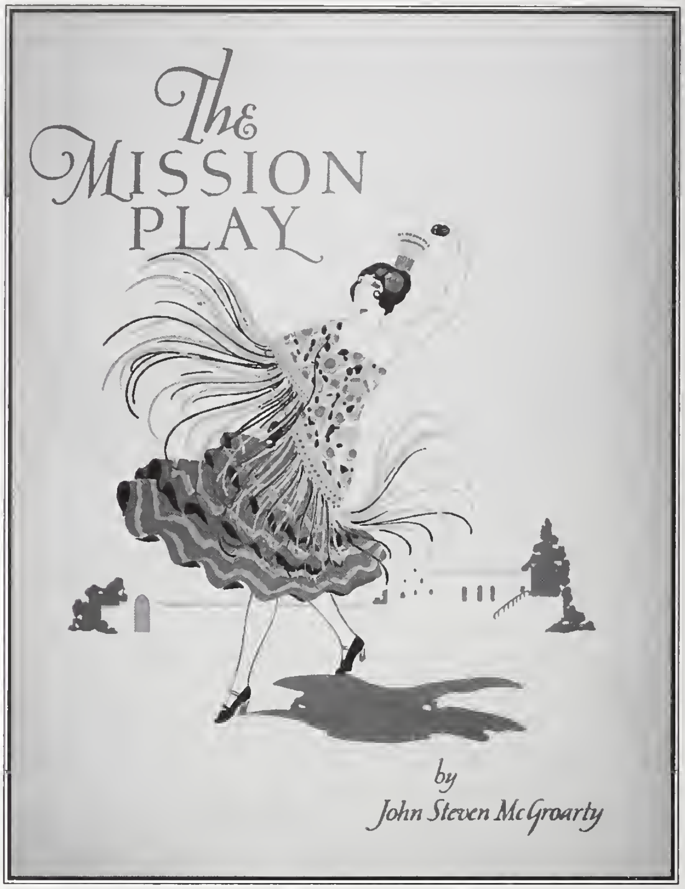
Not surprisingly, the interplay of the human and the divine figures prominently in Starr's intermittent discussions of Christianity in California. For example, he is strongly inclined to view the state's history as an ongoing struggle between Protestants and Roman Catholics, not only for individual souls, but also for cultural preëminence. He makes no secret of his regret that the Protestants have generally had the best of the contest. The conquest, he observes, was fueled by "that perennial American Protestant contempt for the Latin way of life, the origins of which went back to the Reformation."[24] The Protestant ethos, a latter-day regional expression of New England Puritanism, and generally associated with southern California, is in Starr's reckoning a cold, stiff, astringent, and judgmental sensibility, with "repressed ranges of value and emotion."[25] Responsibility for such disagreeables as the conquest of Mexican California by the United States and the San Francisco vigilante movement of the 1850s, both stoutly anti-Catholic, is laid squarely at the door of the Protestants.[26] Protestants are also charged with indifference to the fates of Indians and Mexicans and foreigners generally. "As a matter of imagination and moral feeling—and as a matter of fact—Protestant possession could be restrictive, narrow, harsh; in direct contradiction to the liberating imperatives which pervaded the general sense of Pacific future; in willful defiance of the inevitable cosmopolitanism of the California people, manifest from the start in the international maritime city of San Francisco."[27]

Starr gives repeated attention to the "repressive, even sinister aspects" of the Anglo-American dream of southern California as a sun-drenched Aryan utopia.[28] The evidence of respect for an earlier, Latin cultural presence, though pervasive in the south, is shallow, sentimental, and serves in good part to obscure the unatoned tragedy of conquest. Witness the "grateful Indians, happy as peasants in an Italian opera," who are featured in Helen Hunt Jackson's romantic myth of the missions. No matter "the enforced enclosure of the Indians," Starr complains. "No matter that the Spanish soldiers hunted them in the hills like so much prey and drove them down into the mission compounds like so much cattle. There, in churchly captivity, the majority of them declined—from the syphilis the soldiers gave their women, from the alien work the padres made them do, from the trauma of having their way of life and their tribal places so cruelly taken away."[29]

Starr's featured contrast of Protestant and Catholic cultures takes clear expression in his juxtaposition of two men of the law—Major Horace Bell, author of *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, "the first narrative history in English of Southern California's founding time," with Benjamin Hayes, a circuit court judge who brought a strong regional vision with him to California in 1850. Bell—characterized as "totally Protestant in attitude and tone"—is an aggressive, violent frontiersman with a neurotic attachment to memories of a brutal past. Hayes, by contrast, "thoroughly Catholic, as a matter of both piety and culture," is a small, peace-loving intellectual who labors in life as in learning to foster civilization in the new state. "For Horace Bell," Starr observes, "the law was a staff with which to smite one's enemies, hip and thigh. For Benjamin Hayes, the law was a staff of life, a rod plunged into the dry Southern California earth to point the way away from barbarism."[30]

The Roman Catholic presence in California, as Starr represents it, is broadly Latin and Mediterranean, though also significantly Irish, and forms a warm, compassionate, urbane, vinous, tolerantly cosmopolitan, and richly civilized alternative to the parched culture of Protestantism. Catholics combine "rich spiritualities" and "a high European style" with a responsiveness to "the region's sunlight and call to passionate living."[31] For a brief period the Latin ethos—forgiving, festive, indulgent, with time to spare for the arts, for learning, for abundant good food and wine, and for the sweetness of doing nothing—penetrated and softened the hard edge of invasive Yankee Protestantism. But the Gold Rush put an end to that; in almost no time the indigenous people and cultures gave way before the hectic, heedless grasping after land and wealth that followed. To be sure, the warm flush of Mediterranean Catholicism was still to be felt in California, but never fully and never for long. "Later generations," the historian observes, "would be haunted by its memory."[32] By the time of the Great Depression, the Golden State "was in the main a suburbanized Anglo-American, even Protestant, sort of place."[33] The rich blend of contrasted cultures that California might have achieved had by then been swept away in the relentless Anglo-American tide. "How hauntingly beautiful," Starr laments, "how replete with lost possibilities," that earlier, richer, at once more gentle and more passionate California now seems.[34]

The elegiac strain in Starr's writing arises directly from his sense that the best possible California—a Mediterranean Catholic California—never had a chance. His regret registers in counterpoint with resurgent hope and optimism, these latter almost invariably aligned with his conviction that something of the best past survives in the present and seems likely to flourish in the future. San Francisco, which he describes approvingly as "a distinctively Roman Catholic city," gives a local habitation to such hopefulness.[35] Starr's love of San Francisco, rooted in an enduring vision of its real and potential grandeur, surfaces quite clearly in his novel, *Land's End*.[36] The novel's twin protagonists, Sebastian Collins (1848–1940) and James Norton (1940– ) are Starr's paired alter egos, whose alternating first-person autobiographical narratives serve as outlets for his vast learning and potent historical vision as it stretches from the Gold Rush to the present. The novel is as much a history of San Francisco as it is fiction, and nearly as much Starr's autobiography as it is the life story of his fictional protagonists. It is entirely telling in this regard that Starr was born



The cover of a brochure (ca. 1930) advertising the famous "Mission Play," written by John McGroarty and performed with great pageantry at the Mission San Gabriel for most of the first half of the twentieth century. With enormous impact on public perception of California's history, particularly among school children, no single cultural work better illustrated the shallow, sentimental romanticizing—and misunderstanding—of the state's Spanish and Mexican colonial past. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

in 1940, the year of Collins's death and Norton's birth. He is to be found, in other words, at the intersection of their fictional lives, and, by extension, in their views on his favorite subject, San Francisco.[37]

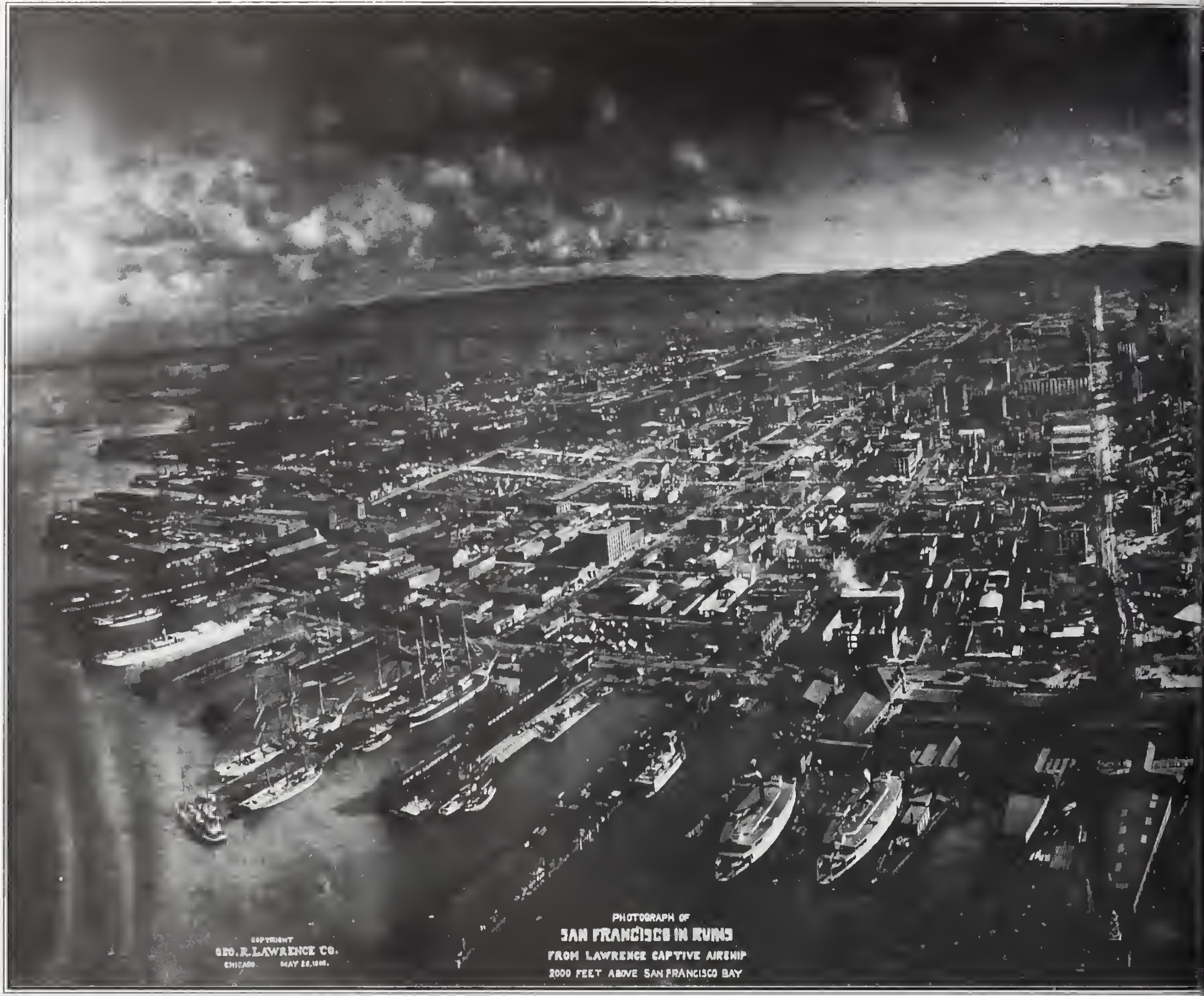
"I only want to be part of San Francisco-in-the-making," Norton declares, tracing his ambition to the influence of Lewis Mumford, "whom I knew when I was a tutor at Cabot House at Harvard." Starr was also a tutor at Harvard, and while there came under the sway of Mumford's thinking on cities. Thus we may be confident that Norton speaks for the novelist when he goes on that "the grandeur and sweep of Mumford's vision linked up in my mind with what San Francisco should be, with what, in fact, people like James Duval Phelan . . . wanted it to be: a great city in the grand manner of Paris, Rome, Florence."[38] Predictably enough, Norton finds that he shares his regional vision with Sebastian Collins. "That is my deepest, most persistent image of California," he declares, "Sebastian Collins's California: a daydream of Mediterranean Catholic Europe."[39] For his part, Collins admits to an ideal "of grandeur, of joy in creation, somehow tied up with the ethos of Mediterranean Catholic culture—a sunny dream of Italy and the South."[40] Meanwhile, Norton's model San Franciscan, James Duval Phelan, is also Starr's. Phelan appears prominently in *Americans and the California Dream*, where his Irish heritage, Jesuit training, cosmopolitanism, dedication to the arts, moral integrity, and civic commitment (he was mayor of San Francisco from 1897 to 1902) are celebrated. "The Roman Catholic side of his imagination," Starr argues, "made Phelan sensitive to the cities of Southern Europe, Rome most of all. An Italianate quality, sun-splashed and baroque, would ever cling to Phelan's vision of the ideal San Francisco."[41]

Phelan's cultural and stylistic proclivities are mirrored in those of Sebastian Collins. "I've always been too obsessively, baroquely if you will, Roman Catholic for my own good," he concedes. "I've always loved the baroque."[42] Collins subsequently elaborates an historical and religious framework for his esthetics. "I am . . . a bit of a secret Jesuit," he acknowledges,

> Which is to say, I revere the sustaining ideals of the Company of Jesus: its reverence for the traditions of the Latin Christian West, above all else, its passion for the classics and humane learning. I share also the Incarnational worldliness of the Jesuits, for as do they, I love the world in all its sensate variety and beauty; but as they do also, I nurture an awareness that all flesh, all creation, has been transformed by Christ's Incarnation into a triumphant eucharistic hymn. . . . I do love the glory of the world . . . but I also love God's glory. That, after all, is at the core of the baroque style which is also the semi-official style of the Jesuits: glory—the elaboration outwards of an inward light and a radiant energy, as from the sun; only this Sun is the Risen Christ, now the source of energy for all creation. . . . The impetus behind the Jesuits and the baroque style is in sum the ambitions of the Counter Reformation: the militant reconquest of Protestant Europe by an embattled Roman Catholic orthodoxy that had reformed itself around an Incarnational nexus of spirit and flesh, transformed by glory and disciplined optimism into something assertive, grand, alive with the radiance of both this world and the transcendent realm of spirit. Flesh, says the baroque (the Jesuit style), needs spirit for radiance, and spirit, in turn, needs flesh for expressive delight.[43]

Here, then, in the Incarnational theology of the Counter Reformation, grounded in the traditional Jesuit cultivation of learning and the arts, drenched in the radiating sunlight of the trinity, and expressing itself in a passionate, optimistic love of the world, is the intellectual underpinning of Kevin Starr's historiography. Little wonder that the Mediterranean analogy looms so large in his understanding of California, and that sunlight is the dominating ingredient in what he takes to be the essentials for the good life. (Little wonder, too, that Collins and Norton, ardent lovers of books, art, music, women and, above all, food and wine, are both inclined to corpulence!) "The universe streams toward the Risen Christ as a river to the sea," Collins reflects. "In the fullness of time, the Body of Christ shall become the totality of creation." It is everywhere suggested in Starr's writing that California, sun-drenched and abundant, is that special, final place toward which the gathered, overflowing goodness of God's creation tends. Here the human and the divine seem destined to unite. As Collins argues, "There is already underway in human history a unification of flesh through marriage, copulation, parenthood, and something more elusive to understand—a growing communal, noetic bond being formed through culture and institutions, including, above all, the city in time, the substance and symbol of our best possible communal self."[44]

Proceeding as it does from this richly affirmative theological background, Starr's rather rigid polarization of Protestant and Catholic comes more clearly into focus. In his view, traditional Protestant theology, with its emphasis on the supreme majesty of God, tends to alienate the human from the divine. Because the sacred is remote from nature, the world may suffer disenchantment; believers may find


COPYRIGHT
GEO. R. LAWRENCE CO.
CHICAGO. MAY 28,1906.
PHOTOGRAPH OF
SAN FRANCISCO IN RUINS
FROM LAWRENCE CAPTIVE AIRSHIP
2000 FEET ABOVE SAN FRANCISCO BAY

Above: Panoramic photograph of San Francisco in ruins after the great Earthquake and Fire of April 1906. Ironically, the city that planners and visionaries like Mayor Phelan and architect Daniel H. Burnham hoped to modernize and beautify was destroyed within a matter of days. Taken from the Lawrence Captive Airship from two thousand feet above San Francisco Bay, looking west at the Ferry Building, the city's waterfront, and down Market Street, this remarkable image represents one of the early classics of aerial photography. *California Historical Society.*

Left: James Duval Phelan, mayor of San Francisco, 1897–1902, who aspired to beautify the city with classical design, landscaping, and architecture. *Courtesy Montalvo Association.*

themselves thrown back for guidance on the fitful and notoriously ambiguous inner manifestations of the spirit. By contrast, the Incarnational perspective on experience is awash in light and hope. Because the creation is infused with the divine, believers experience the warm proximity of grace. Sin is real, to be sure; but human nature is essentially good, forgiveness is always possible, and redemption is within the reach of the faithful.[45]

Sebastian Collins's resilience, optimism, generosity of spirit, and zest for life—a zest leading at times to baroque excess—is the direct expression of his belief that "all flesh, all creation, has been transformed by Christ's Incarnation into a triumphant eucharistic hymn." The same qualities, I want to argue, are amply on display in Kevin Starr's distinctive historiography. In his evocations of the majesty of place, as in his attention to human aspirations and their copious expression, Starr strives to capture in words the grand music of the sacred as it is manifest in the world. Not surprisingly, he finds that life is good, deeply and broadly and profoundly good, especially in California. People are summoned in such a world to a glorious feast for the mind and body; they are invited to celebrate with gusto the abundance that God has set before them. Hence the ceaseless California dream.

Because the spirit is pervasive, creation opens itself to the inspired play of the historian's imagination. All is symbolic, and all symbols are inherently sacred. Though the variety of materials open to the historian's analysis is virtually unlimited, all lines of narrative lead to the same, unifying affirmation of human striving, the renewal of hope, and the promise of redemption. As often as not, history is the record of the failures and catastrophes brought on by stupidity and greed and hatred and violence—by fallings away from the spirit, which Starr does not hesitate to call sin. But such things invariably bring him back to repentance, atonement, rec-

Varying church architecture in early California reflected the conflicting New England Protestant and Spanish Mediterranean Catholic religious traditions, which Kevin Starr has identified as an important theme in the state's cultural history. Right: Centerville Presbyterian Church, built in stages in the New England meeting house style during the 1850s and 1860s, and destroyed by neglect and fire in the early 1990s, in southern Alameda County, across the bay and south of San Francisco. Photograph, ca. 1980. *Editorial office photograph.* Below: San Francisco's Spanish-era mission, Mission San Francisco (built in the 1790s) and St. Francis Basilica (built after the 1906 Earthquake and Fire in Spanish Baroque style), as photographed about 1935. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photograph Collection, Department of Special Collections, USC.*

onciliation, forgiveness, restored hope, and bright new beginnings. None of this is facile in Starr. Precisely because they miss out on the feast, because they retreat from or obstruct California's great promise, the failures and tragedies of his narrative register with special gravity. "In absolute moral terms," he reflects, "the loss of one single Indian child, much less the near-total destruction of an entire people, is not worth an affirming view of the Gold Rush. In absolute terms, the destruction of the environment was not worth the gold taken from it." History is heavy with woe, Starr concedes; and yet there is light as well, sufficient to return us "to a present-tense affirmation of the total past, even its tragic dimension."[46]

The Incarnational perspective, ever mindful of divine sacrifice and compassion, breeds generosity of spirit. Starr is drawn to the work of Oscar Lewis because it displays "kindliness, a sympathy for the human condition, that perfectly expresses the essential *anima naturaliter christiana* of the man."[47] Starr is moved by a similar spirit. Hence his tolerance for human excess. For Sebastian Collins, life at its best is joyful and passionate; he loves all creation as it is transformed by Christ's incarnation into something rich and grand. Little wonder that such gusto, brought on by the splendid abundance of California, should at times lead him astray. Harder to forgive, of course, but part nonetheless of the great drama of redemption, are those potently consequential sins that bleed out into the lives of others. The worst of these for Starr is perhaps the United States's conquest of California itself, which tragically obstructed the peaceful union of Catholic and Protestant, American and European, that California might have been host to. "What a chance for redemption," he laments, "from the American burden of bloody and cynical conquest! What a chance to enrich the cultural complexity of the American Union!"[48] Conquest foreclosed the fruition of that richly imbricated urban civilization, cosmopolitan and tolerant, Mediterranean in style, redolent of Rome, and therefore baroque in cultural abundance and Catholic in spirit, which is Starr's beau ideal, and which has most nearly materialized in San Francisco. "Whatever I love about my native city," Sebastian Collins observes, "is whatever there is in San Francisco that has learned the lesson of Rome."[49]

A closing caveat. Kevin Starr is in no sense a doctrinaire historian, and the deeper significance that I have ascribed to his work is never systematically developed or thematized in his writing. There is nothing of the evangelical here. It is much more subtle than that—much more subtle, doubtless, than I have made it seem. Starr is conspicuously short on theory, admitting that "the procedures at work in [his narratives] are simple, self-evident, and totally personal. After extensive investigation," he writes, "I have isolated to my tentative satisfaction the story line I believe is most expressive of those elusive inner realities [i.e., California dreams]—in a person or a social movement—that can be glimpsed through a glass darkly (or brightly, for that matter, this being California) but never fully quantified."[50] The Pauline tag is of course perfectly apposite, referring as it does to traces of the spirit as they surface obliquely, both in time, and in the inspired historical record that Starr has been called to compose and to set before us. But these are emphatically *traces*, sparks and glimmerings of the sacred glimpsed reassuringly here and there along the way, but never confronted fully or directly. And so, quite appropriately, they appear in Starr's narratives, traces of the sacred as they surface to the view in the lives and works of Americans in California. It is a subtle feature of his work, an aggregate of tone and emphasis, of lexical nuance and thematic drift, of brimming delight in all creation, of pervasive compassion and generosity of spirit, of optimism and recurrent hope. Above all, perhaps, it is in Starr's distinctive prose style—grand, rolling, latinate, in a word, baroque, straining to evoke in language the glory of creation. CHS

*See notes beginning on page 304.*

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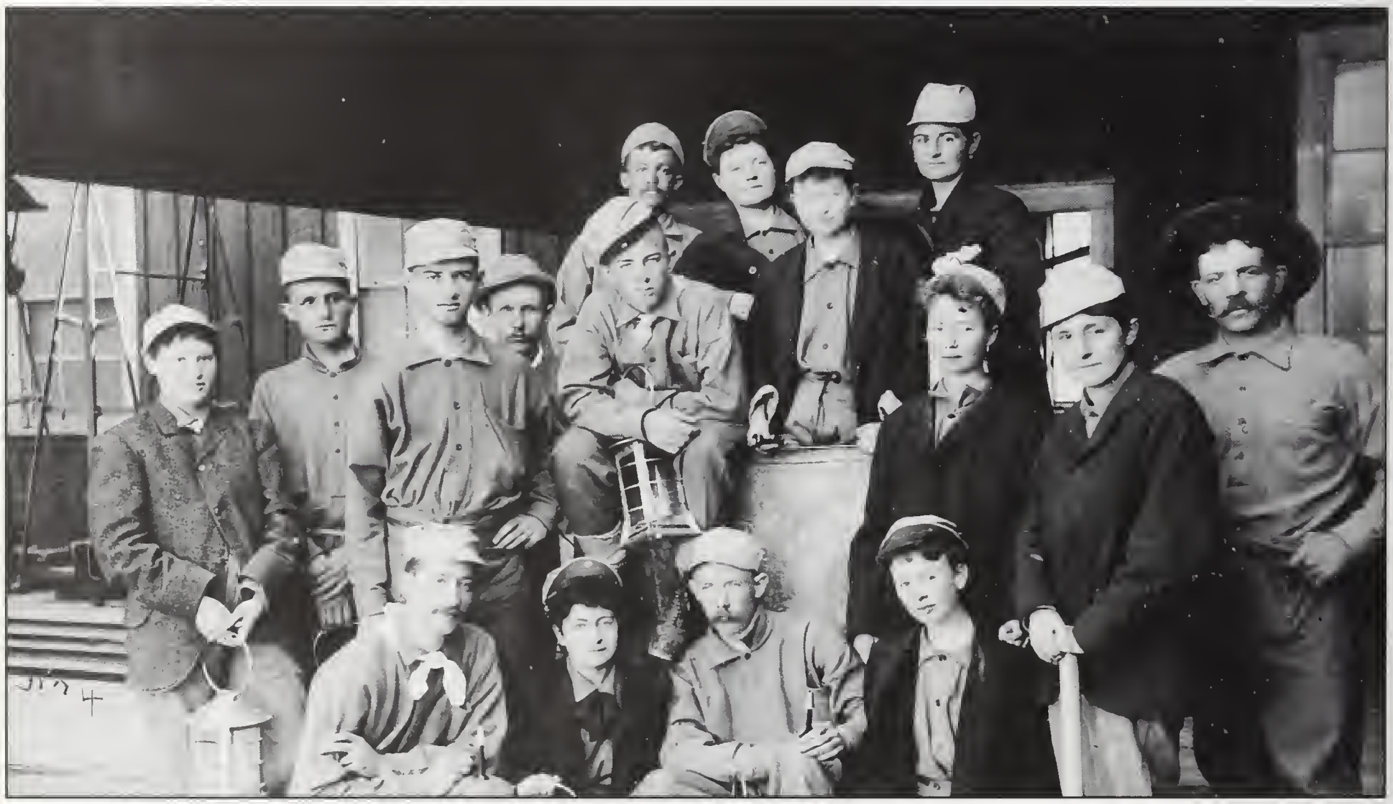
*Forrest G. Robinson is professor of American studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. His books on the American West include* Wallace Stegner *(with Margaret Robinson),* In Bad Faith: The Dynamics of Deception in Mark Twain's America, *and* Having it Both Ways: Self-Subversion in Western Popular Classics. *He edited* The Cambridge Companion to Mark Twain *and* The New Western History: The Territory Ahead.



Named for developer Henry Comstock, the Comstock Lode in Virginia City, Nevada, yielded about $400 million in silver and gold between 1859 and 1880. At Virginia City, a group of young men and women posed in typical dress of "miners," on June 11, 1892, more than a decade after the city's heyday had passed. *California Historical Society, Mrs. L. B. Mackey Collection, FN–31852.*

# REVIEWS

*Edited by James J. Rawls*

## *The Silver Seekers: They Tamed California's Last Frontier.*

By Remi Nadeau. (Santa Barbara: Crest Publishers, 1999, xii, 328 pp., $17.95 paper.)

## *Last Bonanza Kings: The Bourns of San Francisco.*

By Ferol Egan. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1998, x, 289 pp., $37.95 cloth.)

## *The Roar and the Silence: A History of Virginia City and the Comstock Lode.*

By Ronald M. James. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1998, xxiii, 355 pp., $27.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Ralph Mann, *associate professor of history at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and author of* After the Gold Rush.

These three recent books attest to the continuing fascination with gold and silver mining and, more importantly, how they shaped California and Nevada society and economic growth. The first, Remi Nadeau's *The Silver Seekers*, introduces a popular audience to silver mining in California east of the Sierra. It traces the discovery, boom, and collapse of such camps as Bodie, Panamint, Cerro Gordo, and Calico, emphasizing colorful personalities, violent episodes and, in general, the excitement of mining precious metals. An appendix includes a brief history of silver, a lexicon of miners' jargon, descriptions of the miners' weapons of choice, and instructions on how to reach the townsites. This is familiar material, if well told, but Nadeau's accounts of how the fates of silver towns were controlled by the vicissitudes of capital, and especially by access to transportation, gives more substance to these stories than is often found in popularized mining history.

Ferol Egan's *Last Bonanza Kings* recounts the careers of the two William Bourns, father and son, whose investments in mining underwrote later investments that literally structured San Francisco. Arriving in 1850 in the wake of his sea captain father-in-law George Chase, and already an experienced and successful shipping merchant, William Bourn I built on Chase's grasp of the California market to enter the local shipping and commercial banking businesses. When the transition from placer to hardrock mining created a demand for capital, Bourn was there to invest in several California mines, including the very productive Empire Mine in Grass Valley. Empire gold was the basis for family wealth through the next generation. Bourn's financial connections, especially after the opening of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board in 1862, gave him early information on strikes in places like Nevada's White Pine district, and returns from mining ventures allowed him to invest in utilities, real estate, and insurance. After his early death, his son, William Bourn II, returned from Cambridge University to take on the family businesses. The son's fortunes turned on his commitment to the Empire Mine; he put all the family resources into ever-deeper shafts after most experts believed the vein had played out, and he was consistently rewarded by new discoveries of gold. Like his father, Bourn reinvested mining capital in San Francisco's needs for gas, water, electricity, and fire insurance, and his hold on city utilities gave rise to bruising battles with city government and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. More detail on his business practices and more background on city politics and economics would have made Bourn's role in San Francisco clearer. Not uncritical of the Bourns, Egan ultimately defends their motives, their business acumen, and their vision of city growth, while celebrating their style of living in loving detail that provides an unusually complete picture of how wealth was enjoyed in early San Francisco.

Ronald M. James's *The Roar and the Silence* goes to the source of much of San Francisco's wealth: Virginia City and its environs. Carefully placing the story of the Comstock Lode within its physical setting, its place in international economics and society, its role in mine innovation, and its own persistent mythology, James has produced the most complete available study of a single mine district. Starting with the familiar stories of "Old Pancake" Comstock and "Old Virginney" Finney and the "annoying blue stuff" that turned out to be silver ore, James analyzes how their myth was created and why they acted as they did. The book traces the story of Virginia City through accounts of how technological problems of silver smelting and deep shaft mining were solved, how San Francisco bankers seized control of the Comstock only to lose it to local miners like James Fair and John Mackay, how unions and Sinophobia thrived in the midst of unprecedented mining wealth, how the multi-ethnic mine and mill communities fared during good days and bad, to Virginia City's current survival as a tourist destination. James carefully examines every aspect of Comstock life, sometimes with statistics, sometimes through architecture and engineering, and always placing it within its environmental, economic, and mythological contexts. The Comstock now has a modern study worthy of its place in mining history.

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

## *A World Transformed: Firsthand Accounts of California Before the Gold Rush.*

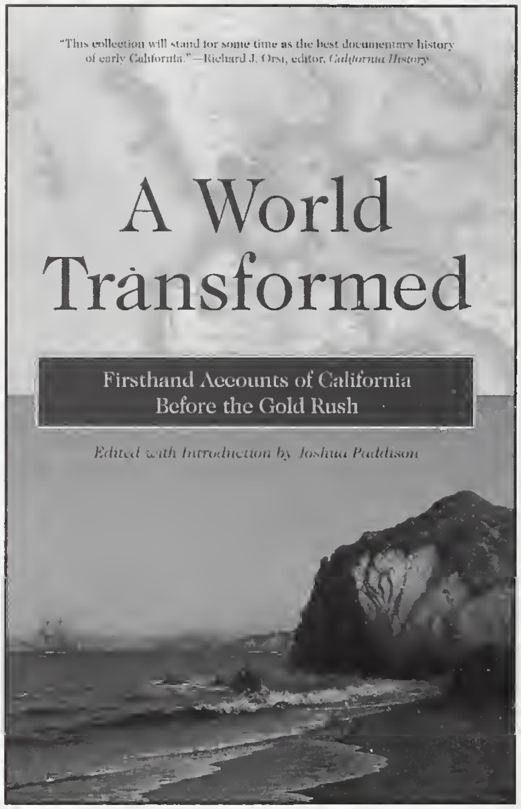
Edited with introduction by Joshua Paddison. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1999, xxiii, 343 pp., $16.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Douglas Monroy, *professor of history at The Colorado College and author of* Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California, *and* Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression.

This exquisite book takes us to the distant past of California, a place in time indeed far, far away. It offers twelve skillfully excerpted accounts of a variety of explorers, mission priests, traders, and adventurers who sojourned in California during the times before the American conquest. We have presented to us Father Juan Crespí's optimism about the prospects of evangelizing the Indians, and Father Vicente Santa María's awe and fear of the aboriginal peoples of the San Francisco Bay area. George Vancouver's disparaging account of 1792 exposes his disdain for the missions and their charges. Nikolai Rezanov and Georg von Langsdorff reveal more about European explorers' scorn for the natives as well as the desperation that lack of supplies begot such intrepid voyagers. Frederick Beechey's chronicle is rather pedestrian, but is remarkably candid about the missions, and Richard Henry Dana's and Sir George Simpson's accounts reveal the Anglo-Protestant disdain for Catholic, pastoral California that presaged the American conquest. These and the other narratives provide the reader with the challenge of discerning when and where the authors can be relied on for accuracy and when they are more valuable for what the accounts reveal about the writers' biases and cultural presuppositions.

Joshua Paddison's editorial comments provide an excellent guide both to the documents presented and the historical background of California from 1769 to 1848. It is an always difficult, and often politically charged, task of selecting which accounts to include and then which parts of them to incorporate. Paddison has chosen with admirable judiciousness, though certainly an account by one of the Californios themselves would have provided more cultural balance and another very important point of view. The illustrations are illuminating as well, and the book is produced with the fine quality we have come to expect from Heyday Books.

Early California history has thoroughly and finally escaped from both the heroic mission narratives and from the halcyon tales of the dons and their ranchos. It is a much more complicated, amazing, and troubling history than all of that, of course. Now readers can read this early history in the words of contemporary chroniclers with the help of the synthetic and straightforward guidance of Joshua Paddison.


"This collection will stand for some time as the best documentary history of early California." —Richard J. Orsi, editor, California History
A World Transformed
Firsthand Accounts of California Before the Gold Rush
Edited with Introduction by Joshua Paddison

*Courtesy Heyday Books.*

## *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen, and Vigilantes.*

By John Boessenecker. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1999, xiii, 367 pp., $30.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* Robert M. Senkewicz, *professor of history at Santa Clara University, author of* Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco *and co-editor of* The History of Alta California . . . by Antonio María Osio.

This is John Boessenecker's fourth book on law enforcement and lawlessness in nineteenth-century California. The first three books included two biographies and a general work with a pronounced biographical focus. This work, on the other hand, is more topically organized, and is a wide-ranging investigation of violence in gold–rush California, from 1848 to the beginning of the Civil War.

The work is divided into thematic chapters. Some examine various organized or quasi-organized forms of violence such as vigilantism, racial violence, and squatter riots. Others deal with phenomena such as dueling, prizefighting, and gunfighting. Two chapters toward the end of the work are devoted to the officers and institutions of law enforcement.

This volume has many strengths. Readers of Boessenecker's earlier works will not be surprised by his lively and vigorous prose, nor by his eye for the telling anecdote. The books rest upon extensive primary research, sometimes in off-the-beaten-track local museums and repositories, which the author has mined to good effect. This book contains accounts of more episodes of violent behavior of all types during the Gold Rush than appear in any other work. Some relatively unknown incidents, such as an 1848 killing of ten people by a gang at Mission San Miguel, and a spectacular 1854 gunfight in El Dorado County that resulted in the deaths of ten would-be robbers, are recounted in gripping detail. Within each of the chapters, the narrative is handled well, and, in many cases, the biographical sketches are superbly done.

While the individual narrative accounts are well done, the book as a whole suffers from a certain analytical imprecision. "Violence" is never really defined, and the overall thrust of the work is not entirely clear. In the first chapter, the author says that he wants to ask if the gold–rush culture was "the precursor of our modern culture of violence." In the last chapter he argues that the gold–rush frontier was one of the most violent locales in all of American history. However, the first question is not really addressed systematically anywhere in the book, and the last argument is not accorded the space or depth that would be necessary for its complete development. At times, Boessenecker seems to be saying that California violence was important because it set the scene for western violence; at other times he seems to be saying that gold–rush violence set the tone for the modern image of western violence. One or both of these arguments may be true, but neither is buttressed with the kind of evidence or analysis that would make them convincing.

The volume also suffers from a lack of context. While the author is aware that the Californios were in the process of being dispossessed of a good amount of their land during the decade he chronicles, that awareness rarely intrudes into the narrative chapters in which Californio or Mexican figures such as Joaquín Murieta appear. Likewise, while Boessenecker explicitly refers to widespread racism during the Gold Rush, once he starts telling his stories, that consideration fades. So, while he concedes that "many Hispanics were willing to harbor" outlaws, he declines to investigate the social significance of that collusion in banditry on the very violence he is discussing. The result is an unnecessarily truncated treatment of an important part of gold–rush violence.

These analytical and contextual difficulties mean that the book tells us much less about gold–rush California than it could have, given the obvious depth of the author's research and the zest with which he tells the story. Still, it presents us with a very fine slice of gold–rush life, and it is an important contribution in the ongoing investigation of gold–rush society.

## *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California.*

By Steven Stoll. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, xix, 273 pp., $35.00 cloth.)

*Reviewed by* A. C. W. Bethel, *professor of philosophy at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo.*

This book is a well-researched, thoroughly documented, and engagingly written account of California's intensive and highly specialized fruit industry from the 1880s to the 1930s. Stoll contrasts two late-nineteenth-century visions of agricultural conservation: On the one hand, feeding an increasingly urbanized America demanded increased productivity from a fixed amount of good land. On the other hand, this drive for agricultural efficiency was at odds with the romantic vision of farmers living in intimate contact with the land and working with a diversity of crops and animals according to seasonal rhythms. Stoll's heart is with the second vision, and he argues that California's highly efficient fruit industry has created new problems even as it has solved old ones.

Stoll explains how California's agricultural landscape was reshaped to offer advantages to fruit growers that offset the disadvantage of geographical remoteness. Developers installed irrigation systems and sold subdivided land on installments in order to attract purchasers of modest means. Government agricultural stations supported the fruit industry with soil and climate studies. And a science-based pesticide industry evolved to combat heavy losses caused by specialized insect infestations.

Orchards offered few economies of scale, but centralized packing houses had marketing advantages. Later, cooperative associations that were organized around a specific species of fruit obtained a seller's advantage when bargaining with railroads and wholesalers, and their advertising campaigns created new demand that absorbed ever-larger production. In their own interest, growers agreed to uniform fruit grades that were soon backed by state legislation.

Highly seasonal, hard, dangerous orchard labor attracted only those unable to find other work. To keep wages low, orchardists routinely advertised for more workers than they could employ, and provided inadequate housing and sanitation, which persisted despite progressive-era state government efforts to establish housing standards. Stoll could have provided a fuller picture by drawing on economist and government investigator Frederick Mills's firsthand account of working in a packing shed in 1914. He found the work exhausting, but hardened to it, and he was treated more fairly than at a road construction camp later. (See Gregory R. Woirol, "Rustling Oranges in Lindsay," *California History* 62 [Summer 1983]: 82–97.)

Stoll argues that industrialized, market-oriented agriculture expands regardless of demand. To maintain profits when commodity prices fell after World War I, growers strove for greater efficiency and larger orchards, but this unneeded agricultural

FERRY.
BERKELEY
SACRAMENTO.
LOS ANGE

Chinese immigrants exit the Ferry Building in San Francisco, ca. 1878. Chinese men and women found economic opportunities but also legal discrimination in California during the late nineteenth century. State law denied Chinese Americans the right to testify against whites until 1872, and the federal government barred further immigration in a series of Chinese Exclusion Acts in 1882, 1892, and 1902. *California Historical Society, FN-23172.*

production could only drive prices down further. Yet this expansion was promoted by large-scale government irrigation projects on the Colorado River and in the Central Valley.

Stoll also thinks that the lack of crop diversity invites sudden, uncontrollable losses to pests and diseases. Here his treatment ought to be better balanced. That India now raises only ten varieties of rice, presumably scientifically bred, instead of thirty thousand varieties as formerly, says nothing about the productivity, robustness, and adaptability of those ten varieties; nor do agronomists ignore the problems of genetic uniformity. Stoll sees genuine evils, dangers, and losses, but he doesn't ask, "Compared to what?" He has, however, written a first-rate analytical account of the formative years of California's orchard economy.

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## *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act.*

By Andrew Gyory. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998, xii, 354 pp., $49.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Him Mark Lai, *Chinese Historical Society of America, author of* From Overseas Chinese to Chinese American: History of the Development of Chinese American Society During the Twentieth Century *(in Chinese), and co-author of* Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Detained on Angel Island.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first law passed by Congress to bar the immigration of an entire ethnic group based on racial and social class criteria. At the turn of the century, historian Mary Coolidge, in her influential work *Chinese Immigration*, laid the responsibility on the anti-Chinese militancy of California labor that forced politicians in that state, where both major political parties were of approximately equal strength, to adopt anti-Chinese platforms to woo voters in closely contested elections. Both major political parties eventually advocated Chinese exclusion on the national level in order to win California, a pivotal state in national politics. Both Elmer Sandmeyer and Alexander Saxton accepted her thesis, but refined it further.

Coolidge's thesis was challenged by Stuart Miller's *Unwelcomed Immigrant,* which credited racism in the national labor movement that gained expression in national legislation.

In his work, Gyory makes a detailed examination of events leading up to the passage of the 1882 Exclusion Act, and concludes that Coolidge's and Miller's analyses were flawed and simplistic. He demonstrates that the unfolding of events was a complex interplay of racist sentiments, the labor-capital struggle, and political opportunism. He shows that although Denis Kearney and the California Workingmen's Party had a strong following in the state and sympathizers nationwide, many workingmen east of the Rockies were also influenced by the belief in the common interest of the laboring class regardless of racial background. Thus, national labor did not accept Kearney's racist message to exclude Chinese. Up to the end of the 1870s, even though there were racist sentiments among workers, national labor consistently limited its opposition to imported contract labor only, but refrained from advocating a ban on Chinese immigration. Rather, it was Senator James G. Blaine, in a move in 1876 designed to further his presidential ambitions and simultaneously divert and defuse labor's growing demands to improve working conditions, who first assigned to Chinese the role of sacrificial lamb by advocating exclusion of the Chinese. Other politicians followed his lead and exclusion became a national issue driven by Washington. It was not until around 1880, when exclusion was all but inevitable, that national labor adopted the cause as their own. Thus national labor, far from driving this issue, really played only a passive role in a political drama conceived by Washington politicians.

Exploitation and subversion of popular sentiments by politicians to further their own agendas has occurred time and again in history. Gyory's well-documented analysis is a valuable addition to historical literature leading to better understanding of this complex process.

## *Los Angeles: Globalization, Urbanization, and Social Struggles.*

By Roger Keil. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998, xxxvii, 295 pp., $32.50 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Andrew Rolle, *research scholar, the Huntington Library, and author of* Los Angeles: From Pueblo to City of the Future *(2d ed., 1995) and* California: A History *(5th ed., 1998).*

The printed blurb by the publishers of this book describes the City of the Angels as the "the globalized Hollywood Dream, home to sunshine, palm trees, big cars, and beautiful people. Los Angeles—the ultimate dystopia, the city which brought us race riots, gridlock, sprawl, driveby killings and . . . the stuff of science-fiction nightmares." This is hardly an endorsement of an otherwise reasonably serious book.

Los Angeles is currently subjected to repeated trendy interpretations, usually by non-residents who heap scorn upon the city. Only some of their observations are well-supported. Keil, a Canadian professor of environmental studies, has immersed himself in a sea of data about "the 20 years during which Tom Bradley was the mayor of the city of Los Angeles" (p. ix). He rightly sees this era as one in which globalization accompanied massive urbanization. Readers will, however, find some of his historical reconstruction rather opaque.

The author admits that his book is not really an urban history. Keil's most reasoned chapter is number three, entitled "Space, Nature and Civil Society," which deals with environmental excesses. Many of his sources, including numerous interviews, follow today's fashionable doomsday pronouncements. Keil repeatedly praises Mike Davis—who trumpets apocalyptic events like devastating fires, fierce Santa Ana winds, swarms of killer bees, traffic jams, polluted beaches, cliffs sliding into the sea, and daily earthquakes.

What one misses in such books is balance. Moreover, Keil does not clearly define the terms he has invented. One encounters repetitious jargon about local agencies concerned with reform. Too many sentences are puzzling—smothered in verbiage that an editor should have slimmed. Perhaps the author's stylistic problems exist because his first published work was in German, evidently his native language.

All is not chaos, despair, and decay in today's cities. Easily measurable cultural growth exerts its influence upon L.A. and other metropolises. We need to remember that struggles with crazies, druggies, and religious zealots are no longer unique. Los Angeles cannot escape the ups-and-downs that afflict cities throughout the world.

True, there have been undeniable shortcomings in the history of its expansion. Consumption has repeatedly taken precedence over community improvement. Freewheeling development, abetted by environmental indifference, has too often allowed privatism to triumph over the public good.

But bad planning, lost opportunities, and privacy without public accountability also occur in New York, Mexico City, or Manila. Crowding and urban sprawl are universal problems. It is not enough to label L.A. as "cultural madness," a "Throw-Away-City," or to call nearby Santa Monica "Moscow By the Sea." However catchy such clichés may be, they do not do justice to Keil's understanding of L.A.'s metamorphosis into the nation's leading global trade center. This book, alas, is history as writ by newly minted urbanists.

## *Painting on the Left: Diego Rivera, Radical Politics, and San Francisco's Public Murals.*

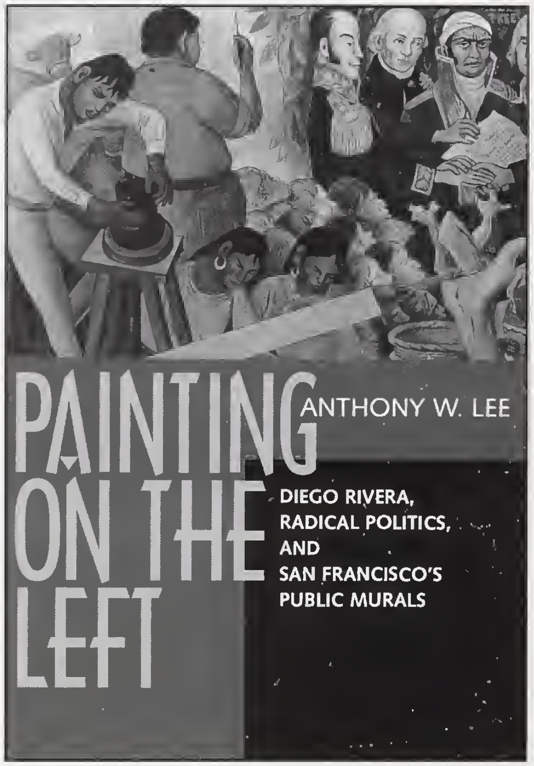
By Anthony W. Lee (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, xx, 264 pp., $50.00 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* Pablo-Raúl Arreola, *assistant professor of history at California State University, Hayward.*

Anthony W. Lee has written a fascinating book. Despite its subtitle, *Painting on the Left* goes well beyond Rivera's arrival in 1930 and examines mural painting and muralism in San Francisco since its pedestrian origins in the Panama Pacific International Exposition in 1915 to the politically charged years preceding World War II. In doing so, Professor Lee fills several major voids, the most obvious of which is a detailed explanation of Rivera's artistic and political influence among American muralists of the 1930s. Lee also reconstructs the world of San Francisco's radical painters and their artistic legacy, which make up an important (and often overlooked) part of the city's cultural heritage.

Where Lee excels is in his subtle and imaginative analysis of Rivera's three major murals in San Francisco and the development of an encoded artistic language by which Rivera and his American partisans conveyed their radical politics on public walls. The creation of such a language—based on the manipulation of composition, themes and figures, and colorization, rather than on overt symbols and images more commonly attributed to radical muralism—was necessary. Their patrons, progressive yet fervently anticommunist magnates and politicians, would have rejected the murals had their sketches included any glaring radicalism. The patrons were well aware that any let-up could invigorate the radical politics that whirled around them: Depression-era strikes, demonstrations, riots. This censorship was first applied to Rivera himself, whose *Allegory of California* and *Making a Fresco* murals appear to the untrained viewer as anything but revolutionary. But, as Lee deftly shows, Rivera had other ideas.

According to Lee, the radical muralists, Victor Arnautoff and Bernard Zakheim among them, learned well from their Mexican master and succeeded in plastering their radical commentaries on San Francisco's public walls. Eventually, their patrons caught on and engaged them in an ideological battle. Coit Tower, which houses many of the murals, quickly became the focus of the conflict and was, as a consequence, shut down during the General Strike that paralyzed the Bay Area during the summer of 1934. In the short term, the patrons won, and Lee tells us why: the decline of the Leftist movement, the rise of prewar nationalism, and new approaches in the federal patronage of mural painting. But, in the long run, most of the murals remained.


PAINTING ON THE LEFT
ANTHONY W. LEE
DIEGO RIVERA, RADICAL POLITICS, AND SAN FRANCISCO'S PUBLIC MURALS

*Courtesy University of California Press.*

A chronologically organized narrative, Lee's book is refreshingly devoid of the jargon and meaning-fraught language that is fashionable today among cultural historians. Although Lee's analyses are not always convincing—such as his attempt to draw connections between the muralist movement and easel painters of the period—his work forces the reader to think long and hard about this topic and others. There are also a number of omissions. For example, Lee makes little mention of Rivera's Detroit murals, which were begun mere months after his San Francisco frescos and which obviously contain the *Riveraesque* language of painting. Zakheim's murals at Toland Hall at the University of California at San Francisco show the artist's approximation to José Clemente Orozco, but Zakheim's discussion of the duality of science—serving humanity and evil—was clearly derivative of Rivera's Detroit panels. Finally, Lee makes no mention of Steven Pope Dimitroff or Lucienne Bloch, Rivera's chief assistants during his American sojourn. Both were still alive when he was researching his book and their insights could have added to the author's discourse on the intricacies of Rivera's artistic language. Despite these puzzling lapses, Anthony Lee is to be commended for a powerful and effective interdisciplinary study. *Painting on the Left* makes good reading and is essential for anyone planning to study San Francisco's historic murals.

California's Mojave Desert, mostly located in San Bernardino County, underwent dramatic ecological changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries triggered by the successive appearances of the Old Spanish Trail, the Southern Pacific, Santa Fe, and Union Pacific railroad lines, and a highway to Los Angeles. This 1911 postcard promoted tourism to Mojave by appealing to nature-lovers and entrepreneurs alike: "Journeying along through miles and miles of desert, one wonders at the vast, unmolested forests of grim cactus, and sets out seeking the purpose for which nature intended it, but ends up dreaming of the untold wealth that will come to him who finds a use for it." *California Desert Miracle* chronicles environmentalists' twenty-year struggle to protect a portion of the Mojave, which culminated in the California Desert Protection Act of 1994. *California Historical Society, FN–31853.*

## *California Desert Miracle: The Fight for Desert Parks and Wilderness.*

By Frank Wheat. (San Diego, Calif.: Sunbelt Publications, 1999, xxix, 367 pp., photographs, maps, bibliography, index, glossary, $14.95 paper.)

*Reviewed by* M. Guy Bishop, *instructor, Salt Lake Community College, Salt Lake City, Utah.*

*California Desert Miracle* relates how the efforts of scores of unpaid volunteers brought to pass a conservation marvel of sorts. It is an environmental protection success story that should appeal to a broad audience. The book begins with the story of preservationists, largely from Riverside County, who wanted to protect southern California's fragile East Mojave Desert from destruction. It ends in the halls of Congress, where the reader is skillfully presented with the intricacies of the debate over protecting the Mojave Desert. It offers a captivating account of late-twentieth-century environmental politics in the West.

The California Desert Bill, intended to "protect [the state's] desert lands" (p. xv) was launched in the early 1970s and finally reached fruition with the California Desert Protection Act of 1994. It was a preservation battle of heroic proportions that encompassed citizen volunteers who simply loved the desert and politicians who, for noble reasons or not, saw that a positive stance on the issue may have proven beneficial to them as well as to the desert. The politicians who played a role in this debate included California Senator Alan Cranston, who led the fight in the beginning; Congressman Richard Lehman, who won the first favorable action on a Desert Bill; and later Senator Dianne Feinstein, who guided the legislation to law almost twenty-five years after the crusade began. Other California politicians played seemingly less laudatory roles: Congressman William Thomas staunchly opposed the Desert Bill almost from the moment of its introduction; Congressman Alfred McCandless, whose district covered part of the desert region, along with Congressman Jerry Lewis, whose 35th District "included the largest desert county" (p. 223), also worked hard to defeat the Desert Bill.

Outside supporters like Senator J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, who "skillfully managed the bill in the Senate" (p. 309); Senator George Mitchell of Maine, "whose efforts and prestige brought the 60 essential votes for the Desert Bill to the floor" (p. 310); and Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, chair of the senate subcommittee with jurisdiction over the Desert Bill, who worked tirelessly presiding over the many hearings on the bill, played major roles as well. California senator, later governor, Pete Wilson went back and forth "from neutral to determined opposition" as the likelihood of the bill's passage gained strength in Congress (p. 217). Not surprisingly, the California Desert Bill became a highly partisan issue in Washington, D.C., with Democrats in favor and Republicans opposed. In the end it was the last-minute effort of Senator Carole Mosley-Brown (Democrat, Illinois), who rushed back to the Senate chambers on a Saturday morning to cast "the essential vote" in the conference committee, that brought the bill before the full Senate and led to its eventual passage (p. 293). On October 31, 1994, President Bill Clinton signed the California Desert Protection Act into law. CHS

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Art (left to right) from *Unbound Voices* (activist Tye Leung Schulze in 1912), from *To Place Our Deeds*, from *Gold* (miners pushing an ore cart at the Kennedy mine, Amador County, courtesy of California Division of Mines and Geology)

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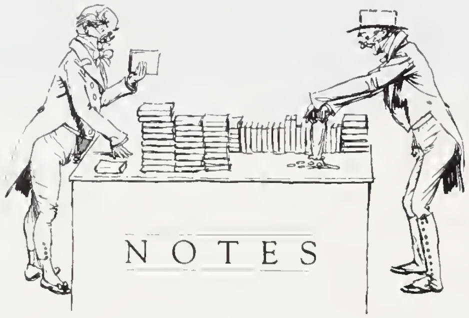

# NOTES

## Campbell, "Crossing the Isthmus," pp. 226-237

1. See Oscar Lewis, *Sea Routes to The Gold Fields* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949) and James P. Delgado, *To California by Sea* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990).
2. Stacey Otte, *Guide to the Campbell Family Papers* (Cooperstown, N.Y.: New York State Historical Association Library, Special Collections, 1990); Jean Corrie, *Guide to the Campbell Family Papers* (Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association Library, Special Collections, n. d.).
3. The brother-in-law of Augustus, Erastus Crafts, had been elected to the Assembly of the State of New York and was a major general in the New York state militia. See Franklin B. Hough, *The New York Civil List from 1777 to 1858* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., Publishers, 1858), 267-68.
4. Colin D. Campbell, "They Beckoned and We Came: The Settlement of Cherry Valley," *New York History* 79 (July 1998): 215-32.
5. Albany Medical College in Albany, New York, was founded in 1839.
6. "Collis Potter Huntington (Oct. 22, 1821-Aug. 13, 1900)," *Dictionary of American Biography* 9: 408-412. To aid the reader, Augustus's letters have occasionally been edited for paragraphs. His spelling has not been changed.
7. The *Orus* was a wooden sidewheeler that also took passengers up the Chagres River as far as the depth of the river allowed; Delgado, *To California by Sea*, 52.
8. The *Crescent City* was a steamer operated by the U.S. Mail Steamship Company between New York City and Chagres.
9. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire* (New York: Fred A. Knopf, 1949), 14.
10. The Spaniards began construction of Fort San Lorenzo in 1597. It was built to protect their trade route that went across the isthmus via the Chagres River. See C.L.G. Anderson, *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro* (New York: North River Press, 1944), 310.
11. Gorgona was about thirty miles up the Chagres River. Boats could not go any farther up the river in the dry season. Gorgona was submerged when Gatun Lake was created for the route of the Panama Canal.
12. Marco G. Thorne, "'Bound for the Land of Caan, Ho!': The Diary of Levi Stowell," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 27 (March 1948): 35-36.
13. Augustus had a brother who was deaf and communicated by signs.
14. Taylor, *Eldorado*, 12.
15. At that time, the water for New York City was supplied by the Croton aqueduct and dam, built in 1842, one of the country's first urban water systems.
16. In addition to the road from Gorgona to Panama City that Augustus took, there was a road from Cruces, a town further up the Chagres River, to Panama City. Boats could navigate as far as Cruces in the rainy season. There was also an all-land route from Nombre de Dios and Portobello on the Atlantic coast to Panama City. For the transportation of goods, the Chagres River route was far superior to the all-land route. The road built by the Spaniards from Cruces to Panama City was partly paved and the best road on the isthmus; (Anderson, *Old Panama*, 305-307).
17. State Street is an important street in Albany that goes from the Hudson River up a hill to the Capitol building of the state of New York.
18. The original city of Panama was attacked and burned by Sir Henry Morgan in 1671. The Spaniards left the old city in ruins and moved the new city seven miles west.
19. The trip of the *Humbolt* to California is described by Julius H. Pratt in "To California, by Panama, in '49," *The Century Magazine* 19 (April 1891): 901-917. It took forty-eight days to get to Acapulco. Pratt and about twenty other passengers found the conditions on the *Humbolt* so intolerable that they left the ship and gave their tickets to persons in Acapulco seeking passage to California.
20. The *California* was a small steamship built for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in 1848. The company had obtained a contract from the United States government for carrying U.S. mail between Panama and the Oregon Territory. Although built to accommodate only sixty passengers, it became an important carrier of gold-seekers from Panama to San Francisco; Delgado, *To California by Sea*, 48-49.
21. This brother of Augustus, William W. Campbell, was the author of the *Annals of Tryon County; or, The Border Warfare of New York During the Revolution*, 4th edition (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1924). He was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1844 and was justice and chief justice of the Supreme Court for the 6th Judicial District of New York from 1857 to 1865.
22. Augustus was a Presbyterian.
23. Ships traveling between Panama and California anchored off the island of Tobago. The Pacific shore of Panama was too shallow for large ships.

24. The *Oregon* was another small steamship built for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Like the *California*, it became an important carrier of passengers between Panama and San Francisco.
25. *Heckendorn and Wilson's Miners & Business Men's Directory, For the Year Commencing January 1st, 1856, Embracing a General Directory of the Citizens of Tuolumne and Portions of Calaveras, Stanislaus, and San Joaquin Counties* (Columbia: Printed at the Clipper Office, Fulton St., near Main, 1856).
26. See Robert J. Chandler, "Integrity Amid Tumult: Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Gold Rush Banking," *California History* 70 (Fall 1991): 258-77, especially 270-73.
27. Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865*, 3rd edition (Albany: State Printers, 1912), 2216, 2815, 3720.
28. *Galena Weekly Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1889, 3.

### Smith-Baranzini, "Out of the Shadows," pp. 238-261

1. Since their compilation into one volume, four editors have introduced the Shirley letters. Chronologically, the editions are Dame Shirley, *The Shirley Letters from California in 1851–52, Being a Series of Twenty-Three Letters from Dame Shirley to her Sister in Massachusetts and now Reprinted from "The Pioneer" Magazine of 1854–55, with Synopses of the Letters, a Foreword, and Many Typographical and other Corrections and Emendations by Thomas C. Russell, together with an Appreciation by Mrs. Mary Viola Tingley Lawrence* (San Francisco, 1922); Louise A.K.S. Clappe, intro. and notes by Carl I. Wheat, *California in 1851: The Letters of Dame Shirley* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1933); Louise A.K.S.Clappe, intro. and notes by Carl I. Wheat, *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851–1852* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1949, 1965); Louise A.K.S. Clappe, introd. Richard E. Oglesby, *The Shirley Letters: Being Letters Written in 1851–1852 from the California Mines by Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Publishers, 1970); Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe, ed. and intro. by Marlene Smith-Baranzini, *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851–1852* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 1998). An edition for children is James J. Rawls's *Dame Shirley and the Gold Rush* (Texas: SteckVaughn, 1991). Wheat shortened the volume's title with his 1933 edition; his 1949 Knopf title has become the standard name.
2. "Clapp" is the correct spelling of the couple's surname and is the spelling followed here when referring to Louise and Fayette as a married couple. Following their divorce in 1857, she began adding a final "e" to her spelling of the name, and that has remained the standard practice when referring to her.
3. These and other topics can be located using the index of my edition to the letters.
4. The expressman, who worked for Wells, Fargo, or another of the early express companies, visited the more remote mines once a month, delivering supplies, including mail, to the mines.
5. Clappe portrayed herself from the start as a "frail, home-loving little thistle-seed," and in her closing farewell to the mines called herself a "perfectly strong, healthy" woman. See her Letter First and Letter Twenty-Third.
6. Many historians have believed these were private letters. See for example the Russell edition, xix; Carl I. Wheat, ed., *The Shirley Letters* (New York: Knopf, 1961), xi; Franklin D.Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1939), 31.
7. Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, 29.
8. For a fuller discussion of *The Pioneer*, Ewer's story, and Louise's association with him, see Smith-Baranzini, ed., *The Shirley Letters*, ix-x, xxxi-xxxiv.
9. With the compilation of librarian John R. Gonzales's *The Pioneer: An Index, 1854–1856* (Sacramento: California State Library, 1982), the magazine became an accessible study for literary historians.
10. See Rodman Paul, "In Search of Dame Shirley," *Pacific Historical Review* (May 1964): 127–28.
11. Carl Wheat's manuscript papers are housed at the Bancroft Library. According to Paul, who seems to have read Mary Lawrence's letters (see below), state librarians located Louise Clappe's letters—all of which are incoming—in New Jersey and had them deposited at the library in Sacramento, yet Wheat privately held some of Clappe's papers for a number of years. In the late 1920s, before Wheat's first edition of *The Shirley Letters* was published, Mary Lawrence had written to the state library, asking for copies of some of them, hoping to write specifically about Louise and her correspondent Alexander Everett and also to compile information for a literary history of California, which has never yet come to light. Lawrence implied that she had had the letters for some time and then returned them to the elderly Louise before Louise's death. After her death, the letters were sent to the California State Library. Paul, "In Search of Dame Shirley," 129; and Mary Lawrence to Mr. Ferguson, [no month on letter] 1922, and March 24, 1926, Mary V.T. Lawrence, Bio Info File Collection, California State Library, hereinafter ML / BIF.
12. Subsequent editions of the letters, including Wheat's third edition (Knopf, 1961), but notably the enduring paperback edited by historian Richard E. Oglesby, have kept Clappe's writing available to students and popular audiences. Consulting these editions as I studied and researched Clappe's life, visited Rich Bar in search of Nancy Bailey's grave, and so forth, called my attention to the need for an edition that included maps, place names, and especially an index. I was glad for the opportunity to include them in my edition.
13. As the "new women's history" of the 1960s and seventies has matured, historical studies now address a broad range of western and westering—that is, pioneers migrating to western frontiers—women's experiences. Among them, several fundamental works stand out for their groundbreaking and compelling perspectives. For essential themes that define the "new women's history," see Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Peck, *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), especially 9–23. June Sochen, *Herstory: A Women's View of American History* (New York: Alfred Publishing, 1974), is an indispensable treatment of women's status in America; and Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), contains important discussions of mid-nineteenth-century Victorian expectations of women and the cult of motherhood, pp. 150–91.

    For the rise of western feminist scholarship, consult Ruth B. Moynihan, Susan Armitage, and Christiane Fischer Dichamp, eds., *So Much to Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), which notes the early historiography of the field, presents an essential collection of first-hand women's narratives, including introductions by region, and contains a valuable bibliography of the literature. In Susan Ar-

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mitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., *The Women's West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), especially pp. 3–18, and 143, the authors address the omissions and inadequacies of earlier, stereotypic histories that assumed a single white, male voice. Glenda Riley, *A Place to Grow: Women in the American West* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1992), offers her studies on nineteenth century western women of varied social and ethnic backgrounds. Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630–1860* (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1984), compares and contrasts the myth of the "American Adam" with pioneering women's own mythologies of the wilderness as potential garden. Other major reinterpretations of western women's experiences, including works by Sandra Myres, John Mack Faragher, and Lillian Schissel, are not cited here because their emphases lie outside my discussion on Louise Clappe in California.

For an introduction to nineteenth-century women in California, see Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1996), especially pp. 163–84, 226–29, and 349–53; James J. Rawls and Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1988), especially pp.64–95, 135–44; and Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Ricci Lothrop, *California Women: A History* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1987), especially pp. 17–28. For studies specifically concerned with American women in the Gold Rush, in addition to those noted above, see JoAnn Levy's classic work *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); Elizabeth Margo, *Women of the Gold Rush* (New York: Indian Head Books, 1955); Ida Rae Egli, *No Rooms of their Own: Women Writers in Early California* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 1992); and Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), especially pp. 91–105.

Published narratives by American pioneer women in California between 1845 and 1855 are scarce, although unpublished manuscript letters and diaries remain a virtually untapped treasure. First-hand published accounts include Clappe's *Shirley Letters*, Mrs. D. B. [Dolly Bradford] Bates, *Incidents on Land and Water; or, Four Years on the Pacific Coast* (Boston, 1858; New York: Arno Press, 1974); Eliza Farnham, *California, In-Doors and Out; or, How We Farm, Mine, and Live generally in the Golden State* (New York: Dix, Edwards, and Co., 1856); Georgiana Bruce Kirby, *Georgiana, Feminist Reformer of the West: The Journal of Georgiana Bruce Kirby, 1852–1860* (Santa Cruz: Santa Cruz Historical Trust, 1983); Mary Jane Megquier, *Apron Full of Gold: The Letters of Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1849–1856*, Robert Glass Cleland, ed. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library Press, 1949) and more recently, Polly Welts Kaufman, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Amelia Ransome Neville, *The Fantastic City: Memoirs of the Social and Romantic Life of Old San Francisco* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932); Sarah Royce, *A Pioneer Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California*, foreword by Katharine Royce, Ralph Henry Gabriel, ed. (Yale, 1932; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977). For other, little-known (published) women's gold-rush writings, almost without exception intended for private reading, Gary F. Kurutz's *The California Gold Rush: A Descriptive Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets covering the years 1848–1853* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1997), is indispensable.

14. See, for example, John McPhee, *Annals of the Former World* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998), 473–74, in which McPhee, noting the infant state of nineteenth-century geological science, draws on Louise's observations of frustration among miners at Rich Bar who found *no* gold where they were told to expect it, and did find it where it supposedly would not be. Blake Allmendinger, *The Ten Most Wanted: The New Western Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 8–9, 73–78, may be the most recent writer to revisit the premise that Bret Harte stole ideas from Clappe; see Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 105–113, on his theories of Clappe's conventionality in the West and her distaste for marriage; and, less recently, Stephen Fender, *Plotting the Golden West: American Literature and the Rhetoric of the California Trail* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), esp. chapter 5 and p. 227, on Clappe's "reportorial genre" and its relationship to the English epistolary novel, and his discussion about journalists of the Gold Rush—Clappe, Bayard Taylor, Leonard Kip, and John David Borthwick as "neutral" observers.
15. See Clappe, *The Shirley Letters*, Smith-Baranzini, ed., vii-xxxv, especially xx-xxi and xxiii.
16. Anon., "The Lenox Library," *Hellmuth (Ontario) World* (April 2, 1881): 1–2; and "Unconscious Plagiarisms," *Hellmuth World* (June 18, 1881): 1–2, LC/CSL. These two essays carry no byline. Louise Clappe signed them and kept them with her other personal papers.
17. Charles Warren Stoddard, "Charles Warren Stoddard, His [autograph] Book," S-MS, Box 2, CH53, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereinafter BL).
18. Alexander Hill Everett (hereinafter AHE) to Louise Smith, letters, June 23, August 10, and October 4, 1844. Typescript by Carl I. Wheat, Wheat Collection, BL.
19. AHE to Louisa Smith, October 4, 1844, BL.
20. Paul, "In Search of Dame Shirley," 139.
21. Despite the continued misattribution, for example in Oglesby, ed., *The Shirley Letters*; Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*; and Sandra Lockhart, "Legacy Profile: Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe (Dame Shirley) (1819–1906)," *Legacy* 8 (1991):141–47, there is no evidence yet that Louise published anything before she came to California.
22. Their marriage is found in "Marriages—1848–1851," *Record Book*, p. 42, St. John's Church, Northampton, Mass., and "Marriages," *Hampshire and Franklin Express*, September 21, 1848.
23. Writing to Everett, Louise declared that she had not yet experienced romantic love. AHE to Louise Smith, January 26, 1842, BL. Over the course of their eight-year correspondence, Everett and Louise discussed a range of subjects both broad and personal, and although her letters seem not to survive, his replies often paraphrased and illuminated her statements. In this instance he wrote, "I cannot quite trust what you say about never having felt *la belle passion*, this being a subject upon which ladies have always claimed the privilege of saying No, when they mean Yes. You know the inscription on the pedestal of the statue of Cupid. . . . "
24. Fayette's grandfather had settled in Northampton and raised his family there. Ebenezer Clapp, comp., *The Clapp Memorial Record of the Clapp Family in America* (Boston, 1876; 1976), p. 71. Smith family genealogy is recorded in Guardianship letter, August 25, 1834, Gideon Lee Papers Box 7 Folder 13, New York Historical Society; and James A.

Smith, *Families of Amherst* (n.p., 1984), 670; also see Paul, "In Search of Dame Shirley," 135–36.

25. Folsom's Report to Maj. Gen. Jessup was reprinted in part in the *Hampshire Franklin Express*, December 29, 1848, p. 3.
26. *Express*, August 10, 1849, p. 4. For a survey of medical practices in the Gold Rush, see Nicholas P. Hardeman, "Sketches of Dr. Glen Owen Hardeman: California Gold Rush Physician," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 47 (March 1968): 41–71; Robert T. Legge, ed., "Medical Observations of J. P. Leonard, M.D. [San Francisco and Sacramento, 1849]," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 39 (September 1950: 211–16; John Walton Caughey, *The California Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 184–85; and Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 34–35, 153.
27. Wheat, unpublished commentary about Charles Smith, appended to AHE letter dated July 10, 1843, BL. Little is known of the youngest sibling, George W. Smith, born circa 1828. Smith, *Families of Amherst*, 670.
28. Verification that five (unnamed) passengers sailed on the ship *Manilla* is located in Ship File, San Francisco Maritime National Park Library; Alta California (San Francisco), January 11, 1850; *The Shirley Letters*, Russell, ed., xviii; and William Briggs to Isabella Smith, December 25, 1849, c/o Alfred Clapp, Ship Manilla, LC/CSL. Together these sources account for four of the passengers. Henrietta Smith, youngest sister to Louise, lived in San Francisco by 1854 and was married there in 1856. Presumably she was the fifth member of the group that sailed on the *Manilla* in 1849–50.
29. Smith, *Families of Amherst*, 670.
30. New York Coastwide Clearances, U.S. Customs Service, RG 36, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Carl C. Cutler, *Queens of the Western Ocean* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1961), 507; "Certificate of Register" no. 27, April 19, 1853, New Orleand, La., Custom House Copy, Vessel Documentation, RG 41 (Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation); *Alta California*, January 14, 1850, p. 3.
31. Mary V. T. Lawrence, "An Appreciation," xxviii.
32. William Briggs to Isabella Smith, December 25, 1849, Box 151, Folder 14, LC/CSL.
33. Ibid.
34. Dana, who became a sailor, left Harvard for a change of scenery and to rest his strained eyesight. Mrs. Dolly Bates's narrative of California and other travels described a young woman, brought aboard her husband's ship in her bed, who died of consumption. Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: P.F. Collier, 1909) 3, 7; and Bates, *Incidents on Land and Water*, 279.
35. Smith, *Families of Amherst*, 670. A monument to Isabella Smith stands in West Cemetery, Amherst; James Smith to author, October 12, 1999.
36. James Delgado, *To California by Sea* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 143. The Cape Horn route is discussed in Delgado, especially 18–19, 26, 129, and 143, and in Oscar Lewis, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields* (New York: Ballantine, 1971), especially 64–70. No crew logs have been located for the *Manilla*, but its five-month voyage was about the average length of a voyage following the Cape Horn route.
37. H.H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. XXIII, History of California, Vol. VI, 1848–1859* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 202, n. 52.
38. John Walton Caughey, *The California Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 184–85. Louise noted in Letter One that "the health of [Fayette's] purse was . . . feeble," suggesting that he probably did treat patients despite their inability to pay at the time they were seen.
39. Clappe, *The Shirley Letters*, Smith-Baranzini, ed., 2.
40. On Massett, see Stephen C. Massett, *The First California Troubadour* (Oakland, Calif.: The Abbey Press, Biobooks, 1954), 51–53, 64; Stephen G. Hust, "Jeems Pipes of Pipesville—and Marysville: Among Other Things, Massett Was At Least a Great Guy," *Appeal–Democrat*, Yuba City and Marysville, Calif., October 4, 1951, Section 2.
41. Marysville had originally been called New Mecklenberg by its 1842 founder, the German farmer Theodor Cordua, who supported Micheltorena over Castro in 1845, and later sold his land to Michael Nye and William Foster, each of whom married a Murphy sister who had survived the Donner Party tragedy. Marjorie Gordon, *Changes in Harmony: An Illustrated History of Yuba and Sutter Counties* (Northridge, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1988), 37–39; Bates, *Incidents*, 117–19.
42. Oglesby, ed., *The Shirley Letters*, xiii; Paul, "In Search of Dame Shirley," 138; Wheat, ed., *The Shirley Letters* (1961), viii–xi. For the history and elements of the literary essay or sketch, see Kristie Hamilton, *America's Sketchbook: The Cultural Life of a Nineteenth-Century Literary Genre* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998), especially 14–21, and Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), I: 569–71.
43. *Marysville Herald*, April 8, 1851, p. 1. Louise Clappe was certainly one of a small number of women writers in California newspapers during the early American period, 1850 to 1855. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the tradition of American women's writing in eastern periodicals had begun, and along with "democratic" writing of many kinds would see an accelerated evolution through the first half of the century. By the 1850s women novelists were common. In early gold-rush California, however, because women were scarce, women writers were even more unusual. By 1854 the California demography had changed enough that their presence in newspapers and the first literary journals was not unusual. Important sources, both general and specific, on this subject are Ella Sterling Cummins, *The Story of the Files: A Review of California Writers and Literature, 1852–1892* (1893; fasc. San Leandro: Yosemite Collections, 1982); Ella Sterling Mighels, *Literary California: Poetry, Prose, and Portraits* (San Francisco: Harr Wagner, 1918); Roger Levenson, *Women in Printing: Northern California, 1857–1890* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1994); Sherilyn Cox, *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth–Century West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990); Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*; Richard H. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth–Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Janet Gray, ed., *She Wields a Pen: American Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press); Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Tradition in English* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985); Jensen and Lothrop, *California Women*; Egli, *No Rooms of Their Own*.
44. Writer and editor Nathaniel P. Willis's book, *Pencillings by the Way*, appeared first as essays in the *New York Mirror* describing his European travels in 1831. A return trip in 1845 provided him with the material for his volume *Dashes in Life with a Free Pencil*. His

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sister, Sara Willis Parton, who wrote as Fanny Fern, was at one time the highest paid journalist in America.

45. Hamilton, *America's Sketchbook*, 14–15.
46. Ibid.; Bercovitch, *The Cambridge History of American Literature* I:661, 667.
47. A sense of inadequacy over one's ability to render a beautiful scene was a common lament among Romanticists. Bercovitch, *The Cambridge History of American Literature* I:158.
48. Clappe, "Another Letter from 'Shirley,'" *Marysville Herald*, June 5, 1851, 1.
49. It's not unlikely that Baron Trenck, too, represented a literary or other figure that readers would have recognized. This Willis is likely the same noted storyteller Nathaniel P. Willis, noted earlier. See also Hamilton, *America's Sketchbook*, 15–17, 54–55; Magnus Magnuson, ed., *Cambridge Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1566.
50. At this writing I have learned nothing else about Madeline, another of the few women journalists in California in the early 1850s.
51. The original phrase is "into the solemn *words*," which the author reads as a typographical error. Typographical errors in her essays and poems were the norm; in fact, mistakes were so common as to be humorous. Louise herself was only an average speller and had been chastised by Everett for not being more conscientious. As for the quality of workmanship in the *Herald*, typesetting and printing were difficult, exhausting, and complex procedures, with several workers responsible for the accuracy of the finished text. All manner of mistakes, such as accidentally throwing similar letters, like c's and e's, into one box, or setting type verbatim from copy filled with errors made by the writer, or just working too fast to be accurate, would contributed to the quality of the final product. See Levenson, *Women in Printing*, 13–32, for a thorough discussion of the technicalities and difficulties of setting accurate type and turning out good finished work.
52. "Another Letter from Shirley," *Marysville Herald*, June 5, 1851, and "Letter from Shirley, San Francisco," *Herald*, May 1, 1851.
53. Bryant is quoted in Bercovitch, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Literature* I: 615.
54. Except for members of the upper class, many Americans were either illiterate or too preoccupied with "material things in a pioneer country," to think about supporting any forms of public art. William Charvat, *The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810–1835* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1961), 5.
55. Clappe, *The Shirley Letters*, Russell ed., xxxi, xxxiii.
56. Although "The Song of the Free" is not outwardly about death, its opposing themes of unhappiness and absence of freedom, I believe, imply the poet's determination to embrace some positive aspect of nature.
57. Oglesby, ed., *The Shirley Letters*, xiii.
58. In Letter Seventh, Louise quoted the first line of Bryant's "A Forest Hymn": "The groves were God's first temples." Clappe, *The Shirley Letters*, Smith-Baranzini, ed., 50.
59. "The balm of nature's 'healing sympathy,'" a reference to a theme in Bryant's "Thanatopsis," is paraphrased in Hyatt Waggoner, *American Poets from the Puritans to the Present* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), 39.
60. For a fuller discussion of nineteenth-century romantic and Victorian symbolizations of death, the "science of the grave" and "heavenly consolation," see Barton Levi St. Armand, *Emily Dickinson and Her Culture* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), especially 23–57.
61. Heinrich F. Kohlraush, *A History of the World* (1832), quoted in Clappe, "Remembrance, Not Tears, for the Dead," *Marysville Herald*. I am indebted to Mona Noureldin at the Huntington Library for locating the German title and affirming Clappe's approximate translation.
62. Mary V.T. Lawrence to Milton Ferguson, April 16, 1926, ML/BIF. "Alone" includes the phrase "I have read thy life," suggesting that Clappe also followed Fuller's activities through her writing and in the newspapers. In the Russell edition of the *Shirley Letters*, Lawrence notes that Julia Ward Howe, friend and later one of several biographers of Fuller, was in "close kinship" to Clappe, a statement that also begs for clarification.
63. Russell E. Durning, *Margaret Fuller, Citizen of the World* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1969), 29.
64. An important parallel can be seen in both Clappe's published reviews and her unpublished lectures, several of which model the criticisms and subjects Fuller had earlier written about. This circumstance is one of many subjects I continue to explore. LC/CSL and private collection.
65. From the moment of Fuller's death a mystical, mythical tradition about its circumstances sprang up, making it impossible to separate fact from fictionalized drama. The highest drama of that tragedy may be found in Julia Ward Howe, *The Life of Margaret Fuller* (1883; Cambridge: University Press, John Wilson and Son, n.d.), 276. Among the reliable, objective accounts of her life and death are Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller, Whetstone of Genius* (New York: Viking Press, 1940); Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller, The Private Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Madeleine B. Stern, *The Life of Margaret Fuller* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991); and R. F. Fuller, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, 2 vols. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1852).
66. William Henry Chamberlain, *History of Yuba County, California, with Illustrations Descriptive of its Scenery, Residences, Public Buildings, File Blocks and Manufactories. From Original Sketches by Artists of the Highest Ability* (1879; Volcano, Calif.: California Traveler, 1970), 66.
67. Clapp, comp., *The Clapp Memorial*, 71.
68. Shirley, "Superstition," *The Pioneer* (December 1854): 343–47. For Ewer's acquaintance with Louise's sister Henrietta, see Lionel Wagoner, "The Life of Ferdinand Ewer," *California Historical Society Quarterly* (March 1935): 74.
69. All of these family milestones are recorded in the Parish Register, 1859, Grace Episcopal Cathedral Archives, San Francisco. David S. Turner appears in Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (1855; Berkeley Hills Books, 1998), 19, 428, 823; Bancroft, *History of California*, V:752.
70. Within a year or so, however, Roman sold the Overland to John Carmany; Walker, 267; James D. Hart, *A Companion to California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 82. The two best sources of early journalism and literature in California are Franklin Walker's *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* and Ella Sterling Cummins's *The Story of the Files*, although she erroneously dates the founding of the *Overland* to 1878. (Its first period ran from 1868 to 1875. In 1883 it was resurrected by Roman and combined with his new literary venture, *The Californian*, and it continued until 1935.) See also John and Laree Caughey, *California Heritage: an Anthology of History and Literature* (Los Angleles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1962); and Lawrence Clark Powell, *California Classics* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1982).
71. Mary V.T. Lawrence, biographical manuscript, n.d., ML\BIF; Clappe, *The Shirley Letters*, Smith-Baranzini, ed., xix, xxxiii-

xxxiv; Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, 31; Cummins, *The Story of the Files*, 62, 93; Shirley Sargent, *Pioneers in Petticoats: Yosemite's Early Women, 1856–1900* (Los Angeles: Trans-Anglo Books, 1966). See also James H. Lawrence, "Discovery of the Nevada Fall," *Overland Monthly* (October 1884): 360–71.

72. Louise's yearly school assignments can be found in the corresponding San Francisco city directories. Her career is noted in John Swett, *History of the Public School System of California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1876), 96; John Swett, *Public Education in California: Its Origin and Development, With Early Reminiscences of Half a Century* (New York: American Book Company, 1911).
73. Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, *The Cultivation of Body and Mind in Nineteenth-Century American Delsartism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 41. Stebbins receives a full chapter in Ruyter.
74. Louise Clappe to Mr. Brooks, February 27, 1880; private collection.
75. Paul, "In Search of Dame Shirley," 146.
76. Mary Lawrence to Mr. Ferguson, 1922 [month unnamed], and April 16, 1926, ML\BIF. Describing her manuscript for *Sunset*, she wrote, "In it I spoke of Bret Harte's indebtedness to Mrs. Clappe for he cribbed richly from her."
77. Mary Lawrence to Mr. Ferguson, April 16, 1926; ML\BIF.
78. Mary V.T. Lawrence to Mr. Ferguson, March 24, 1926; ML\BIF.
79. Mighels, *Literary California*, 48–49.
80. Mary V.T. Lawrence to J.L. Gillis, January 3, 1907; ML\BIF.
81. Mary Lawrence to J.L. Gillis, Janaury 25, 1907; ML\BIF.
82. George R. Stewart, Jr., *Bret Harte: Argonaut and Exile* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), 130–138.
83. Mary Lawrence to J.L. Gillis, January 3, 1907; ML\BIF.
84. Mary Lawrence, undated biographical manuscript; ML\BIF.

### Mathes, "Helen Hunt Jackson," pp. 262-273

1. Jackson to Price, July 19, 1882, Letters Received #13619—1882, Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter cited as LR, OIA, RG 75, NA). The entire letter can be found reproduced in Valerie Sherer Mathes, *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879–1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 233.
2. For a detailed discussion of Jackson's Indian reforming activities see Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and her Indian Reform Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), reprinted in 1997 by the University of Oklahoma Press.
3. Canadian-born Henry Sandham (1842–1910) was a successful illustrator living in Boston. He illustrated HHJ's *Century* articles, an edition of *Ramona*, and *Glimpses of California and the Missions*.
4. "Chance Days in Oregon," *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan. 1883, pp. 115–27; also reprinted in Helen Jackson (H.H.), *Glimpses of Three Coasts* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1886), 129–49.
5. These articles included "Father Junipero and His Work," in May and June, 1883, 199–215; "The Present Condition of the Mission Indians in Southern California," in Aug., 511–29; "Outdoor Industries in Southern California," in Oct., 803–20; and "Echoes in the City of Angles," in Dec., 194–210; all reprinted in *Glimpses of Three Coasts*, 30–77; 78–102; 3–29; and 103–28 respectively.
6. Jackson to Ward, April 10, 1882, Helen Hunt Jackson manuscripts, (HM 13998), Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The full text of this letter is reproduced in Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 227–28.
7. More than likely, a clerk in the Indian Office typed this letter but had difficulty reading HHJ's handwriting and put a question mark above Shewing. HHJ probably meant shearing, as in a sheep shearing band.
8. Jackson to Teller, June 11, 1881, Typewritten, LR, #11429–[11701]–1882, Special Case 31, OIA, RG 75, NA. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 230–31.
9. This sentence makes no sense. HHJ was not appointed to deal with any Mission buildings. Apparently the typist misread her writing, but because there is no original, it is impossible to ascertain her meaning.
10. Samuel S. Lawson, a native of Ohio, was appointed agent for the Mission Indians on July 1, 1878.
11. On Jan. 12, 1891, Congress passed the "Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians in the State of California," which essentially implemented many of the provisions of the final Jackson/Kinney "Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California."
12. Jackson to Teller, September 16, 1882, Typescript, LR #18905—1882, OIA, RG 75, NA. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 234–36.
13. Jackson to Price, October 31, 1883, LR # 19910—1882, OIA, RG 75, NA; printed with some deletions in Walter Lindley and J. P. Widney, *California of the South* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), 199-200, and in George Wharton James, *Through Ramona's Country* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1909), 13–15. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 241-42.
14. A reference to *A Century of Dishonor*.
15. By congressional authorization, in 1883 the Northern Cheyennes remaining in Indian Territory were allowed to move to Pine Ridge on the Sioux reservation in the Dakotas.
16. Jackson to Warner, October 31, 1882, the Warner Collection, Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 239–40.
17. See Price to Jackson, April 2, 1883, Helen Hunt Jackson Papers, Part I, box 2, fd. 5, Tutt Library, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado. See also N. C. McFarland, Land Office Commissioner to Teller, March 15, 1883. LR #5189–1883, SC 31, OIA, RG 75, NA.
18. In her official report, p. 479, Jackson stated there were 157 residents. See "Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California, Made by Special Agents Helen Jackson and Abbot Kinney, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," in Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881).
19. Irish-born Matthew R. Byrne (1833–1892) had immigrated to the United States in 1841. Drawn to California by the Gold Rush, he eventually settled in San Bernardino, becoming a successful mercantilist, sheep raiser, and real estate investor.
20. Jackson to Ward, March 3, 1883, Helen Hunt Jackson Personal–Miscellaneous, New York Public Library, New York, New York. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 246-47, for the entire letter.
21. Jackson to Gilder, March 12, 1883, Gilder Papers, Rare Books & Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation. Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 248-49.
22. Jackson to Quinton, April 2, 1884, (MA

4571), Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, New York. Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 319.

23. For a detailed discussion of the death of Juan Diego see Phil Brigandi and John W. Robinson, "The Killing of Juan Diego: From Murder to Mythology," *Journal of San Diego History* 40 (Winter/Spring 1994): 1–22.
24. Jackson to Aldrich, December 1, 1884, Aldrich Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 337–38.
25. Helen Fiske Banfield was Helen's niece. In 1888, WSJ married Helen Banfield, and the couple had seven children. On October 18, 1899, she committed suicide in Colorado Springs.
26. HHJ informed her niece that she would inherit the bulk of her property and hoped she would carry out all the provisions of the codicil she had drawn up but had not yet signed. See Helen Hunt Jackson to Helen Banfield, May 20, 1885, William Sharpless Jackson Family Papers, I, box 1, fd. 5, Tutt Library, Colorado College.
27. Jackson to William Sharpless Jackson, March 29, 1885, WSJ Family Papers, I, box 1, fd. 5, Tutt Library, Colorado College. Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 345–46.
28. Printed in Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Helen Jackson," *Nation* 41 (August 20, 1886): 150. Parts of this letter have been deleted. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 351.
29. Jackson to Cleveland, August 8, 1885, General Manuscripts Miscellaneous: JA–JE, Folder: H. H. Jackson, 1830–1885, sub folder 2), The Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. Also reprinted in *The Critic*, NS, 4 (October 3, 1885): 167; *A Century of Dishonor*, 515; and Carlyle Channing Davis and William A. Alderson, *The True Story of Ramona* (New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1914), 81. See Mathes, *Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson*, 352.
30. "Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the Year, 1885*, 104.

### Robinson, "Spiritual Radiance, Expressive Delight," pp. 274-285.

The author extends special thanks for timely advice to Dr. Anthony Kirk of Santa Cruz.

1. Starr's curriculum vitae indicates that two additional volumes—*Troubled Dreams: California 1941–1953* and *The Coast: California in the 1990s*—are developing in manuscript.
2. "Slouching Through the Great Depression: Kevin Starr and the California Dream Series," *Reviews in American History* 25 (1997): 306.
3. *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), vii.
4. See the Preface to the Twentieth Anniversary Printing of *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). In his "Henry Nash Smith's Myth of the West" [in *Writing Western History: Essays on Major Western Historians*, ed. Richard W. Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991)], Lee Clark Mitchell highlights Smith's preoccupation with questions of regional identity.
5. *Americans and the California Dream*, viii.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 444.
8. "The Gold Rush and the California Dream," *California History* 77 (1998): 61.
9. Ibid., 66–67.
10. See, for example, Spencer Olin, *California History* 69 (1990): 389–90; and Robert Winter, *Pacific Historical Review* 60 (1991): 262-63.
11. *Americans and the California Dream*, 285.
12. *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), vii.
13. Review by Putnam, *The American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 1277.
14. *Inventing the Dream*, viii.
15. *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), vii.
16. Ibid., viii.
17. Review by Winter, *Pacific Historical Review* 60 (1991): 262.
18. *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 96.
19. In his informed, balanced, and generally sympathetic review essay, James N. Gregory faults *Endangered Dreams* for its departure from the approach and characteristic high standards of the California Dream series. "Gone is the argument about California as a work of imagination and gone too is the originality that has been Starr's hallmark. *Endangered Dreams* turns out to be a fairly pedestrian rehash of certain highly selective incidents in the state's Depression era political history." Gregory is much more approving when Starr puts politics behind him, and turns instead to the builders and artists of the period. "Here he is in his old form, turning dry institutional history into lush narrative, helping us see the artistry of massive public works" ("Slouching Through the Great Depression," 308, 311).
20. *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), viii.
21. Ibid., 396.
22. "The Gold Rush and the California Dream," 67.
23. *Americans and the California Dream*, 68.
24. Ibid., 16.
25. Ibid., 33.
26. Ibid., 47, 93–94.
27. Ibid., 106.
28. *Material Dreams*, viii; *Inventing the Dream*, 89–92.
29. *Inventing the Dream*, 58.
30. Ibid., 32–35.
31. *Americans and the California Dream*, 47, 93.
32. Ibid., 25.
33. *Endangered Dreams*, 197.
34. *Inventing the Dream*, viii.
35. *The Dream Endures*, 130.
36. *Land's End* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979).
37. The links between Starr and his protagonists are close and quite numerous. For example, all three are Harvard-educated Irish-Catholic San Franciscans with strong interests in books, history, and libraries. Further parallels might be enumerated.
38. *Land's End*, 24–25.
39. Ibid., 667.
40. Ibid., 366.
41. *Americans and the California Dream*, 250.
42. *Land's End*, 56, 63.
43. Ibid., 594-95.
44. Ibid., 69.
45. I draw here on Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Doubleday, 1967); and Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel, S.J., *An American Dialogue* (New York: Doubleday, 1960).
46. "The Gold Rush and the California Dream," 58.
47. "The World of Oscar Lewis," *California History* 63 (1984): 323.
48. *Americans and the California Dream*, 159.
49. *Land's End*, 409.
50. *Inventing the Dream*, vii.

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# California History

Volume LXXVIII 1999

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SAN FRANCISCO

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